

# INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS

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HEARINGS  
BEFORE THE  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL  
ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS  
OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS  
SECOND SESSION

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FEBRUARY 2, MARCH 1, 4, 11, 17, 22, 24, 31,  
MAY 5, AND JULY 9, 1954

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## SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS

(To deal with questions relating to the United Nations and its specialized agencies, other present and proposed international organizations, and the development of international law, and those aspects of communism, fascism, nationalism, and other political ideas basically affecting international relations.)

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# INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS

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TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1954

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS, SUBCOMMITTEE ON  
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, in room G-3, United States Capitol, at 2:30 p. m., Hon. Chester E. Merrow (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. MERROW. Will the subcommittee come to order, please?

We are pleased to have with us this afternoon Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., United States Representative to the United Nations.

Ambassador Lodge, the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements is very happy to have you here again. During the first session of the 83d Congress, you were kind enough to appear before the subcommittee in connection with its hearings on international organizations. Last October, and early in November, a special study mission of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, composed of Mr. Morano, Mr. Bentley, and myself, as chairman, conducted an on-the-spot study of international organizations and movements in Western Europe. The study mission visited all the seven specialized agencies of the U. N. located in Europe. The United Nations proper, in New York City, was, of course, not covered by the mission in its study. I might add that the study mission's report is now off the press and is available to the public.

One of the subjects dealt with by the study mission was the question of the clearance of United States nationals employed by international organizations or applying for employment in those agencies. The mission was told by these agencies that considerable administrative difficulties were encountered by them under the clearance procedures established by Executive Order 10422, as amended by Executive Order 10459.

In its findings, the study mission stated that—

\* \* \* while these procedures should be accelerated, in no instance should the standards established by those procedures be lowered or relaxed. This is particularly essential in view of the fact that the international organizations reserve an independent position on the hiring of a United States citizen even in the case of an adverse loyalty report on such an individual. (H. Rept. 1251, 83d Cong., 2d sess., p. 230.)

Mr. Ambassador, to round out the picture with respect to the clearance procedures governing United States nationals in all of the international organizations, including the United Nations, it would be very helpful at this time to have your statement with respect to those procedures governing the United Nations.

If you have a prepared statement on this question, you may read it if you wish, and then perhaps you would consent to answer any questions which may come up. Mr. Ambassador.

**STATEMENT OF HON. HENRY CABOT LODGE, JR., UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS**

Ambassador LODGE. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I have prepared a statement which seems to meet the points which I think this subcommittee is interested in, and with your permission, I would like to read it. I will then, of course, hold myself available for questioning.

Mr. MERROW. You may proceed.

Ambassador LODGE. Mr. Chairman, in the period between election day, 1952, and Inauguration Day, January 20, 1953, I was charged by President-elect Eisenhower with the job of conducting liaison with the outgoing administration. In this capacity, I made arrangements for those designated to hold office in the Eisenhower administration to establish contact with those holding offices under former President Truman. Those arrangements covered every department of the Government except for the Bureau of the Budget, and in the case of the Bureau of the Budget, that was done by Joseph Dodge.

In December 1952, President-elect Eisenhower designated me to be the United States Representative to the United Nations. You may remember that the recent investigations by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee made it obvious at that time that one of the first responsibilities devolving on me was to set up a system which would screen all the United States personnel employed by the United Nations so as to eliminate those who should not be there.

In order not to waste any time, I therefore immediately requested the then Assistant Secretary of State for United Nations Affairs, Mr. Hickerson, to get an Executive order promulgated setting up a system for screening all United States employees.

I wanted to get the most utterly effective system that I could, and specified, therefore, that all procedures would be worked out with the Civil Service Commission and the FBI.

It was obvious that United States national security was not affected by the character of these United States employees. In the first place, the United Nations is not only not a government; it has none of the powers of government. Everything that it does is purely recommendatory, except for the Security Council, and in that body there is the veto which protects us completely. This is one difference between the United Nations and the United States Government.

Secondly, in the United Nations there is no secret or classified information. The only information which the United Nations ever received about the war in Korea, for example, was mimeographed material which I transmitted, after the Pentagon had released it to the press. There is, therefore, nothing to spy on in the United Nations. No United States citizen working there has ever been indicted for spying. Perhaps it is because there is nothing to spy on that the Soviet have never filled their quota of employees.

This absence of secret information is another difference between the United Nations and the United States Government.

The prime consideration, as regards employment of United States citizens by the U. N., therefore, is one of justice and of a sense of the general fitness of things. It boils down to this fact, that it is clearly wrong for any United States Communist to be employed at the United Nations when there are so many good Americans from which to choose. That is the basic ground, and it is plenty basic enough, I think.

It is precisely for this reason, therefore, that standards of security which are applied to an employee of a sensitive agency of the Government cannot be applied to the United Nations. It means in principle that the only test to be applied to United States citizens employed by the United Nations is that of loyalty to the United States.

Under these circumstances, it was obvious that whatever security policies might be adopted later by the new administration for United States employees of the United States Government could not be applied directly to the problem of United States personnel employed by the United Nations, because implicit in all United States Government policy is the question of national security, a question which does not exist in the United Nations because it is not a government.

Assistant Secretary Hickerson worked energetically, and the new order was promulgated on January 9, 1953. On January 27 I presented my credentials to the United Nations and my first official action was to request the Secretary General to cooperate in putting this personnel program into effect.

On January 28 I appeared with 3,000 forms, each of 6 pages in length, and of the most searching character, which had been prepared in conjunction with the Civil Service Commission and the FBI, and with your permission, I would like to give you a set of these forms, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MERROW. Thank you, Mr. Ambassador. Without objection, the forms will be made a part of the record at this point.

(The documents referred to are as follows:)

Promulgated by Department of State under E.O. 10422		<b>IDENTIFICATION AND PERSONNEL DATA</b>  <b>FOR EMPLOYMENT OF UNITED STATES CITIZEN</b>		Budget Bureau No. 47-2119 Approval Expires April 30, 1955																					
<b>INSTRUCTIONS:</b> Prepare in quadruplicate. All sections must be completed. Write "None" when applicable. <u>Type or print</u> answers. If space not adequate for complete answers continue under item 23, and attach a supplemental sheet to this form if necessary. All addresses must show street number, street, city, and State.																									
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13. EMPLOYMENT (list ALL employment dates including present employment and ALL dates and addresses when unemployed.)  
Give name under which employed if different from name now used.

DATE FROM-TO	NAME OF EMPLOYER (Firm or Agency) AND NAME OF SUPERVISOR	TYPE OF WORK	ADDRESS (Where employed)	REASON FOR LEAVING

14. FOREIGN COUNTRIES VISITED (Since 1940) (Exclusive of military service)

COUNTRY	DATE LEFT USA	DATE RETURNED USA	PURPOSE

<b>15. ARE YOU NOW, OR HAVE YOU EVER BEEN, A MEMBER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OR ANY COMMUNIST OR FASCIST ORGANIZATION?</b> <div style="text-align: right; margin-top: 10px;">Answer "Yes" or "No"</div>									
<b>16. ARE YOU NOW, OR HAVE YOU EVER BEEN, A MEMBER OF ANY ORGANIZATION, ASSOCIATION, MOVEMENT, GROUP, OR COMBINATION OF PERSONS WHICH ADVOCATES THE OVERTHROW OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES, OR OF ANY ORGANIZATION, ASSOCIATION, MOVEMENT, GROUP, OR COMBINATION OF PERSONS WHICH HAS ADOPTED A POLICY OF ADVOCATING OR APPROVING THE COMMISSION OF ACTS OF FORCE OR VIOLENCE TO DENY OTHER PERSONS THEIR RIGHTS UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OR OF SEEKING TO ALTER THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES BY UNCONSTITUTIONAL MEANS?</b> <div style="text-align: right; margin-top: 10px;">Answer "Yes" or "No"</div>									
<b>17. IF YOUR ANSWER TO QUESTION 15 OR 16 IS "YES", STATE THE NAME OF THE ORGANIZATION, DATES OF MEMBERSHIP OR ASSOCIATION, AND EXTENT OF PARTICIPATION. IF YOU DESIRE TO EXPLAIN THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF YOUR MEMBERSHIP YOU MAY USE THE SPACE UNDER ITEM 23 OR ATTACH A SEPARATE SHEET OF PAPER.</b> <table style="width: 100%; border: none;"> <tr> <td style="width: 35%; text-align: center; border: none;">NAME</td> <td style="width: 30%; text-align: center; border: none;">ADDRESS</td> <td style="width: 20%; text-align: center; border: none;"> <b>DATES OF MEMBERSHIP</b>            FROM                      TO         </td> <td style="width: 15%; text-align: center; border: none;">OFFICE HELD</td> </tr> </table>						NAME	ADDRESS	<b>DATES OF MEMBERSHIP</b> FROM                      TO	OFFICE HELD
NAME	ADDRESS	<b>DATES OF MEMBERSHIP</b> FROM                      TO	OFFICE HELD						
<b>18. MEMBERSHIP IN OTHER ORGANIZATIONS (List all organizations in which you are now a member or have been a member, except those which show religious or political affiliations.)</b> <table style="width: 100%; border: none;"> <tr> <td style="width: 35%; text-align: center; border: none;">NAME</td> <td style="width: 30%; text-align: center; border: none;">ADDRESS</td> <td style="width: 20%; text-align: center; border: none;"> <b>DATES OF MEMBERSHIP</b>            FROM                      TO         </td> <td style="width: 15%; text-align: center; border: none;">OFFICE HELD</td> </tr> </table>						NAME	ADDRESS	<b>DATES OF MEMBERSHIP</b> FROM                      TO	OFFICE HELD
NAME	ADDRESS	<b>DATES OF MEMBERSHIP</b> FROM                      TO	OFFICE HELD						
<b>19. RELATIVES (Parents, spouse, divorced spouse, children, brothers, and sisters, living or dead. Name of spouse should include maiden name and any other names by previous marriage.)</b>									
RELATION	NAME IN FULL	AGE	ADDRESS	COUNTRY OF BIRTH	PRESENT CITIZENSHIP				



## INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS

7

20. REFERENCES (Name three persons, not relatives or employers, who are well acquainted with you)			
NAME	ADDRESS	YEARS KNOWN	

21. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN ARRESTED, INDICTED, OR SUMMONED INTO COURT AS A DEFENDANT IN A CRIMINAL PROCEEDING, OR CONVICTED, FINED OR IMPRISONED OR PLACED ON PROBATION IN CONNECTION WITH SUCH A PROCEEDING, OR HAVE YOU EVER BEEN ARRESTED OR REQUIRED TO DEPOSIT BAIL OR COLLATERAL FOR THE VIOLATION OF ANY LAW, POLICE REGULATION OR ORDINANCE (EXCLUDING MINOR TRAFFIC VIOLATIONS)?.....

Answer "Yes" or "No"

IF YOUR ANSWER IS "YES" LIST ALL SUCH CASES IN ITEM 22. IN EACH CASE GIVE: (1) THE CHARGE OR NATURE OF THE OFFENSE; (2) THE DATE; (3) THE PLACE WHERE ARRESTED; (4) DISPOSITION OR THE PENALTY IMPOSED, IF ANY.

22. ARRESTS (Include all arrests and fines other than minor traffic violations)			
CHARGE	DATE	PLACE WHERE ARRESTED	DISPOSITION

23. SPACE FOR CONTINUING ANSWERS TO OTHER QUESTIONS (Show item numbers to which answers apply. Attach a separate sheet if there is not enough space here.)

### CERTIFICATION

NOTE: The original copy must be signed by the person named in item 1 on this form.

I certify that the above information is correct and complete to the best of my knowledge and belief.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
SIGNATURE (Sign original only)

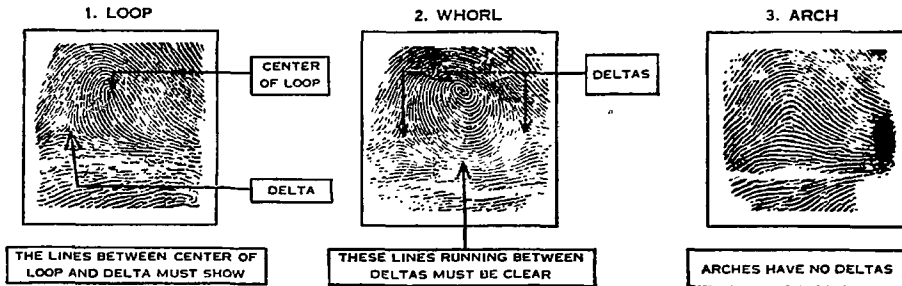
<b>CSC</b>   <small>LEAVE THIS SPACE BLANK</small>		<small>LAST NAME</small>		<small>FIRST NAME</small>		<small>MIDDLE NAME</small>			
		<b>U. S. CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION FINGERPRINT CHART</b>						<small>HEIGHT (Inches)</small>	
SIGNATURE OF PERSON FINGERPRINTED		DEPARTMENT, BUREAU, AND DUTY STATION ( <i>City and State</i> )						DATE OF BIRTH	
RESIDENCE ADDRESS		SERIAL NUMBER (CSC use only)			PLACE OF BIRTH				
POSITION TO WHICH APPOINTED		COLOR OF EYES	<small>LEAVE THIS SPACE BLANK</small>  CLASS. ....  REF. ....						
SIGNATURE OF OFFICIAL TAKING FINGERPRINTS		COLOR OF HAIR							
TITLE AND ADDRESS		WEIGHT							
		SEX							
1. RIGHT THUMB		2. RIGHT INDEX		3. RIGHT MIDDLE		4. RIGHT RING		5. RIGHT LITTLE	
6. LEFT THUMB		7. LEFT INDEX		8. LEFT MIDDLE		9. LEFT RING		10. LEFT LITTLE	
LEFT FOUR FINGERS TAKEN SIMULTANEOUSLY				LEFT THUMB	RIGHT THUMB	RIGHT FOUR FINGERS TAKEN SIMULTANEOUSLY			

## INSTRUCTIONS

## • To obtain classifiable fingerprints:

1. Use printer's ink.
2. Distribute ink evenly on inking slab.
3. Wash and dry fingers thoroughly.
4. Roll fingers from nail to nail, and avoid allowing fingers to slip.
5. Be sure impressions are recorded in correct order.
6. If an amputation or deformity makes it impossible to print a finger, make a notation to that effect in the individual finger block.
7. If some physical condition makes it impossible to obtain perfect impressions, submit the best that can be obtained with a memo stapled to the card explaining the circumstances.
8. Examine the completed prints to see if they can be classified, bearing in mind the following:

Most fingerprints fall into the patterns shown below (other patterns occur infrequently and are not shown here):



- (a) A delta (Δ) is the point at which the lines forming the loop or whorl pattern spread and begin going in different directions. All loop prints have one delta. Whorl prints have two.
  - (b) Loop prints cannot be classified unless the center of the loop and the delta, and the lines between them, are clear.
  - (c) Whorl prints cannot be classified unless the two deltas and the lines connecting the deltas are clear.
  - (d) Arch fingerprints can be classified if a sufficiently clear impression is obtained to permit identification of the pattern as being an arch.
9. If, upon examination, it appears that any of the impressions cannot be classified, new prints should be made. If not more than three impressions are unclassifiable, new prints of these fingers may be taken and pasted over the defective ones. If more than three are unclassifiable, make a new chart.

THIS SPACE FOR FBI USE

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 16-52314-2

**Ambassador LODGE.** That afternoon, on January 28, the U. N. employees were lined up in the corridors to be fingerprinted.

When the security policy for employees of the United States Government was adopted at the end of April 1953, this program for United States employees of the U. N. was well underway. I examined the new security order for employees of the United States Government and saw that obviously its terms could not apply to the United States employees of the United Nations. Not only was the Federal order based squarely on national security considerations, but it even provided for differences in the treatment of individual cases, depending upon the weight of the security consideration involved in the particular position.

To give you an illustration: Section 3 (a) of the Executive order specified:

The scope of the investigation shall be determined in the first instance according to the degree of adverse effect the occupant of the position sought to be filled could bring about by virtue of the nature of the position, on the national security.

Now, that language obviously would be totally inapplicable to a United States employee of the U. N.

I therefore made the decision that it would be a great mistake to scrap all the work we had done and commence the negotiations all over again when the policy that we were following was completely adequate in every way and when the new Federal policy could not apply to an organization which did not have the powers of government.

The policy being followed did not, of course, mean that we were not transmitting a great deal of information to the Secretary General bearing on suitability. That is drunkenness, morals, talkativeness, things of that kind. We give them all the information which we get on these subjects, and I believe he makes good use of it.

To illustrate the progress we have made, let me give you the figures: As of January 15, for the employees of the U. N. Secretariat, exclusive of related agencies such as the Children's Fund and the Palestine refugee program, the figures are as follows: Out of a total of 1,744 employees, 1,418 cases have been completed, leaving only 326 in process. In addition, over 500 new United Nations applicant cases have been processed.

I submit that there is a great advantage in cleaning up this situation promptly, thus restoring confidence in these basic elements of our foreign policy.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Ambassador, we thank you for the fine statement which you have given to the subcommittee. I think that helps to clarify this entire situation. There may be some questions that members of the subcommittee would like to ask, and there may be questions from members of the full committee who are here this afternoon.

Mrs. Bolton.

Mrs. BOLTON. There were people who were discharged for lack of loyalty and so on. I wonder if you would give us a brief statement about that situation?

Ambassador LODGE. Sitting on my right is Congressman Richards, I might say, who handled that subject at the eighth session of the General Assembly, and handled it with consummate skill and great industry and application, and he is just as well versed on it as I am, but I will be glad to give you the bare facts, which are that there were 11 American employees who invoked the fifth amendment and who were separated from the service of the United Nations.

The Administrative Tribunal of the United Nations which, at that time, did not have any American member and which consisted of a member from the United Kingdom, a member from France, a member from Sweden and a member from Egypt, voted to have these 11 individuals restored to the United Nations payroll and voted to award them sums aggregating \$170,000.

Now, due in large part to the wonderful work that was done by Congressman Richards in the Fifth Committee of the General Assembly, those sums have not been paid. That is the net result of it all, they have not been paid. I hope they won't be paid, and I will do everything I can to see that they will not be paid. I am quite optimistic about being able to be successful in that respect.

Mrs. BOLTON. Thank you.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Hays, another member of the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements.

Mr. HAYS. I have no questions, thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Richards.

Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Chairman, I don't believe I want to add anything in the way of questions, but I do want to say this to the committee—the Ambassador was very kind to say something about my small part in this. What I did, I did under the Ambassador's policy di-

rection and with his assistant, Bill Hall's valuable advice, so I can't claim too much credit. I agreed with our Government's U. N. policy entirely, and I want to say that the Ambassador has done a wonderful job up there and as a Democrat I particularly noticed and appreciated that he was absolutely nonpartisan in his attitude insofar as the affairs of U. N. were concerned, and I think we are very fortunate in having him there.

I might say that it is a tribute, too, to the system of having congressional representation. The Ambassador himself first served in the U. N. when he was a member of the minority party.

Ambassador LODGE. I had the same position in 1950 that you had in 1953. I was a minority representative from Congress, the way you were.

Mr. RICHARDS. That is the way it should be in the field of foreign affairs, I think, no matter what domestic differences there may be between political parties.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Bentley, a member of the Study Mission on International Organizations and Movements is with us this afternoon. Mr. Bentley.

Mr. BENTLEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Ambassador, I think you brought out some very good points in your own statement, here.

I am correct, now, in understanding that within the United Nations there is no secret or classified information that would be applicable? The whole question of national security is not applicable to the United Nations?

Ambassador LODGE. That is correct.

Mr. BENTLEY. Would you make a very brief distinction between the Americans on your staff in New York and the American nationals of the international Secretariat?

Ambassador LODGE. I will be very glad to.

At my office at No. 2 Park Avenue in New York, we have about 113 American employees. They are employees of the United States Government, just like any other employees of the United States Government. The office is set up just as though it were an American Embassy abroad. The place where I live is the only American Embassy on the soil of the United States of America. It has that unique distinction.

When I took office, I not only took the steps which I have outlined with regard to American employees of the U. N., I also immediately requested an FBI investigation of every single American employee in the United States mission to the United Nations. That was completed a few months ago and all the evaluations have been completed, now, except for just a very few, which will be finished within a month. Those employees at No. 2 Park Avenue are employees of the United States Government. Of course, we do have classified information there, but, as Mrs. Bolton and Mr. Richards will remember, we have a rule against taking any classified papers into the United Nations Building. So the employees who are at the United States mission to the United Nations are wholly United States, just like any other United States employees.

Mr. BENTLEY. Then as far as our national security or our national interests are concerned, an American Communist working in the U. N. would not be damaging our national security, but we don't want him there because of standards of citizenship?

Ambassador LODGE. We don't want him there because, when we have so many good Americans to choose from, why should we give the job to an American Communist?

Mr. BENTLEY. He would be in no position to damage our national security?

Ambassador LODGE. That is right. What he did outside, that would be another matter, but he could do that outside no matter where he was.

Mr. BENTLEY. Just out of curiosity, do you know if any other members of the U. N. screen their nationals coming to work at the Secretariat?

Ambassador LODGE. Of course, an individual who comes from a dictatorship country, from behind the Iron Curtain, he doesn't get out, at all. He doesn't get to New York unless they approve of him.

Mr. BENTLEY. We are the only free country that has this rigorous screening process with regard to our nationals?

Ambassador LODGE. I believe that is true, but I would like to ask Mr. William Hall to bear me out on that.

#### **STATEMENT OF WILLIAM O. HALL, ADVISER ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION, ADMINISTRATIVE AND BUDGETARY MATTERS, UNITED STATES PERMANENT MISSION TO THE U. N.**

Mr. HALL. We have no direct knowledge of such processes by other countries. If it is done, it is done without any public knowledge of it.

Mr. BENTLEY. With regard to the employees in the Secretariat, Mr. Ambassador, do you know if the Secretary General has any standards of his own which he applies in hiring them?

Ambassador LODGE. I would like to ask Mr. Hall.

Mr. HALL. Yes, sir. In the staff regulations there are certain standards that are set forth and the individual is supposed to be obviously qualified for his job. Some of the jobs require language qualifications and some professional qualifications. That is the first test.

The second test is that people are supposed to fulfill standards of integrity. At this last session of the Assembly, those standards were tightened up substantially.

I don't have it with me, but I can provide for the record a statement of the standards that are used, if the committee would like to have that.

Mr. BENTLEY. That might be of interest, Mr. Chairman.

Ambassador LODGE. Yes, I think it would.

Mr. MERROW. Without objection the statement will be included in the record.

(The material referred to is as follows:)

#### **U. N. STAFF REGULATIONS RELATING TO OBLIGATIONS AND STANDARDS OF SELECTION**

##### ***Regulation 1.4***

Members of the Secretariat shall conduct themselves at all times in a manner befitting their status as international civil servants. They shall not engage in any activity that is incompatible with the proper discharge of their duties with the United Nations. They shall avoid any action and in particular any kind of

public pronouncement which may adversely reflect on their status, or on the integrity, independence and impartiality which are required by that status. While they are not expected to give up their national sentiments or their political and religious convictions, they shall at all times bear in mind the reserve and tact incumbent upon them by reason of their international status.

*Regulation 1.7*

Staff members may exercise the right to vote but shall not engage in any political activity which is inconsistent with or might reflect upon the independence and impartiality required by their status as international civil servants.

*Regulation 4.2*

The paramount consideration in the appointment, transfer or promotion of the staff shall be the necessity for securing the highest standards of efficiency, competence and integrity. Due regard shall be paid to the importance of recruiting the staff on as wide a geographical basis as possible.

*Regulation 4.3*

In accordance with the principles of the charter, selection of staff members shall be made without distinction as to race, sex or religion. So far as practicable, selection shall be made on a competitive basis.

*Regulation 4.6*

The Secretary-General shall establish appropriate medical standards which staff members shall be required to meet before appointment.

Mr. BENTLEY. During the trip to Europe last fall, many of these specialized agencies with whom we came in contact emphasized—I think it has been brought up in the press and now in our report—the difficulty they have in hiring and keeping United States nationals, particularly in the hiring part of it—because of these screening procedures that we insist they go through. They say they are actually losing United States nationals by reason of the present setup.

Would you care to comment on that, sir?

Ambassador LODGE. Well, of course, I am a great believer, as I have said, in my prepared statement, in getting a thing like this cleaned up in a hurry.

Justice delayed is justice denied. It is a question of efficient government operation, and the sooner you get it done, the better.

Now, the reduction in American employees at the United Nations, I think, is due more to the policy of economy, which is being followed, than to any other cause. Is that correct, Mr. Hall?

Mr. HALL. That is correct.

Ambassador LODGE. I may add that at the last session in the Fifth Committee—again where Mr. Richards was representing the United States—we were successful in getting the total budget of the United Nations reduced by almost \$3 million, wasn't it?

Mr. HALL. Yes, sir, that is correct.

Ambassador LODGE. When you reduce the budget \$3 million something has to go, and that accounts, I think, for the reduction in American employees. We were also successful in getting the United States share of the total reduced both as to dollars and as to percentage.

Mr. BENTLEY. I was actually referring, I think, more, Mr. Ambassador, not so much to people who have been working for the U. N. but people who are new applicants for jobs, and the complaint that is contained in our particular report stressed the delay that is being occasioned and the necessity sometimes when you have to get a man on a quick basis, they will take somebody who doesn't have as much red tape to go through in his own government. That is what you

mean. If you have the opportunity to read our report, you will see that the study mission recommended that absolutely no relaxation of our loyalty standards for our nationals working in these agencies be effected and I trust you would concur in that.

Ambassador LODGE. I certainly do.

As I said in my prepared statement, we have screened 500 new applicants in this last year. We have had complaints that it isn't done fast enough. I get the complaint and then I pass the complaint on to somebody else, but we have screened 500 new ones, which isn't too bad.

Mr. BENTLEY. Thank you, Mr. Ambassador. It is a pleasure to see you here this afternoon.

Ambassador LODGE. Thank you very much.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Lanham.

Mr. LANHAM. Have any of the 11 discharged employees been put back on the pay roll?

Ambassador LODGE. None of them were put back.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Fulton.

Mr. FULTON. I am glad to see you here, Mr. Ambassador.

Ambassador LODGE. Thank you.

Mr. FULTON. When Russia is talking so big and acting so strong militarily and economically, so that she acts as though she is equal to the whole Western group of nations, including the United States, and insists on equal rights as to conferences and things like that, why don't we insist that she at least pay for herself as much of a contribution to the United Nations as the United States pays?

Ambassador LODGE. We have taken the position that the Soviet Union contributions should be increased.

Mr. FULTON. Why not just equal it and tell her to put up or shut up?

Ambassador LODGE. We inherited a situation there that goes back to the beginning of the United Nations when a decision was made. Senator Vandenberg told me a decision was arbitrarily made to put the United States share at a very high percentage. What was that percentage?

Mr. HALL. At first this was tentatively 48.89, based on our superior productivity, and so forth. When we ourselves made that concession, back in 1946, ever since then we have been trying to get our percentage down and we have been fairly successful, but that is what we started out with.

Ambassador LODGE. Senator Vandenberg was able to get it reduced 10 percent that year, and he got 39.8.

Mr. FULTON. Would you object to a limitation being put on the United States contribution the next time around, that instead of the United States paying 32 percent and Russia paying 14 percent, that we pay equally, because she has certainly caused us enough expense and trouble otherwise?

Ambassador LODGE. As far as I am concerned, you can't get it down too low, but of course, you are up against some practicalities there. I think the way we proceeded last fall is, perhaps, the most practical way that you can proceed.

Mr. FULTON. Would a resolution of Congress to that effect, that we should pay equally, strengthen your hand?

Ambassador LODGE. I would have to think that over. I never thought of that before. I would have to mull that over and give it



some study. That is too big a question for me to give you an offhand answer on.

Mr. FULTON. You spoke of the 11 persons, obviously not loyal to the United States, that have been separated from the U. N. service. I want to compliment you on that activity.

Then you spoke of the FBI investigations having been made and being almost completed, except for a few hundred people.

Ambassador LODGE. I said the FBI investigations have all been completed, but the evaluations have not all been completed.

Mr. FULTON. Are you at liberty to state what the results of those investigations have been, generally, and not specifically?

Ambassador LODGE. In my office at No. 2 Park Avenue, the United States employees, where security is involved, there almost everybody has been finally cleared. There are a few outstanding cases.

Mr. FULTON. How many have not yet been cleared, for some reason—not because of the delay or the inability to get the job accomplished?

Ambassador LODGE. Well, just from memory, I think all but 7 or 8 have been cleared.

Mr. FULTON. So there are 7 or 8 there which are not cleared for security purposes at No. 2 Park Avenue, at the present time, is that right?

Ambassador LODGE. There are 7 or 8 that have not been cleared as yet.

Mr. FULTON. For some valid reason?

Ambassador LODGE. For some reason. It may be they have too much to do, or I don't know what the reason is.

Mr. FULTON. They are not connected with anything that has to do with security documents?

Ambassador LODGE. They do not get anything of a classified nature.

Mr. FULTON. And have no access to them?

Ambassador LODGE. I don't think so. I hope they haven't.

Mr. FULTON. I would like to make sure.

Ambassador LODGE. I try to fix it so they won't, and I think I have.

Mr. FULTON. While United States security is not involved through United Nations documents or information activities, nevertheless, isn't United States security influenced to a great extent by the people who make the policies working in the United Nations? Therefore, strictly and literally our United States security is not involved in the United Nations, as you say, yet if there are Communists employed at the U. N. who are American citizens, they, from their influence, can have a great effect on the policies that vitally affect American security?

Ambassador LODGE. I don't think that is true.

Mr. FULTON. That is where I would disagree with you. I feel that where they have a chance to be in on the policymaking functions—

Ambassador LODGE (interposing). They don't, you see. They don't. The policymaking functions take place in the General Assembly Building, that low, sway-backed building. The people who work in the tall building that is shaped like a pencil box, those are clerical, secretarial people. I have never even seen them around when policy is being made.

Mr. FULTON. My feeling is, in the United States Government I wouldn't want the Communists in if they had no access to security

information, as long as they had a chance to operate within Government circles.

Ambassador LODGE. I am for getting the Communists out. That is the whole burden of my statement.

Mr. FULTON. I hope you will go further and say the reason is because of their effect on United Nations policies and the effect the association may have on United States security.

Ambassador LODGE. I don't think that is true. They ought to be out because there are so many good Americans to choose from, but they have no effect on our security.

Mr. FULTON. We agree on the result, but I hope the rule book is a little more strict.

Ambassador LODGE. The rule couldn't be more strict than you have it in this thing [indicating]. That's the FBI procedure.

Mr. FULTON. On our representation there, is the United Nations cutting down the way the United States Government is cutting, for economy purposes? Are they cutting in direct proportion as we are, on the personnel and the staff facilities?

Ambassador LODGE. I couldn't tell you as to the detail on that. I know they are cutting because the budget has been cut. Just how the Secretary General is doing it, I don't know. Do you know, Mr. Hall?

Mr. HALL. He is engaged now in a detailed review of each section in the Secretariat. He is spending half of each day with his principal people going over each section and trying to reduce them and he promised the Assembly he would save an additional million dollars next year, so there is an economy drive going on there, which I would say is very comparable to the one going on in the United States Government. I mean it is an effort to do it intelligently and not with a meat ax.

Mr. FULTON. Then there is correlation between the U. N. and United States Government procedures on economy.

Finally my question is this: As to the people coming into the United States representing other nations who are Communists, what check is being made to see that they are not using their facilities for purposes of spying and subversive activities, in our own good country?

Ambassador LODGE. There are certain checks and Mr. Hall is familiar with it in detail. I would like for him to answer that question.

Mr. HALL. It is difficult to discuss that in an open hearing.

Mr. FULTON. I think the public is entitled to hear about that, generally.

Mr. HALL. It is the responsibility of the FBI.

Ambassador LODGE. We work closely with the FBI and the Department of Justice on all those cases.

Mr. FULTON. Congressmen representing States outside of New York find that as one of the greatest criticisms of the U. N. being in the United States, that it affords opportunity for Communist people to come in and, possibly in addition to their U. N. duties, do a little spy work on the side.

Ambassador LODGE. Of course that is true of all the embassies in Washington, too.

Mr. HALL. There is no difference between the U. N. and the embassies in Washington.

Mr. FULTON. There is enough confusion here, that they won't have too much trouble confusing themselves.

Up there at the U. N. are they being watched?

Mr. HALL. Yes; the same surveillance that applies in Washington, applies generally.

Mr. FULTON. You can assure the country, can you, that there is no organized spying or subversive activity being carried on under United Nations blanket coverage through these people having a chance to go into outside subversive activity?

Ambassador LODGE. I can assure the country that the same protective measures that are used with regard to the embassies in Washington are being used with regard to the embassies to the United Nations.

Mrs. BOLTON. I think it is time, Mr. Chairman, that we had a greater appreciation of what the responsibility is of the Ambassador to the United Nations. He isn't just an ambassador to one country. There are 59 other countries to deal with and it is the toughest job that could possibly be in the whole Foreign Service. I am very happy to be able to say it, with reference to our Ambassador, who is doing a very fine job.

Ambassador LODGE. Thank you very much. There could be no finer reward to me than to have the approval of the Congress, particularly yourself. I want to stay as close to the Congress as I can. The Congress is the representative of the people, and they are the people I am trying to represent before the United Nations.

Mrs. BOLTON. I would like to say, Mr. Chairman, there were occasional matters I went to the Ambassador about. He was immediately responsive and immediately active and really "covered the waterfront." We are exceedingly fortunate to have a man who has enough legislative experience to know what it means to be responsible from a legislative angle and also has a viewpoint which makes it possible for him to function as he did, and does.

Unfortunately, my certificate only lasted until December 31. But it was the most wonderful experience that anyone could have.

Ambassador LODGE. You made a wonderful contribution.

Mrs. BOLTON. I just loved every bit of it. I loved the work and I loved the pressures.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Ambassador, we greatly appreciate the fine, lucid statement which you have made on this very important subject. From your statement and the answers to questions that you have given here this afternoon, I would conclude that things are going pretty well in the United Nations. Do you feel that way?

Ambassador LODGE. I think they are. I keep at it all the time. I am fussing with it every hour on the hour, you might say, and I think it is going pretty well. Of course, I wish it was all over. As far as I am concerned, these things are always too slow, but we have the back of it broken and we only have about 300 more cases and then it will be all cleaned up. It will then be cleaned up for good, because this present Secretary General is never going to hire some of the characters who were hired 6 or 7 years ago. He isn't going to do it. Once we have this thing cleaned up, then it is done for good. Then we have just a little job of watching a few new people who will be small in number. There is some satisfaction in that.

Mr. MERROW. I want to compliment you on the fine piece of work you did in arranging the procedures for this clearance at the U. N. and I also want to take this opportunity to compliment you and con-

gratulate you on the vigorous, dynamic leadership you are giving to the United States delegation and to the U. N.

Ambassador LODGE. You couldn't please me more. That is what I am trying to do. To have you say that is a great reward.

Mr. MERROW. We are proud of your work and I am sure the country is.

Ambassador LODGE. Thank you very much.

Mr. MERROW. We have another member of the subcommittee, Mr. LeCompte who just came in. Karl, do you have any questions you wish to ask?

Mr. LECOMPTE. No thank you; I am listening at the present moment.

I would like to say that I endorse the words you have just spoken about the service of Senator Lodge.

Mr. HAYS. Might I ask another question which I don't think has been covered: For purposes of conveying an understanding of the overall cost of the U. N., it seems to me that in some statement of yours, Mr. Ambassador, it was said that the per capita cost for the U. N. and all related organizations is 71 cents. Can you enlighten me on that?

Ambassador LODGE. I don't think that is quite what I said. I said it is 16 cents per capita for the United Nations and the specialized agencies. Those are the amounts which we are bound by treaty to pay. Now, when you add on the Korean Relief, Palestine Relief, the International Committee on Migration, and other things, the amount per capita is about 50 cents. But you shouldn't add those on, because those are voluntary programs which we go into through the U. N., because that way we get the other countries to put up 30 percent. The true figure is 16 cents per capita.

Mr. HAYS. For the United Nations?

Ambassador LODGE. For the United Nations and the specialized agencies. That is about half of what is spent to clean the streets of the city of New York, it is about one-fourteenth of what we spend for cigarettes. And the delegates and secretaries, and personnel from foreign governments spend more than that every year in New York City on hotels, restaurants, and maybe night clubs for all I know, so New York City gets that all back and more, too. In dollars, that is \$13 million which is the United States share of the United Nations budget, which is a reduction both in dollars and in percentage of our share in previous years.

Mr. HAYS. Then if a 71 cent figure was used anywhere, it included Korean Relief, and other agencies?

Ambassador LODGE. If you put in Korean Relief and Palestine Relief and the International Committee on Migration, you only get up to 53. I don't know where the 71 cents could come from, but the real figure is 16 cents. We use the United Nations to make those other expenditures which we would make anyway, and that way we get these other countries to take a third of it.

Mr. HAYS. Your figure for the New York street-cleaning expense is very effective—I used that, incidentally, last night on a North Carolina audience and I am glad to have it confirmed.

Ambassador LODGE. That's true.

Mrs. BOLTON. And it is done a great deal better than the cleaning in New York, at twice the price.

Ambassador LODGE. If you want to put the value of the United Nations on a dollar basis, you can see that in Korea, where, of course, the American contribution was overwhelming and was greater than that of any other country, except the Republic of Korea—and even there we trained and equipped the Republic of Korea Army—the other United Nations members put up two divisions. It would have been better if they had put up 3, 4, 5, or 6 divisions, but they did put up 2 divisions which we would have had to put up otherwise.

Well, two divisions, at World War II costs, means \$600 million a year. When you compare \$600 million a year, with the \$25 million a year the United Nations costs us, it is not such a bad deal.

That is another financial illustration.

Then in World War II, when all the bills are in, it will cost us one trillion, three hundred billion. That is a figure that was arrived at in the Pentagon last year by some experts who really studied it.

Of course, you can't put the thing entirely on a dollars and cents basis, but as we started to talk dollars and cents, I have submitted those figures.

Mr. HAYS. I appreciate this information.

Mr. Ambassador, I agree with you that it is impossible to put it in money terms, but when you have an impressive figure of that kind, I think it is a very fine thing to acquaint the public with it, to show the low cost of this operation. People are so tax conscious these days, and rightly so, that that is a very reassuring thing.

Ambassador LODGE. Thank you very much.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Vorys—

Mr. VORYS. I am a visitor with your subcommittee. I am happy to be here when the Ambassador is here.

On this matter of costs of the U. N., I wonder if you would bring us down to date on the matter of our own contributions to the U. N. budget, as to what it amounts to and the question of percentage which has been of great interest to the Congress from time to time?

Ambassador LODGE. At the last session of the General Assembly last fall, we were successful in getting the United States percentage reduced to the lowest that it has yet been, 33.33, which is a total of \$13,765,290. In previous years, due to your efforts, because you were then on the fifth committee and carried the flag, you got it down lower than it had ever been up to that time. So this work that was accomplished last fall was a continuation of what you had done.

We also were successful in getting the Russian contribution increased both as to dollars and in percentage.

Mr. VORYS. Well, I'm glad I asked you that.

Ambassador LODGE. Well, it is true.

Mr. VORYS. What is the Russian contribution now, and are they paying?

Ambassador LODGE. It is 14.15 percent and they are paying it. That is a gain of 1.87, whereas we are down 1.79. They are up 1.87.

Mr. VORYS. I think the significance of that is this: That if the United Nations could accomplish for world peace what we had all hoped it would at one time, and we were paying one-third of the bill, we would have about the cheapest peace organization you can conceive of. Because of Russia's position, it has not been able to accomplish everything expected of it and we run into these gigantic expenses outside the U. N.

Mr. RICHARDS. I sat on the same committee you did, and Zarubin asked me "what ever happened to that penny-pinching Vorys?"

Ambassador LODGE. You left a great reputation behind you.

Of course, the United Nations hasn't measured up to some of the expectations that people had for it in 1946, because those expectations were quite impossible. I remember when I was a young newspaper reporter at the White House and Calvin Coolidge was President, he said to me one day, "Politicians are men who are twice spoiled—by extravagant praise on one hand and extravagant abuse on the other." I went ahead and became a politician for 17 years, and so I understood what he meant.

Something similar to that could be said about the United Nations. The hopes were extravagant. Then when it didn't bring about the millenium—and, of course, no device can bring about the millenium—people were disappointed in an extravagant way. There is no such thing as an automatic peace producer. If the United Nations is as automatic as a burglar alarm, that is all we could expect of it. What happens after the bell rings by the members is all that can be expected of it.

I think it is well to have the burglar alarm.

Mr. MERROW. The study mission came to the conclusion that the specialized agencies on the whole were doing a fine piece of work and that they are making great accomplishments in their various fields of operations and that is helpful.

Ambassador LODGE. Yes, I think they are.

Mr. BENTLEY. One more question, if I may, Mr. Chairman. Under these loyalty procedures that have been set up for Americans in the United Nations, Mr. Ambassador, would you care to say as a result of these loyalty procedures there have been any separations in the U. N. among the members because of loyalty?

Ambassador LODGE. Not for loyalty as yet. They do the easy ones first, though. Mrs. Glaser was separated because of the fifth amendment, but that was before this procedure came into effect.

Mr. BENTLEY. Under this present procedure there has been no separation?

Ambassador LODGE. Under Executive Order 10422 there have not been any yet, but, of course, they do the easy ones first.

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Ambassador, I join with the rest of the subcommittee members in greeting you here.

I wonder if we could ask questions with regard to things other than personnel?

Mr. MERROW. That is all right if the Ambassador is willing.

Ambassador LODGE. I will be glad to try to answer.

Mrs. KELLY. The increased contribution of the U. S. S. R., is 14.15?

Ambassador LODGE. Yes.

Mrs. KELLY. Is that across the board on all agencies?

Ambassador LODGE. No.

Mr. HALL. They are only active in three of the smaller specialized agencies, you see.

Mrs. KELLY. Are they living up to their commitment?

Mr. HALL. Yes. the Soviet Union is entirely paid up. Poland, I think, still has a balance of about a third of her contribution from last year outstanding, but the Czechs, the Poles, and the Byelorussians have all paid up in full.

Mrs. KELLY. What is the penalty if they do not live up to their agreements?

Mr. HALL. If they are in arrears 2 years they lose their right to vote in the General Assembly.

Mrs. KELLY. Has that ever been carried out against any member?

Mr. HALL. No, it never has. No member has ever been in arrears 2 years.

Mrs. KELLY. Is there any chance of having the U. S. S. R. contribute to other agencies, or does she just refuse? Last year I remember in technical assistance she contributed something for the first time.

Ambassador LODGE. She said she was going to.

Mrs. KELLY. But she did not do it?

Mr. HALL. She made a contribution to the technical assistance program with great fanfare, but then she applied such restrictions to the contribution that the U. N. has been unwilling to accept the contribution and at the moment she does not have a valid contribution.

Ambassador LODGE. Mrs. Kelly ought to appreciate that the technical assistance thing isn't a legally binding obligation the way membership in the U. N. is.

Mrs. KELLY. I realize that, Mr. Ambassador, but U. S. S. R. falters on all agreements whether moral obligation or legal obligation.

Ambassador LODGE. The third day I was there, I went to the technical assistance conference and I made a little speech pointing to the empty chairs, and I said, "Here they are making all this fine talk and when it comes to doing something to help people, they are absent."

Then later on they announced at Geneva that they were going to contribute 1 million rubles. Then they proceeded to put a lot of attachments and strings on it, so it looks to me as though the million rubles is largely a propaganda gesture.

Mrs. BOLTON. And they didn't give to the children's fund either.

Mr. HALL. No.

Mrs. KELLY. They belong to the Universal Postal Union and the Telecommunication Union. Those are the specialized agencies.

What was the number of personnel in the United Nations when you came in, Mr. Ambassador?

Ambassador LODGE. In the United Nations?

Mrs. KELLY. Yes.

Ambassador LODGE. It was about 1,700. A little over that. That is the United States nationals. There are about 3,000 employees altogether.

Mrs. KELLY. What is there now?

Ambassador LODGE. It is coming down because the budget has been cut about 3 million and the Secretary General is reducing it now.

Mr. HALL. He has about 200 vacancies unfilled at the present time which he is going to cancel.

Mrs. KELLY. Then that would bring it down to about 2,700 or thereabout?

Ambassador LODGE. The overall would be 2,700 to 2,800.

Mrs. KELLY. How many of the 1,700 United States jobs are vacant and do you intend to fill them?

Ambassador LODGE. It is up to him to fill them. He has the power to do that. We have our quota and he is obligated to respect that

quota, but he makes the decision as to whether to fill them or not. He is carrying out now pro rata reduction, because of the reduction in the total size of the budget.

Mrs. KELLY. You have received or screened 500 new ones, you said?

Ambassador LODGE. Yes, that came in as temporaries.

Mr. HALL. Some of those are temporary employees for the General Assembly section, some are clerks, stenographers, and so on. There is also a problem of considerable turnover in the lower level of guards and typists.

Ambassador LODGE. The work is very uneven. It goes along and all of a sudden you have a big peak and you have to take people on.

Mrs. KELLY. The personnel employed at the 1953 fall session of the U. N. were additional employees?

Ambassador LODGE. That's right.

Mr. MERROW. I notice another member of the committee has come in. Mr. Carnahan—

Mr. CARNAHAN. I have no questions at this time, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MERROW. Are there any other questions?

I wonder if after we adjourn the members of the subcommittee and any other members who can would stay for a few moments. Mr. Bentley has a bill before our subcommittee and he has a statement he would like to make.

Mr. Ambassador, again I thank you for coming before this subcommittee. You have been here the second time and we have enjoyed it. We hope you will be here again.

Ambassador LODGE. I am always glad to come. Thank you very much.

Thank you ladies and gentlemen, and please come to see me in New York.

(Whereupon, at 3:25 p. m., the subcommittee proceeded to other business, as follows:)

Mr. MERROW. The subcommittee will be in order.

We have referred to this subcommittee, House Joint Resolution 213, introduced by Mr. Bentley, a joint resolution limiting United States contributions to international organizations. Mr. Bentley has a statement and would like to present it to the subcommittee at this time.

You may proceed as you wish.

(The text of H. J. Res. 213 follows: )

[H. J. Res. 213, 83d Cong., 1st sess.]

JOINT RESOLUTION Limiting United States contributions to international organizations

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, notwithstanding any other provisions of existing law, the United States contribution to the budget of any international organization of which the United States is a member, or in which it participates, shall not exceed the per centum of contribution by the United States to the budget of the United Nations.*

## STATEMENT OF HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MICHIGAN

Mr. BENTLEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and members of the subcommittee.

My statement is completely informal.

Mr. RICHARDS. I beg your pardon. You don't want anybody else but the subcommittee members here?



Mr. MERROW. No, anyone may stay. We are glad to have you. I am glad to have as many members as possible.

Mr. BENTLEY. This will be completely informal and unprepared. I welcome interruptions at any time if there is anything I can answer.

Basically, House Joint Resolution 213 would provide that the percentage of our contribution to the budget of any international organization should not exceed the percentage of our contribution to the budget of the United Nations. In other words, that would be the ceiling to the amount, percentagewise, that we would contribute to any budget.

I have a brief history of somewhat similar legislative efforts in the past that have been made to adopt a similar type of resolution. The last one I believe is in Public Law 495, adopted in the 2d session of the 82d Congress, an amendment on the part of the Senate Appropriations Committee which reads as follows:

No representative of the United States Government in any international organization after fiscal year 1953 shall make any commitment requiring the appropriation of funds or a contribution by the United States in excess of 33 $\frac{1}{3}$  percent of the budget of any international organization for which the appropriation for the United States contribution is contained in this act. Provided that the section shall not apply to the United States representatives to the Inter-American Organization.

As I read it, Public Law 495 provides that after fiscal year 1953, no American representative to an international organization should commit this Government to a contribution of more than one-third of the budget of any international organization, with the exception of the inter-American organization.

Now, my language is somewhat different, in that, rather than making a flat one-third the ceiling, I take the amount which we contribute to the United Nations and make that the ceiling, since I judge that is, to my way of thinking, a good guide for our contributions to the other international organizations, and I make no exceptions with respect to the inter-American organizations.

I have here a report from the Department of State with respect to my resolution. The Department lists various organizations which would be affected by this resolution. In the first respect, the Inter-American organizations—as you may know, the average of our contribution to the Inter-American organizations, the Pan American Union, the American International Institute for the Protection of Childhood, etc., averages about two-thirds. That is, on the average we contribute about two-thirds of the total budgetary costs of these various inter-American organizations.

That figure appears to me to be way out of line. I know that it has been said that these inter-American organizations are unable to pay more than they have, but I also have been informed that the economic level in these various Latin American countries is well off, is a good level, and I think that if these organizations are truly inter-American that we frankly should ask them to pay more of the cost of many of these organizations, and incidentally, I might say it has not been proven to my mind, at all, the real benefit to the United States that these inter-American organizations fulfill.

Mr. Chairman, is this an executive session?

Mr. MERROW. This is an open session. Do you want it executive?

Mr. BENTLEY. Then I would like to say something off the record, if I may.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. BENTLEY. There are a good many other international organizations which would be affected by this. I perhaps won't go through all of them at the moment. One I think which has been somewhat brought out in publicity is the technical assistance program of the United Nations. We contribute approximately 60 percent of the budget to that particular organization. I would be willing to accept an amendment, or shall I say a clarification to this extent: We contribute 60 percent of the budget of the United Nations technical assistance program, but as I understand it, the international budget, the international contribution of the United Nations to that program is approximately matched or equaled by the recipient governments who contribute in local currencies for various projects and programs within their countries.

I would be willing in such a case, for example, not only with respect to this program, but any others that would be pertinent, to make our percentage contribution a percentage contribution of the entire amount expended on these various technical projects within these various countries so that, in other words, if you assumed that our 60 percent of the international budget is being matched by local contributions, we would be expending only 30 percent of the entire amounts of money that have gone into these various programs, including international contributions and contributions in local currencies, bringing our percentage contribution down from 60 percent to 30 percent and I think that would be a much more realistic way of showing that.

In this respect, with reference to United Nations technical assistance, I have a quotation from the Randall report which has just been released recently. This is a paragraph from the report of the Commission on Foreign Economic Policy, otherwise known as the Randall Commission, and I think it is pertinent in this respect.

The Commission attaches special importance to the strengthening of the technical assistance work of the United Nations. It believes, however, that no country should contribute as much as 60 percent of the financing of this worldwide cooperative effort. It believes some expansion of this program would be desirable, but that the United States' percentage share in the cost should be reduced \* \* \*

And as I say, I agree with it, although if you bookkeep the thing on the basis which I have attempted to explain, it would reduce our actual percentage contribution from 60 to 30 percent, which would be much more realistic.

I am not going to take the time, Mr. Chairman, unless there are questions, to go into all of these organizations, but I think one more thing deserves mention and the reason I mention it is because of the fact that our study mission had somewhat direct contact with it in Europe last October. That is with respect to the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency.

As I understand, at the present time, we have pledged approximately between 60 and 65 percent of the budget of that organization's work in Korea. Now, I'll admit that there is a strong case to be made for relief and reconstruction in Korea. I will admit that the need there is very great indeed. Those of us who were at the breakfast the other morning when the situation was referred to have no doubt in their minds as to the real need of the job that has to be done in Korea. But, as I told the director of the European office of UNKRA when we were there, Mr. Chairman, in

October, if the United States people after putting up 90 percent of the material and the men and having 90 percent of the casualties in Korea, and then being asked in the name of the United Nations to undertake 65 percent of the reconstruction costs in Korea to boot as a United Nations program, I told that gentleman in Geneva that I couldn't sell a program like that to the American people or my constituents back home, and I would not envy anyone else who tried to do it. That is another example of the situation where I think our percentage contributions to the budget of an international organization have gotten way out of line.

For the most part, with respect to the other organizations, it wouldn't take much of an adjustment, or a readjustment, to limit our contributions from the percentage point which we now contribute, to the United Nations percentage point which is approximately one-third.

You can see, as I say, that efforts have been made in the past, with the exception of the Inter-American organizations, to so limit our contributions, and I would sincerely hope that no exception would be made in their case because I think that the principle of international cooperation is most desirable, and I am most heartily in favor of it, but I do feel to be really internationally cooperative as an organization, to be an example of that, we have to insist that other countries go along in these organizations with us, and as far as I am concerned, approximately \$1 out of every 3 of the budgets to these international organizations is as much as I would like to see contributed.

Mr. Chairman, I think that's about all I have to say at this time, but I certainly would welcome the opportunity to answer any questions with respect to any organization that I haven't mentioned, or anything else in this respect.

Mr. MERROW. Thank you, Mr. Bentley, for the statement you have made.

Mrs. Bolton.

Mrs. BOLTON. I was wondering, Mr. Bentley, from what sources you draw to make such a general statement that the countries of South America have a good level of living?

Mr. BENTLEY. Well, I make a statement like that, Mrs. Bolton, first of all on the basis of my own residence there. I was in Latin America for 5 years.

Mrs. BOLTON. All over it?

Mr. BENTLEY. I was all over Central America and northern South America. I didn't go to Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, but I think those are the most prosperous portions of Latin America.

My second basis is the relative prosperity they have enjoyed, particularly during World War II when they were producing raw materials and have had an economy stimulated by a great deal of private investment in those countries. I think on the whole they are quite well off. I don't say they could pick up the tab for the other two-thirds of the various budgets of these international organizations, but in the first place, I might mention that perhaps the budgets of those various organizations are too large for what is expected to be accomplished. In the second place, many of them should, and could, be placed in private enterprise, and in the third place, I say I perhaps would suggest a reexamination of this whole idea of Latin American

cooperation, which I think will be brought to a head at this Caracas meeting when we have such a sore spot as the Guatemalan situation coming up, too.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Hays.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Bentley, as I understand it, you do not object to a matched-dollar arrangement with individual countries?

Mr. BENTLEY. Do you mean on a multilateral basis?

Mr. HAYS. No; I am thinking of our Institute of Inter-American Affairs where you nearly have to set up budgets on a country-by-country basis.

Mr. BENTLEY. I don't think there is anything wrong with that.

Mr. Hays, I am talking about the 8 or 9 inter-American organizations to which our average percentage budgetary contribution is about two-thirds.

Mr. HAYS. But you are thinking of the administrative expenses in the Institute itself rather than the country-by-country contributions? It just isn't clear to me how you would effect that arrangement in individual countries where we do approach it from a contributory standpoint. In other words, projects that are approved on the basis of participation by localities and by countries.

Now, that may be on a 50-50 basis. I believe there is considerable flexibility in it. I am just not sufficiently familiar with it.

Mr. BENTLEY. Frankly, I am not too familiar with it myself, Mr. Hays, but I might say this—I mentioned it with respect to the United Nations technical assistance program—any contribution that a member of an international organization makes in the form of local currency to an inter-American project, let us say, I think should be compared with the international contributions and our percentage-wise contribution should be matched to that basis. Do you follow me?

Mr. HAYS. Yes, I think I do.

Now, I am confining my question to the technical assistance program because, while I think as a general proposition the goal that you have set out is fair, I think we certainly ought to be making an effort to hold our participation down to that figure. I am just expressing doubt as to the possibility of applying a rigid formula at this time to Latin American technical assistance. I am just taking out one cooperative effort to explore with you the possibility of damaging a country's program by limitations of that kind.

Mr. BENTLEY. You are referring to inter-American technical assistance, not point 4 or anything of that kind, of course?

Mr. HAYS. Point 4 is channeled through the Institute of Inter-American Affairs in many cases, and that is an inter-American agency. That is maybe 1 of the 9 that you are talking about.

Mr. BENTLEY. In this budget of international organizations I don't see the Institute of International Affairs listed.

Mr. HAYS. Then did you not have that in mind?

Mr. BENTLEY. Well, this is a committee print; but, if it is not considered as an international organization, then it wouldn't be covered by my bill.

Mr. HAYS. That's all; thank you.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. LeCompte.

Mr. LeCOMPTE. Mr. Bentley, I'll have to ask rather elementary questions. Our contribution to the United Nations budget is approximately what percent?

Mr. BENTLEY. It is one-third, according to the Ambassador's testimony when he was here.

Mr. LeCOMPTE. That is the percentage I had in mind. Your bill would limit our contribution to all other international organizations in which we participate to one-third of the total annual budget of each of those organizations?

Mr. BENTLEY. That's right. The percentage of the contribution which we make to the U. N. would be the ceiling. We could go below it but not above it.

Mr. LeCOMPTE. How are the budgets of these various organizations arrived at—does the Congress act on them each year? How do we determine our share of these budgets in all these organizations each year?

Mr. BENTLEY. I think, Mr. LeCompte, that in some respects we pledge a certain portion of the budget and in other respects we are assessed.

Mr. LeCOMPTE. Who does the pledging, the State Department?

Mr. BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. LeCOMPTE. It is not the Congress?

Mr. BENTLEY. I'm not sure whether the Congress has to ratify that particular pledge or not.

Mr. LeCOMPTE. How would a resolution that provided that the Congress shall, every year, review our contributions to these organizations be? Then the Congress would know how much we were contributing each year. Would that be effective, as opposed to the resolution which you have?

Mr. BENTLEY. Of course, the Secretary of State is required to report our contributions to international organizations annually.

Mr. LeCOMPTE. He reports them, but we do not necessarily do anything about them, if I understand you?

Mr. BENTLEY. I think that's right.

Mr. LeCOMPTE. How about requiring an affirmative action of Congress each year?

Mr. BENTLEY. A form of ratification, you might say.

Mr. LeCOMPTE. Yes.

Mr. BENTLEY. That would be desirable.

Mr. LeCOMPTE. That wouldn't limit us to one-third, but that would make the Congress responsible.

Mr. BENTLEY. The State Department brings up its request for appropriations and must include in it appropriations for these various amounts.

Mr. LeCOMPTE. But we vote it through in lump sum. I just offer that as a hint. I don't know whether it is clear thinking or not. Mrs. Bolton and Mr. Richards have thought about this more than I have.

Mr. BENTLEY. I am for anything that would give the Congress closer inspection of our contributions, but I say we should use the U. N. as a guide and go by that guide.

Mrs. BOLTON. This is in our report.

Estimated total assessments of the United States. United Nations, 33½ percent. Food and Agriculture, 30. International Civil Aviation, 29.71. Inter-

national Labor, 25. International Communications, 28.96. U. N. Education and Scientific, 33.33. Postal, 24.64. World Health, 33.33.

So they are all well under, except the one which is the same. The voluntary ones, the percentages have not been set yet.

Mr. BENTLEY. On the basis of past experience, though, Mrs. Bolton, I think I ought to call your attention to one that would be affected would be the United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees.

Mrs. BOLTON. Let me question you about that. Are we going to do this entirely on a basis of dollars and cents, or somewhat with regard to responsibility and what is the responsibility of the United States with regard to the Palestine refugees?

Mr. BENTLEY. That brings up an interesting point. I understood in this particular program it was a United Nations responsibility. That is what I am referring to.

Mrs. BOLTON. But we have the responsibility for Israel.

Mr. BENTLEY. The one I am referring to is the United Nations program.

Mrs. BOLTON. But we are in that, and we did it.

Mr. BENTLEY. So are many other countries.

Mrs. BOLTON. But not at all in the same way.

Mr. BENTLEY. I see that this program is contributed to by 47 countries, but most of the contributions have been rather small. The United Kingdom contributes about a third of that which we do. The French, \$2 million or \$3 million a year. The Soviets put in nothing. The British dominions, the Western Europe, Arab, and Asiatic countries do it on pretty much a humanitarian basis. We and the British and the French have the bulk of the thing.

I certainly welcome your opinions on this, but I wonder why it would be out of order to ask some of these other countries, particularly some of the Arab member states, to put something into this program, instead of leaving us to contribute up to 70 percent of the total required.

Mrs. BOLTON. I may be wrong, but it would seem to me unwise at this moment when various plans are under discussion in the area, to do anything that might halt the constructive trend. To bring in a dollars-and-cents "must" might change the direction now being taken by certain Arab countries to assume responsibility in the matter of the refugees.

Mr. BENTLEY. Then would you suggest this alternative, would you suggest this program be taken out of the United Nations and be made a United States program?

Mrs. BOLTON. Not at all. I think it is very helpful that other nations contribute something.

Mr. BENTLEY. Of course, I certainly respect your opinion, because I know how much you know about that area, but it just seems to me that when we are paying 70 percent of the budget and yet it is supposed to be a United Nations function, it is difficult to see how the two tie together.

Mrs. BOLTON. From my viewpoint, you must take into consideration who is responsible, who did it, why did it all happen, and what has been going on in the background.

Mr. BENTLEY. You won't recommend we pay the other 30 percent and make a United States program.

Mrs. BOLTON. Certainly not at this time.

Mr. RICHARDS. The refugee situation in Palestine is a very unusual situation. The thing that bothered me a little about it was that you are tying this thing to pro rata payments in the United Nations when under this special committee business, a great many of the nations don't contribute. Now, for instance, there are some organizations that the Soviet won't join for obvious reasons, and sometimes we don't care whether they join, for obvious reasons. Well, say they are paying 12 or 14 percent. That takes that out. Then some other nations won't be in on the thing, and therefore you have that gap in there to build up. Instead of tying it to the maximum of the United Nations contribution, it seems you would have some play the other way, there, if you were going to fix something.

Mr. BENTLEY. Of course with respect to this refugee program, Mr. Richards, both we and the British are way out of line. We contribute 70 percent, the British contribute approximately 23 percent. That is 93 percent of the entire program right there. For instance, I say the French put in two or three million dollars, which is perhaps another 2 or 3 percent of the program—I don't have that exactly—and none of the other United Nations make more than a token payment on the thing. I mean it is my personal opinion, but I just can't help feeling that if it is going to be a United Nations program there should be more participation. If, on the other hand, we and the British are going to pick up the tab, why shouldn't we get the credit for it rather than the U. N.

Mr. RICHARDS. If we are going to do it like a relief or rehabilitation project like some of the other things we are doing, we would pick up the tab. Well, I can see what you are talking about. It is a pretty tough proposition.

Mrs. BOLTON. I am not criticizing your bill. I think it may be a very interesting thing to do, but at first glance I would feel that each country would have to be considered very carefully from such angles as background and the influence on the surrounding countries. Every implication would have to be given the most careful thought. Such consideration would be most difficult.

Mr. BENTLEY. It would be difficult, Mrs. Bolton.

I wonder if I could give you a little bit of history during the 82d Congress on this. During the 1st session of the 82d Congress the House adopted a floor amendment which flatly prohibited the use of the State Department appropriation moneys for payment to any international organization in excess of one-third of the total annual cost. Then the Senate came up with a substitute amendment and gave certain leeway to the President to make exceptions after consultation, and also made a special exception of the inter-American organizations.

Then during the next session of the 83d Congress the same amendment was adopted on the floor and the Senate Appropriations Committee came up with a new amendment which was adopted and which I read at the early part of this hearing and which limited us to one-third, except for the inter-American organizations. The principle has really been brought up before.

Mrs. BOLTON. However, I think the work is in such a precarious state that whatever is done we must do only with the greatest wisdom and the greatest consideration of everything involved.

Mr. BENTLEY. It is a terribly difficult situation, and I am not wishing to quarrel with the amount we contribute, but I merely express the thought that, if we are contributing a very large percentage of a budget for a program for which we are getting no particular credit, I wonder if it wouldn't be in our own best interests to pay the entire budget when the entire budget is so small and to take the entire credit for it. Korea might be another example.

Mr. CARNAHAN. If we set a definite figure, is that figure not likely to be made the figure for all organizations? Supposing we are making a smaller contribution and we set  $33\frac{1}{3}$  percent, then those people will come in and say, "Well, we should get our  $33\frac{1}{3}$ ."

Mr. BENTLEY. Thirty-three and a third happens to be the ceiling at the present time.

The ceiling would be flexible. The one-third isn't in the bill at all.

Mr. CARNAHAN. It would be the target for the year it was set.

Then, if all the organizations were equal in their international coverage, we might think of a set figure, but, since one particular organization has the interest of a few countries in a particular area, if there is an argument, perhaps the contribution would have to be different.

Mr. BENTLEY. I think where you have limited membership in some of these organizations you might make an argument for increasing the percentage contribution for the various members but, with the exception of the Palestine relief program, I am just frankly unable to think of any organizations here—now I will say there are certain organizations which are very limited in membership but it so happens, as far as I can see, to those organizations our contribution is much less than one-third.

I make one more exception, and that is the Caribbean Commission, to which we contribute about 38 percent and which is made up of a membership of the United States, the Dutch, British, and French; that is, the 4 so-called colonial powers in the Caribbean area. That is the only exception I think of. The difference between 38 and 33 percent, of course, is very small.

Mr. CARNAHAN. Can you give us briefly the number of dollars or the percentage in dollars that we pay to organizations where our percentage is less than  $33\frac{1}{3}$ , as compared to the amount we pay to organizations where it is more than  $33\frac{1}{3}$ ? Isn't the bulk of our payment to the organizations where our contribution is less than  $33\frac{1}{3}$ ?

Mr. BENTLEY. If you include the United Nations in that, I would certainly agree with you; yes. The bulk of our contributions would fall in that category.

This wasn't ever intended to be, Mr. Carnahan, a bill to save the United States a great deal of money. It was intended to be a bill to try and stimulate greater cooperation in these organizations by the members.

Mr. HAYS. Would it apply to military organizations like NATO?

Mr. BENTLEY. I don't see any military organizations listed here, Mr. Hays, but I think I have to mention this State Department report again. It says it might hamper United States participation in NATO because we contribute 45 percent of capital expenses of the international military headquarters and civilian staff of NATO, and that



is 45 percent of the capital expenses and 22½ percent of the operating expenses. I frankly haven't looked into that situation, and I think a possible exception should be made and could be made.

I also point out one more agency where I would certainly want to make an exception, and that would be with respect to the joint support program for the International Civil Aviation Organization. Although we contribute more than one-third to the International Civil Aviation Organization, the contributions are based roughly, as I understand it, upon the amount of air traffic enjoyed by the various members. I certainly would be the last one, of course, to suggest limiting our air traffic to one-third just to fall in line with that. But, with one or two exceptions, I think on the whole it could be worked out.

Mrs. BOLTON. Did the State Department list the Palestine refugees and UNKRA? I seem to remember them in a different category.

Mr. BENTLEY. Here is what the State Department said about the United Nations Palestine refugee program.

Mrs. BOLTON. My memory is hazy, but I have the feeling that it didn't have the same relationship.

Mr. BENTLEY. Insofar as UNKRA is concerned, we have pledged 65 percent of the total initial budget which was authorized by the U. N. General Assembly.

Mrs. BOLTON. Your bill has reference to everything whether it is in or out of the United Nations.

Mr. BENTLEY. Yes, ma'am.

Mr. MERROW. It would chiefly affect inter-American organizations.

Mr. BENTLEY. According to the State Department, they feel it would chiefly affect those.

Mrs. BOLTON. Israel and UNKRA are not international organizations.

Mr. BENTLEY. This is being funded by voluntary contributions, and the State Department listed them in its report to Mr. Chipfield as being affected by the legislation.

Mr. CRAWFORD. I just looked at your bill, and I didn't think it would affect it. The State Department has just confirmed that.

Mr. BENTLEY. Then the State Department is in error because they specifically listed UNKRA in this report to Mr. Chipfield with respect to my bill, and as enclosures to this bill they sent along these summaries with respect to the various international organizations which would be affected. It is also listed as an international organization in this pamphlet here, "United States Contributions to International Organizations."

They are all listed as special programs funded by voluntary contributions.

Mr. CRAWFORD. That may be compiled to give an idea of what the United States is contributing. In a technical sense, I am inclined to doubt that is covered in the terms of your resolution.

Mr. BENTLEY. You may be correct, but in this report they took the attitude that they were.

Mr. MERROW. Without objection, the State Department letter referred to will be incorporated in the record at this point.

(The letter referred to follows:)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
Washington, D. C., August 4, 1953.

HON. ROBERT B. CHIPERFIELD,  
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs,  
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. CHIPERFIELD: Further reference is made to your letter of April 18, 1953, transmitting copies of House Joint Resolution 213, a joint resolution limiting United States contributions to international organizations.

In response to your request, the Department of State desires to make the following comments with respect to this resolution:

(1) As the Department reads House Joint Resolution 213, it would restrict United States contributions to international organizations and programs to the percent of contribution by the United States to the budget of the United Nations. During this calendar year the United States share of the regular budgeted expenses of the United Nations is 35.12 percent. Effective January 1, 1954, this will be reduced to 33¼ percent.

(2) The Department opposes this resolution for two major reasons, viz:

(a) Whereas the one-third level of contribution is just and reasonable in the United Nations, it is not defensible in certain other international organizations. In the case of the United Nations the costs are distributed over some 60 member nations which include the most powerful and wealthiest nations of the world. In the case of the inter-American organizations, by contrast, membership is confined to 21 member nations, the other 20 of which combined have a national income which is approximately one-tenth that of the United States.

(b) With respect to voluntary contributions to international programs which have responsibilities for worldwide humanitarian and economic improvement activities, it is not feasible or in our national interest to limit the level of United States financial support to 33¼ percent. United States contributions to these international programs are made on a strictly voluntary basis and in each instance are based, with the approval of the Congress, on an analysis of individual program objectives, needs, and United States interests. It is the Department's belief that such considerations should continue to be the governing factor in determining the level of United States contributions.

As background information regarding the number and nature of the international organizations in which the United States participates, or of which it is a member, there is enclosed with this letter a publication of the 83d Congress, 1st session, House Document No. 63, entitled "United States Contributions to International Organizations." This publication describes, in brief, the basis for and nature of United States contributions to international organizations and programs. It will be noted from the master table to be found on page 31 of House Document No. 63, as extended to include fiscal year 1953, that House Joint Resolution 213 would affect United States contributions to the following listed international organizations or programs:

(a) Those to which contributions are made on an assessed basis:

Pan American Union  
American International Institute for the Protection of Childhood  
Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences  
Pan American Sanitary Organization  
Pan American Institute of Geography and History  
Pan American Railway Congress  
Caribbean Commission

(b) Those to which contributions are made on a voluntary basis:

International Civil Aviation Organization—Joint Support Program  
Organization of American States—Program of Technical Cooperation  
Provisional Intergovernmental Committee for the Movement of Migrants from Europe<sup>1</sup>  
United Nations Expanded Program of Technical Assistance  
United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund  
United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency  
United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East

<sup>1</sup> Renamed Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, October 1952.

The Department of State appropriation acts for the past 2 years have carried provisions limiting the authority of United States representatives to commit the United States to more than a one-third share of the budgets of those international organizations of which it is a member and to which the United States contributes from amounts appropriated in the State Department bill. These provisions, however, have specifically exempted the inter-American organizations from this restriction. With the exception of the Joint Support Program of the International Civil Aviation Organization, these limiting provisions have not applied to our voluntary contributions to the programs listed under (b) above. Appropriations for this purpose are made as a part of the Mutual Security Program.

With respect to the six inter-American organizations which would be affected by House Joint Resolution 213, a reduction of the United States contribution to one-third would be out of all proportion to the economic position of this country in comparison with the other American Republics members. The present United States share of the Pan American Union budget was arrived at by balancing the capacity-to-pay factor with the criterion that no one member should pay an unduly preponderant share, with the result that the United States quota in the Union, and in the Pan American Sanitary Organization using the same scale, is 66 percent. These two factors are incorporated in the charter of the Organization of American States (article 54), ratified by the United States on June 19, 1951. If the United States were to contribute to these inter-American organizations on a strict capacity-to-pay basis, as reflected by relative national incomes, the share of this country could be about 90 percent of their assessments. If the United Nations scale of assessments were applied to inter-American organizations (of 21 members or less), with the arithmetical adjustment for difference in membership, it could still result in a quota for this country of 86 percent. It is believed that these illustrations show that the present United States contribution to the major inter-American organizations has given this country a share that is as justifiable with respect to the inter-American organizations as is the one-third level in the United Nations.

A reduction of the United States share to one-third in the two major inter-American organizations would have literally disastrous effects on their operations, since the United States quota would be cut in half with a consequent one-third decrease in the funds available from governments to meet expenses. Because such a reduction would be indefensible on economic grounds, the action would have a particularly serious effect on general inter-American relations. As it is, the present rate of United States assessment has had the effect of causing the Latin American members to pay at a higher rate than the United States in proportion to national incomes. These Latin American countries would, therefore, strongly resist any further increase in their shares.

While the Caribbean Commission is not a part of the inter-American structure, it is also a regional organization. Its membership is limited to those four states possessing territories in the area, i. e., the United States, the United Kingdom, France and the Netherlands. The other members now make substantial contributions. While the United States pays 38.4 percent, the United Kingdom pays about as much, 34.3 percent, France pays 16 percent, and the Netherlands pays 11.3 percent. This assessment scale was established in 1947 under a formula which apportioned one-third of total expenses in equal shares, one-third on the basis of population in the Caribbean area, and one-third on the basis of the national income of member governments. This fact was noted in the report of Mr. Smith of Wisconsin from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, which recommended enactment of legislation authorizing United States membership in the Commission (H. Rept. No. 956, 80th Cong., 1st sess., p. 6). This scale has remained fixed since that time, and the amount assessed the United States is certainly not out of line with our interests in the Caribbean area.

With respect to the international programs which are financed on a voluntary basis, a different situation is presented. The contributions of the United States to these international undertakings are made on a voluntary, year-to-year basis. Pledges by United States spokesmen to these international programs for relief, rehabilitation, or economic development are always made subject to the approval of the Congress.

It is the belief of the Department that the one-third per centum limitation should not be applied to United States contributions to these various programs. As previously stated, we believe that United States financial support should be governed in each instance by an analysis of the individual program objectives, needs, and United States interests. For example, the United States has pledged a total of \$102.5 million to the initial \$250 million program of the United Nations

Korean Reconstruction Agency. This pledge not only indicates our humanitarian concern for and political interest in the people of the area, but also reflects United States desire to assist those people whose homes, lands, and means of livelihood have been ravaged in the fight against international Communist aggression in Korea. To the extent that the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency is able to marshal the resources of other governments in support of its program for relief and economic rehabilitation, the almost total burden which would otherwise be on the United States is reduced. Under these circumstances a reduction in our United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency contribution to a one-third level would have a most undesirable effect on United States interests served by this program, since it is unlikely that the loss from the reduction of the United States contribution could be absorbed by other contributors. It would at the same time be construed by the Republic of Korea as evidence of a lessening of United States concern for its plight. A similar set of considerations are applicable to the other programs in question in varying degrees. I am enclosing, for your information, separate statements about these programs. I trust this information will be of assistance to your considerations. It should be noted in this connection that the Soviet bloc contributes nothing to these voluntary programs.

The case of the Joint Support Program of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) presents a slightly different situation than those described above. As is true of the other voluntary programs, there is no scale of assessments as such. Contributions made to the ICAO Joint Support Program are used for the operation and maintenance of air navigation facilities essential to the safety of aircraft flying the North Atlantic. The United States, along with other users of these facilities, has voluntarily agreed to financially support these facilities on the basis of its proportionate share of the North Atlantic air traffic. The funds thus received from the participating members are turned over to the countries operating these facilities, for expenditure in accordance with previously approved plans, and subject to audit by ICAO. The International Civil Aviation Organization uses none of those funds for its own regular activities. The United States share of the expenses of the ICAO Joint Support Program is currently calculated at 45 percent. Since this share is based upon the use by the United States of services essential to its air commerce, it is assumed that there would be no desire to alter the existing arrangements.

The several bi-lateral commissions of which the United States is a member, such as the international boundary commissions and the international fisheries commissions, have been omitted from this consideration since these international commissions are not considered by the Department as international organizations in the context of the problem under analysis.

The proposed resolution might seriously hamper United States participation in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The budgets of the international military headquarters and civilian staff of NATO are divided into capital and operating expenses, and under the current agreement the United States contributes 45 percent of the former and 22.5 percent of the latter. It appears, therefore, that the proposed resolution would have an immediate disabling effect upon United States participation in this Organization. Present United States contributions to NATO budgets do not seem to be excessive when viewed in the light of defense requirements, and are, in fact, the result of a lengthy bargaining process. It has been pointed out that in an assessment based on relative capacity to pay the United States would be obligated to contribute 72 percent of the NATO budget.

It is believed that the language of House Joint Resolution 213 would not apply to the United States contribution to costs of the internationally financed military construction programs which constitute NATO infrastructure. The cost of these programs is not included in the budget of any international organization but is incurred through payments to other NATO countries to reimburse them for construction under a commonly agreed and financed program. The United States share of such programs is specifically subject to congressional appropriation.

For the reasons outlined above, the Department recommends that House Joint Resolution 213 not be enacted. In summary, it is contended that in those instances where the United States assessed share of the regularly budgeted expenses of international organizations, of which it is a member, is in excess of one-third, there is justifiable and sufficient reason for this. It is further contended that with respect to our voluntary contributions to international programs

which are participated in by the United States, the amounts to be contributed should continue to be governed by consideration of United States interests in each case, as opposed to any uniform percentage.

The Department has been informed by the Bureau of the Budget that there is no objection to the submission of this report.

Sincerely yours,

THURSTON B. MORTON,  
*Assistant Secretary*  
(For the Secretary of State).

Enclosures:

1. A copy of House Document No. 63. (This enclosure appears in the appendix, p. 473.)
2. Five statements re voluntary programs.

INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE FOR EUROPEAN MIGRATION

The Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM) differs from other international organizations in its plan of financing. The contributions and expenditures of the Committee are divided into two categories, administrative and operational. The United States contribution to ICEM, therefore, covers the United States share of both the administrative and operation expenses of the Committee.

There are no specific limitations or conditions imposed by law on the payment of the United States contribution to ICEM. The paragraph relating to this item in the conference report on Public Law 165, 82d Congress, in fact, concludes with the following statement:

"It is the expectation of the committee of conference that steps will be taken as quickly as possible to get the program moving and that the funds made available will be used."

By administrative action, the United States has set the following conditions regarding its contribution in order to assure that it will not be disproportionate to the contributions of other governments:

(a) The United States share of the administrative expenses shall not exceed 33⅓ percent of the total amount budgeted for this purpose. (All participating governments are assessed a specific percentage of the administrative costs.)

(b) The United States share of the operational expenses will be proportionate to the actual movement of migrants accomplished as compared with the total provided for in the plan of operation and reflected in the operating budget. While contributions to the operational expenses are voluntary, accomplishment of the total movement would mean, of course, that the other participating governments would have to provide the remaining funds or services to the Committee on a basis adequate to meet the plan of operation as approved.

Although political and economic difficulties of a temporary nature in certain immigration countries, particularly Canada and Australia, developed to reduce the number of migrants moved during the first year, the Committee did make an encouraging start by moving approximately 76,000 persons. If the Committee is to meet effectively this critical problem of excess population in Europe, however, it must expand its program during the next few years. To this end the full and energetic support of ICEM by the United States Government is essential. Even though the program of ICEM now shows approximately 140,000 migrants to be moved in 1954, which is a considerable increase over the 1952 level, the United States is requesting authorization only for continuing the contribution in the same amount as originally established. Consequently, the United States share of the total ICEM budget for calendar year 1954 will be lower than in 1952.

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UNITED NATIONS INTERNATIONAL CHILDREN'S WELFARE WORK

The United States contributions to the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) have been limited by legislation to 33⅓ percent of contributions from all governments, including contributions made by governments for the benefit of persons located within territories under their control.

The current UNICEF program expires on December 31, 1953. The Eighth General Assembly of the United Nations in its meeting this fall will be called upon to review this situation and to approve a United Nations program for children's welfare work for the future. The above formula has not been proposed with regard to United States contributions to the program beginning January 1, 1954,

since it is not known at this time what form and substance of such a program will be.

The legislative formula currently applied to UNICEF contributions has required a great deal of bookkeeping on the part of some 69 governments, the UNICEF staff, and the Department, in order to comply with its total requirements, particularly with respect to the value of the local contributions of the governments receiving aid. This fact, plus the uncertainty as to the nature of a new program, makes it undesirable to continue the existing formula. As a substitute it is proposed that United States contributions to the new program will be limited to 60 percent of total contributions by governments to a central fund. As in the case of the multilateral technical assistance program, the value of contributions of governments within whose territories child-welfare projects are undertaken, will approximate half of the costs of projects financed from the central fund. These "local" contributions are required by agreement between the United Nations and assisted governments, and usually consist of free facilities, supplies, labor, transportation and other services furnished directly by these governments. The large amount of voluntary, nongovernmental efforts, characteristic of the UNICEF programs is not taken into account in determining the value of "local" contributions.

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#### UNITED NATIONS KOREAN RECONSTRUCTION AGENCY (UNKRA)

The United States took the lead in the establishment of the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA) by the United Nations General Assembly in 1950. As a target objective the Assembly authorized an initial program which called for a budget of \$250 million. The United States pledged \$162.5 million toward this program; an amount which was 65 percent of the total initial budget. The same necessity for United States leadership and assumption of a major portion of the financial burden remains now, and for the immediate future. This necessity arises from the following facts:

1. Only by such United States contributions can sufficient other contributions to finance a minimum UNKRA program be secured from all interested governments.
2. If the multilateral UNKRA program should not be financed, the United States may be faced with the alternative of paying 100 percent of a relief and rehabilitation program for economic assistance to Korea.
3. The Unified Command stresses its view that economic assistance to Korea from United States funds over and above the UNKRA program will be necessary to ward off that degree of economic collapse which would jeopardize the military position in Korea.
4. No saving of United States funds would result from reducing the United States contribution to UNKRA on the one hand, and simultaneously adding on the other hand the amount of such reduction to the contribution of United States funds made through the civil assistance program of the Unified Command.

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#### MULTILATERAL TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

##### *United Nations*

The U. N. expanded technical assistance program was established in June 1950, on the basis of a resolution approved by ECOSOC and the General Assembly in 1949. The purpose of the program is to provide technical assistance for the economic development of underdeveloped countries; the program is carried out by the U. N. and the specialized agencies, and is financed by voluntary contributions from 67 governments.

A total of \$20,070,200 was pledged by 55 governments at the first Technical Assistance Conference in June 1950, for the period July 1, 1950-December 31, 1951. The United States, in order to encourage maximum contributions from other governments, pledged 60 percent of total pledges. The United States contribution was \$12,007,500. For calendar year 1952, total pledges from 65 governments for the 12-month period amounted to \$18,795,355, with the United States pledge at \$11,400,000. For calendar 1953, total pledges from 67 governments increased to \$21,278,575, with the United States at \$12,767,145. (A part of this amount, i. e., \$4,595,812, is contingent on the appropriation of funds by Congress.)

The expanded technical assistance program is proving to be one of the major action programs of the United Nations and the specialized agencies in the economic field, and is enthusiastically received by the underdeveloped countries. While the United States contributes 60 percent of the special account of the United Nations, it should be pointed out that this is not 60 percent of the total cost of the program. Local cost contributions by recipient governments are estimated to be approximately one-half of the total cost of projects. An inestimable amount of good will has accrued to the United States as the result of its leadership in this international program.

#### *Organization of American States*

The technical cooperation program of the Organization of American States was established in 1951 following adoption of a resolution by the Inter-American Economic and Social Council. Its purpose is the development of the economies of the member states, in order to improve the standard of living of their peoples. It is financed by voluntary contributions from members of the OAS.

Funds in the amount of \$1,279,001 were pledged by 19 governments for calendar year 1951. Pledges of 18 governments for calendar year 1952 totaled \$1,199,397. Pledges for 1953 now total \$872,585 but additional pledges bringing the total to the level of 1951 and 1952 are expected. The United States has pledged \$1 million each year with the proviso that its contribution not exceed 70 percent of total contributions.

The Organization of American States technical cooperation program consists entirely of regional projects. It is directed to technical education and provides training, instruction, and technical advice at regional training centers and educational institutions. In addition to the costs borne by the special account, the host governments of the regional centers provide buildings, facilities, etc. estimated at more than half of the total cost of the projects.

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#### UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND WORKS AGENCY FOR PALESTINE REFUGEES

When the problem of providing relief for nearly 1 million Palestine refugees was brought before the General Assembly of the United Nations in the wake of Israeli-Arab hostilities in 1948, the United States explored the possibility of applying the regular United Nations contribution scale to this program. The cost of the relief program for 1 year was three-fourths of the regular United Nations budget. There was virtually no support for other than voluntary contributions since the application of the regular scale of contributions to the United Nations was far too burdensome for the majority of member countries whose sole interest was humanitarian. Moreover, the application of the regular United Nations scale would not have taken account of the important interests of the United States, the United Kingdom, and France in maintaining order and stability in this area during this critical period. When congressional consideration was given to a proposed United States contribution of \$16 million for the initial relief program, the suggestion was made on the floor of the House that the percentage of the United States contribution should not be more than the United States contribution to the regular budget of the United Nations. This proposal was not accepted.

In 1951 when the possibility of the acceptance of a reintegration program appeared to be politically feasible if adequately financed, a 3-year \$250 million reintegration and relief program was proposed by UNRWA and approved by the General Assembly January 26, 1952. In hearings on the proposed United States contribution to a forward looking program which would eventually make refugees self-supporting, Congressional committees were informed that it would be difficult if not impossible to finance a program of this magnitude unless the United States were prepared to contribute up to 70 percent of the total required. When Congress authorized and appropriated funds for the United States contribution for the fiscal years 1952 and 1953 it was done with the full knowledge that the United States contribution might reach this level.

Although 47 countries have contributed to this program, the contributions of most of them have been relatively small, consisting for the most part of goods or services rather than cash. The United Kingdom has been contributing at approximately a ratio of \$1 to every \$3 from the United States. The French have contributed between \$2 million and \$3 million per year regardless of the amount of the budget of UNRWA. The Soviet countries, whose partnership in this venture

would be of dubious value, have contributed nothing. A number of other countries have been unable to contribute. The British Dominions, Western European, Arab and Asiatic countries have contributed primarily on a humanitarian basis. This leaves only the United States, the United Kingdom, and France to finance the bulk of the program which is important to them not only from the humanitarian standpoint but also because of their political, strategic, and economic interests in the area.

The question has been raised as to whether this program should be undertaken by the United States alone. This possible alternative has been rejected because of the implication of United States responsibility for the problem and because United States interests in this program have been and can be adequately protected through the United Nations, which is the only suitable body to be seized with the problem. Just recently, the United States chiefs of mission in the area reiterated their view that the United Nations was the only appropriate body to handle this problem.

If the United States contribution to the Palestine refugee program were reduced substantially the consequences would be—

- (1) The abandonment of a program offering the refugees opportunities for self-support which is just getting under way, but which cannot move forward without an additional substantial United States contribution;

- (2) Abandonment, in the eyes of the Arab world, of our interest in the refugee problem and renewed pressure within the Arab States leading to unsettlement, confusion and violence;

- (3) Despair among the refugees who would be deprived of any real hope for a more normal life and who might well take action destructive to our interests in that area of the world.

Mr. MERROW. The subcommittee is adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 3:45 p. m. the subcommittee was adjourned, to reconvene at the call of the chairman.)



# INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS

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MONDAY, MARCH 1, 1954

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL  
ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:45 a. m., in room G-3, United States Capitol, Hon. Chester E. Merrow (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. MERROW. The subcommittee will be in order.

This is a meeting of the subcommittee of the Foreign Affairs Committee, on International Organizations and Movements. A study mission of the Foreign Affairs Committee has just issued a report on international organizations and movements, February 1 of this year, covering the specialized agencies of the U. N., and other international organizations whose headquarters are at Geneva; also, organizations that are set up for the purpose of bringing about the unification and integration of Western Europe.

This meeting, however, is called to hear statements with reference to the specialized agencies of the U. N., and the U. N. itself.

In the study mission's report, on page 227, we stated that during the early part of the second session—

It is the intention of the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements to afford private groups and individuals full and ample opportunity to present their views on the international organizations.

This actually is a continuation of the hearings begun by this subcommittee during the last session of Congress, on international organizations and movements.

We have with us this morning several witnesses, the first on the list being Mrs. Fay Chaires Edgar, representing the Daughters of the American Revolution. Mrs. Edgar.

## STATEMENT OF MRS. FAY CHAIRES EDGAR, MEMBER, VICTORY CHAPTER, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, OF THE NATIONAL SOCIETY, DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Mrs. EDGAR. Mr. Chairman, I wish to thank you for the privilege of being here this morning to give you this statement which we feel deeply concerns and is most important to our Republic.

UNESCO, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, one of the specialized agencies, is a subtle weapon of the internationalists for conquest by propaganda. Through brain washing of adults and children with world citizenship, they aim to

destroy patriotism, love of country, and develop the United Nations into a world-governing body. The UNESCOites deny this, but the following quotes prove their aim. Of course, they will say plaintively, "But you are quoting out of context." I challenge them that if a volume as long as the encyclopedia both preceded and followed the quotes, the context could not be changed.

Teaching world citizenship presumes and promotes world government. Under any form of world government, the Constitution of the United States would be destroyed. The 165 million Americans would be a hopeless, helpless minority in voting for representatives to a world-governing body against the dictated vote of the 800 million now under Communist control. International Communist troops would serve in the United States in the world government police force to enforce peace. There would be no right of secession. If we rebelled and civil war resulted, our own husbands and sons serving in the world government army could be commanded to kill their loved ones.

The people don't want world government. Twenty-one and one-half of the 23 States which had adopted resolutions for world government have rescinded them. The house, in Utah, rescinded, but since it was a special session, the senate had no time to act. The only resolution which still stands is in the State of Washington.

Book V: In the Classroom With the Child Under Thirteen, belittles patriotism which is induced by the "narrow family spirit of the parents." On page 54. The entire volume is devoted to clever methods for indoctrination with world citizenship. The teacher must correct the "errors of home training," and prepare children as young as 7 for a "world society." "It is most frequently in the family that the child is infected with nationalism."

Thus, if you teach your child to love his country, these experts seem to think you are infecting him with some dread disease. They continue, "Nationalism is the major obstacle to worldmindedness." Stalin said in his writings on the nationalist question that nationalism is the major obstacle to international communism. Let's have more nationalism, more patriotism, and more love of country.

Nehru certainly plans for India's welfare alone, and Churchill for every diplomatic move that will favor Britain. Have you ever heard either of these statesmen called nationalists or isolationists? No, the internationalists save that designation for American patriots. We patriots have a deep respect for statesmen who resolutely demand the best of every bargain for the people of their country. That's what America needs so desperately today—men of great valor who are proud to say, "My country," and lead us forward to independence again.

But listen, if you teach your child love of country, on page 55 the teacher is advised, "How can the parents be persuaded to adopt an attitude so different from the great majority of adults?" You see, they admit that the "great majority" of adults disagree with their plans to teach world citizenship. Then the teacher is told, "If the teacher can persuade the parent that the child's interest is at stake, the odds will be greatly in the teacher's favor." That is an open threat upon the welfare of the child and the authority of the parent.

The advice in the UNESCO booklets is compiled with the aid of delegates from Hungary, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Poland, all countries under Communist control.

There is no mention of God or divine guidance in any of the publications. Intelligent Americans know that the highest standard of living in the world, here in these United States, has been developed upon the basis of belief in God, love of country, respect for home and parents, and confidence in one's self. If our country is to survive, we must continue to teach these great truths to our children. Teach them courage, honor, and loyalty. Teach them not to be conquered by propaganda, for we are advised in the greatest book ever written, the Bible, in Corinthians II, "Be ye not unequally yoked with unbelievers \* \* \* come out from among them."

And that is what I have to say, Mr. Chairman. We firmly believe that the teaching of our children is far better for our own United States of America, under our flag, because I come in contact with those children each day, as well as their parents; sometimes 114 at a time, and I know from that experience. We are teaching them America first—loyalty to the flag that flies, and I think by doing that, they won't need UNESCO in any form, and I want to thank you.

Mr. MERROW. You would be for the elimination of UNESCO completely, I take it?

Mrs. EDGAR. Yes; I would, Mr. Chairman, in the way it is being used today, I definitely would.

Mr. MERROW. Would you be the same for the United Nations itself?

Mrs. EDGAR. Unless that could be worked definitely for the benefit of the United States first. We feel our first preservation of life is ourselves. You cannot be honest with anybody unless you are honest with yourself.

Mr. MERROW. You feel that UNESCO is teaching world government. I did not understand from the various publications, and so on, that it is teaching world government.

Mrs. EDGAR. Well, I believe it with all my heart. I believe there is every indication. I think in the things we meet daily that is the truth. I think you will find it among the spirit of your boys as I come in contact with them, too.

I would like to say, gentlemen and ladies, I am assistant curator for the Daughters of the American Revolution Museum, and therefore we have hundreds and hundreds of children coming before us each month, from all classes, from all walks of life, and from all ages, and that is what we are trying to do, to teach them the love of America first.

Mr. MERROW. Have you the quotes from the publications of UNESCO that show that they are teaching world government? I haven't seen them.

Mrs. EDGAR. I think we could show you some that could be interpreted as such very easily. We can take them from our National Defense Department.

Mr. MERROW. Many who have made the study of it don't come up with that conclusion, and I was just wondering how you got the conclusion. I think it would have to be pretty well documented. You feel this is so?

Mrs. EDGAR. That is right; and I would be very glad and very happy to do research in our files and give you plenty of evidence.

Mr. MERROW. You think you can establish that?

Mrs. EDGAR. I think that I can.

Mr. MERROW. Mrs. Bolton—

Mrs. BOLTON. I am very glad you went into that matter, Mr. Chairman, because we hear so much testimony on so many things. We have learned long since that whatever statements are made must be documented or we cannot give credit to them. We cannot go on the floor unless we have documentation, and unless we know what we are talking about. I think for that reason, if you will do that for us, I am sure the committee will welcome accurate information in substantiation.

When you used the word "they," who do you mean by "they"?

Here on the second page it says, "They admit that the great majority of adults disagree with their plans." Who do you mean by "they"? That is in the paragraph above the one you scratched out, about the middle of the paragraph.

Mrs. EDGAR. It was the book. It refers to page 55. The teacher was advised, "How can the parents be persuaded to adopt—"

Mrs. BOLTON. Do you mean the parents or the majority of adults?

Mrs. EDGAR. I would say those who had written in their book to this effect. Their speaking of "they" admits that the great majority of adults disagree with their plans on world citizenship. I would say it is leading definitely to more or less a communistic form of teaching.

Mrs. BOLTON. I just wanted to have it clear in the record.

Now, these books that you refer to are UNESCO textbooks?

Mrs. EDGAR. Yes; they are some of the books that are gotten out.

Mrs. BOLTON. Are they textbooks in schools?

Mrs. EDGAR. They are UNESCO booklets distributed to the schools.

Mrs. BOLTON. In what way?

Mrs. EDGAR. In teaching just this, world government. You will remember in the State of California, the women out there have taken them from the schools and not allowed them to be used in the schools.

Mrs. BOLTON. That, fortunately, is their right, isn't it?

Mrs. EDGAR. Indeed it is.

Mrs. BOLTON. I assume you are working with the schools themselves?

Mrs. EDGAR. Yes, we are.

Mrs. BOLTON. To eliminate such material?

Mrs. EDGAR. Yes, we are. Just a few minutes before I left my office, we had to turn down 30 in the high school in Hyattsville. We couldn't have them this morning or even on the 4th, because we are quite busy with our Continental Congress right now, but we will have them in the latter part of April.

Mrs. BOLTON. Then they will come in, and what do they do?

Mrs. EDGAR. We give them a lecture and give them the privilege—and I extend this invitation to each and every one in this room, that when you can touch the very pieces that our forefathers—the real forefathers that gave us this country—not under UNESCO, but under the flag of America, the United States used.

Mrs. BOLTON. You assume UNESCO is teaching world government, as a basis of your whole argument?

Mrs. EDGAR. I do.

Mrs. BOLTON. You feel that the United States Government is permitting that blindly?

Mrs. EDGAR. I would say yes, that they are really being led in that direction, not because they would deliberately do it, but possibly because of a lack of understanding.

Mrs. BOLTON. Of course, UNESCO originally got off on the wrong foot, and everybody had a right to question and demand certain eliminations.

I wasn't in on the special study committee, but I believe that committee found they were not at all of the opinion that the United States would go in for world government. I think that the heads of it today have an exceedingly different aspect of the world.

Mrs. EDGAR. I wouldn't doubt it, but don't you think they have gotten to the point, now, where they can't turn back?

Mrs. BOLTON. You can always turn back and you can always eliminate.

Mrs. EDGAR. Of course, that is possible, and that will be done.

Mrs. BOLTON. After all, there are some very good things in UNESCO.

Mrs. EDGAR. I wouldn't say that there aren't. As I have just repeated, if it was just used in the right direction.

Mrs. BOLTON. What you are really saying to us is that UNESCO, in itself, in its essential effort to bring nations together through understanding, would be a contribution to the world.

Mrs. EDGAR. A contribution is right. That applies to it very nicely. I think, and in a very loving way, but certainly not to involve the United States in any way, in any obligation that it might defend others when they have not given us any reason to take up such a thought as that. I would say, first and last, that the United States be absolutely for the United States and do what we can for other countries. We certainly have done and we are still doing things.

Mrs. BOLTON. The foreign policy of the United States is based on doing things that will strengthen America. It is based on that, and it is working at it all the time. We get it here all the time.

Mrs. EDGAR. I know you do.

Mrs. BOLTON. We know that the essence of all our conferences, all our meetings, all our endeavors, is to strengthen the United States. Partly, of course, because we know that if the United States weakens and falls, the whole world goes to pieces, because we are the keystone of the arch.

Mrs. EDGAR. That is the reason I want it kept at just that height.

Mrs. BOLTON. So do we.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MERROW. I think Mrs. Bolton put her hand on the important point.

I haven't seen these things in my study of UNESCO, and we will be pleased to have your documentation. UNESCO doesn't undertake these programs in countries unless asked. None of the specialized agencies go into a particular country unless they are asked for assistance and help in a technical manner. That is true of the whole group. Many of these publications that have been put out, as I understand it, are by seminars in the various member states of the organization.

Mrs. EDGAR. I would like to say in behalf of the Daughters of the American Revolution, remember it is first and last their one thought of America first, always.

Mr. MERROW. We certainly appreciate that.

Mr. LeCompte.

Mr. LeCOMPTE. I have no questions.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Bentley.

Mr. BENTLEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am sorry I was not here to hear your testimony, Mrs. Edgar.

On the question of pamphlets and documentation, the UNESCO people say what they are actually doing is to publish the results of seminars which may, of course, in some cases, have proponents of world government participating, but without any specific endorsement by the UNESCO organization, itself.

Do you know from your documentation whether that would be correct or not?

Mrs. EDGAR. I would have to look that up.

Mr. BENTLEY. I think it is appropriate that we are talking about these international organizations today, because as you know, we will be considering the State Department appropriations this week, including the question of contributions to international organizations.

I am wondering, Mrs. Edgar, if you would care to comment on the fact that in this budget, our contribution to UNESCO is up from last year by better than \$300,000, most of which is due to the fact that the next conference is going to be held this fall in Montevideo, which entails a tremendous amount of traveling expense in moving the Secretariat from Paris to Montevideo.

I wonder if you would have any comment on our being asked to put \$300,000 more than last year into UNESCO?

Mrs. EDGAR. Does that give us the privilege of fighting for America?

Mr. BENTLEY. We fought against moving the conference to Montevideo because of the expense we knew would be entailed and we were outvoted by other members.

Mrs. EDGAR. There you are. That answers the question.

Mr. BENTLEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, that is all I have.

Mr. MERROW. There are just 1 or 2 other things that I have in mind with regard to UNESCO.

You see, this is an organization to increase world understanding, and I think perhaps we all agree with the statement in the constitution of UNESCO, "since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that defenses of peace must be constructed." UNESCO has several programs such as fundamental education, and so on. Insofar as the organization is helping to combat illiteracy, I take it you would be in agreement with it?

Mrs. EDGAR. I would say so long as they taught the principles of the United States. If you make the conflicting statements in the teaching of world government, it would never do.

Mr. MERROW. Taking the world government issue—we don't want world government. Where half the world or maybe more, is illiterate, insofar as you have an international organization that teaches people to read and write, that would be acceptable, wouldn't it?

Mrs. EDGAR. Yes, that would, as I said, if they left anything pertaining to world government or communism out of it. That is the thing you will have to watch and be very careful about.

Mr. MERROW. As you know, the mission stated that we thought the organization should do much more to publicize the ideas and ideals of

the free world, and denounce the Communist ideology. You would be in agreement with that?

Mrs. EDGAR. I certainly would be for that.

Mr. MERROW. If the organization took a stand in this fight that is going on at the present time, then you would agree that it could make a contribution?

Mrs. EDGAR. Providing that would be very, very carefully censored, you might say, to be sure there was no loophole whatsoever, where communism could be for one instant spread throughout the teaching in these other countries, that they might get any information whatsoever that might lead them to think that through this movement of UNESCO, there might be any sense of communism.

Mr. MERROW. You probably have read the report that was made under the chairmanship of Mr. Salomon on this, haven't you?

Mrs. EDGAR. Yes.

Mr. MERROW. You evidently disagree with some of the conclusions in the Solomon report; is that correct? As I recall, it discussed the issue of world government and the issue of communism, and so on.

Mrs. EDGAR. I don't believe I could answer until I could go over it again.

Mr. MERROW. Well, we certainly appreciate your coming and giving us the benefit of your thinking on this. I think it is very important. This organization, dealing with ideas, has become the most controversial among the specialized agencies, but it seems to me that it could be, as you have said, made effective, if certain things were done.

We appreciate the fact that you are willing to document the assumptions upon which you proceed. We will be very happy to have the documentation.

Mrs. EDGAR. I will take it up with our national defense office.

Mrs. BOLTON. It is a pleasure to welcome another Daughter.

Mrs. EDGAR. It has been a pleasure to be here.

Mr. MERROW. Mrs. Austin Evans, American Association of University Women. You may proceed, Mrs. Evans.

#### STATEMENT OF MRS. AUSTIN EVANS, INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM COMMITTEES, AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN

Mrs. EVANS. I would like to introduce myself and my organization. My name is Mrs. Barbara Evans, and I serve as observer at the United Nations for the American Association of University Women.

In that capacity, I am charged with attending the sessions of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council, and the Commission on the Status of Women, and other United Nations meetings.

I am appearing before this subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee on behalf of the American Association of University Women's International Relations and Legislative Program Committees to tell you something about our association's interest in, study of, and work for the United Nations and its affiliated agencies.

The American Association of University Women has a membership of over 124,000 university-trained women and is organized into over 1,200 branches located in all 48 States, Alaska, Hawaii, and the District of Columbia. The association has a long record of study-action programs to promote increased international understanding.

Since the founding of the United Nations, American Association of University Women delegates at each biennial convention have voted overwhelmingly for support of the United Nations. The 1951 convention underscored this wholehearted support for the United Nations by voting not only in favor of effective participation in the United Nations, but also for strengthening of the United Nations and its affiliated agencies.

At our most recent convention, held in Minneapolis in June of 1953, American Association of University Women delegates reasserted the association's interest in and study of United Nations' affairs and in cooperating with United Nations agencies by adopting the following resolution:

Recognizing the responsibilities attached to the position of the United States as a great power, we reaffirm our faith in international cooperation as the best means for the preservation of the free world. We will support the United Nations and its affiliated agencies and will study ways of making their functioning more effective.

The delegates also adopted, unanimously, the following legislative item:

Support of measures for effective participation in and strengthening of the United Nations and its affiliated agencies.

The deep interest of the American Association of University Women in promoting the effectiveness of the United Nations is reflected in the association's activities related to the United Nations and affiliated agencies as follows:

(1) By maintaining an association observer at the United Nations, and association representatives on advisory groups such as the United States National Commission for UNESCO; United States National Committee for UNICEF; United States Advisory Commission for FAO; and various citizens groups concerned with improving the United Nations status in the public opinion of the United States.

(2) By launching yearlong study programs in various State divisions of the American Association of University Women, a review of which reveals careful analysis of attacks on the United Nations and suggested strategies to refute unwarranted attacks.

(3) By publishing factual information on the United Nations in American Association of University Women periodicals and reports, and by making available material printed by other organizations. A list of American Association of University Women articles and reports will be submitted.

(The material referred to is as follows:)

**PUBLICATIONS AND REPORTS ON THE UNITED NATIONS, PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN, 1953-54**

Articles appearing in the Journal of the American Association of University Women (published quarterly):

Column in each issue by the association's observer at the United Nations.

U. N.—Between Right and Left (editorial).

Hometown Diplomats (AAUW and exchange-of-persons programs).

A U. N. Body Comes of Age (report on the Commission on the Status of Women).

Can Human Rights Be Advanced by Covenants? (a pro-con presentation).

Topics covered in AAUW's General Director's Letter (published 3 times a year):

Organizing a UNESCO council.

Sponsoring community ambassadors.



The role of the United States in the U. N.

U. N. Charter revision.

Attacks upon the U. N.

Cooperation with UNICEF and with UNESCO through gift-coupon scheme.

Visiting the U. N.

Reports and pamphlets:

Revised (January 1953) edition of Frances McGillicuddy's Guide to the U. N.'s Specialized Agencies.

Amy Lamkin, AAUW and FAO.

Janet Robb, The Commission on the Status of Women: Session 1953.

Janet Robb, The Work of the Commission on the Status of Women.

Barbara Evans, A Summary of the Eighth General Assembly.

Mrs. EVANS. As an observer at the United Nations, I have listened to discussion through many sessions. It is apparent that the problems that have been brought to the United Nations are the problems that could be solved nowhere else. Yet many have been solved. The Organization had scarcely begun to function when the Government of Iran complained of Soviet troops in her territory. The troops were withdrawn.

The dispute between Indonesia and the Netherlands was settled and Indonesia is now an independent member of the United Nations. The dispute over Kashmir and the problem of Palestine and her neighbors have been held short of violence through negotiation and armistice commissions.

It is true that the United Nations is a forum—it is a valuable forum. Every state, no matter how small, knows its voice will be heard; it can bring its complaints and freely express its opinions. The United Nations has proved a useful forum for the United States. Here our delegation can publicly refute the charges of the Soviet Union and its satellites. This was very apparent during the last session of the General Assembly when Dr. Mayo presented the answers to the charges of Communist China that we had used germ warfare. Dr. Mayo presented the testimony of the returned fliers. He is a man of restraint and dignity. He approached the problem from the point of view of a physician, and his personality and his own reputation added great weight to the presentation of the United States side: it brought expressions of indignation and condemnation from the other members of the Committee where he spoke, and it left the Soviet Union in a very uncomfortable position.

At one of the very last meetings of the General Assembly, President Eisenhower, himself, appeared on the forum before the delegates and made his proposal there for the pooling of atomic materials for peaceful use. It seemed to me it was most effective, that here he could speak face to face with the delegates of the other nations, and that every member there recognized his great sincerity and his earnestness.

You will all recall that it was the immediate response of the whole world to what he said that forced the Soviet Union to agree to further explorations.

It seems to me they could not ignore this demonstration of world opinion.

When the report of the International Labor Organization on forced labor was presented in the Third Committee of the General Assembly, it again focused the attention of the whole world on the fact that the only forced labor which could be really so designated was behind the Iron Curtain. No carefully prepared analysis by American experts would ever have been received in the way that this report was received.

I have just come from listening to the sessions of the Trusteeship Council where the affairs of the trust territories were being discussed. Some of the African trust territories are well on their way to independence and to managing their own affairs. Mason Sears, for the United States, said what he heard in this session indicated that—

The time is nearly at hand when a large part of West Africa will have achieved self-determination.

A few days ago, the special representative of France, who submitted the report on French Togoland, was a young Togolese who acted as the special representative.

He answered most competently the many exacting, detailed questions put to him by members of the council. This demonstration of native participation by a young Togolese was warmly commended by the council. This story of progress is a result of agreements which the administering authorities have voluntarily made with the United Nations to hold the trust territories as their sacred trust. They have promised to develop free political institutions and give the inhabitants increasing shares in the government.

It could scarcely have been achieved so smoothly without the painstaking work done here in the United Nations by all the members of this council.

The United Nations is pledged to promote conditions of economic and social progress. I note from reading the report of this subcommittee that you are well aware of the objectives sought to be accomplished through the United Nations' technical assistance programs and the tremendous value of the exchange of skills between countries of the world. Our association warmly supports our own unilateral program, but the technical assistance program of the United Nations is a strong demonstration of the desire of all the member nations to help the underdeveloped countries toward greater production and a higher standard of living. To this program, they may all contribute, and even such states as Liberia and Thailand give what they can.

Help from the United Nations, itself, is more cordially received and carries with it no suspicion of special commitments. Through this program, a technician for a special job can be brought from a country whose economy is at a comparable stage of development to that of the country receiving help. He can understand the problem and offer suggestions for improvements that will not upset the social and economic situation of the receiving country. We believe that the Technical Assistance Board, which is composed of the heads of all the specialized agencies, is the most efficient body through which the programs of these agencies can be integrated so that work can be done on a combined basis wherever possible.

The United Nations is young and only beginning to find its way. The men who signed the Declaration of Independence knew it would take time for the differing States to be knit into a nation. Eight years is not long to achieve a working unity among 60 nations of different languages, different cultural backgrounds, and even different conceptions of law.

Considering this, the unity that has so far been achieved is astonishing.

The American Association of University Women urges continued support of the United Nations and its affiliated agencies. We believe

that international understanding and cooperation can best be achieved through this body.

Mr. MERROW. Thank you, Mrs. Evans.

Mrs. Bolton—

Mrs. BOLTON. I am particularly interested in your having been with the Trusteeship Council, because that was my job up there and I have been fascinated by several of the reports that have been sent me of what the council is doing. I think it is one of the very dramatic experiences that one can have, sitting there when the men from Togoland all come to testify, black as ink, some of them speaking the most beautiful French you ever heard. One has a different concept of the world after that, don't you think so?

Mrs. EVANS. Yes, I do.

Mrs. BOLTON. That in itself is a contribution to make to the people of this country and I hope that more and more people will go and sit in those committees and recognize the fact that it is a place where everybody comes and argues but at least we don't fight with guns.

I am wondering if I might ask you if you could send me your summary of the Eighth Assembly. I would appreciate having it.

Mrs. EVANS. I will be glad to send it to you. It gives me an opportunity to say how proud I am of Mrs. Bolton.

Mrs. BOLTON. Thank you.

I would like to bring out something, Mr. Chairman, that the consideration in the Eighth Assembly of the Puerto Rican situation was one which very greatly enhanced the strength of the United States in the whole area of the self-governing countries. Puerto Rico is self-governing and, of course, there were differences of opinion in some of the smaller countries and in the newly liberated countries. They seemed to feel that unless a country had become entirely independent, it was not self-governing. Our contention was that the people of Puerto Rico had voted freely, establishing their constitution which gave them complete self-government. They asked that the United States continue responsibility for their defense and their foreign policy. The results definitely refuted the charges the Russians had made against us as imperialists.

I realize I am not asking questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mrs. Evans, in your work with the specialized agencies, and in your observations there, have you felt, or have you contacted those who have felt, that the origin of the United Nations did not contemplate the present U. N. as it is constructed—that there was to be the FAO and this and that and the other, and that the political end of the world's problems was to be just another specialized agency, so to speak, just another part of world groupings working together? Did you come in contact with anything of that kind?

Mrs. EVANS. You know one of the things I have heard most as an observer is "I have been here since San Francisco." I have not been here since San Francisco and the background of that is not too well known to me.

Is it your feeling that they furnished the leadership for international organization? I think they have demonstrated that we can't get along without international organization in some of the decisions they have made.

Mrs. BOLTON. That is very interesting and very helpful, I think, to us, in the consideration we will have to be giving these things.

Mrs. EVANS. There is, for instance, transportation. That is one small example. We cannot live in this world without having organized rules over the world for things of that sort.

Mrs. BOLTON. Through such international organizations, we can stop diseases at their source and so forth.

Mrs. EVANS. Yes, and many things that would come into the United States if they weren't stopped at their source.

Mrs. BOLTON. Thank you very much.

Mr. MERROW. In that connection I might say that the mission concluded that probably the specialized agencies could function without the U. N., but the U. N., itself, couldn't function without the specialized agencies.

Do you want to comment on that, by any chance?

Mrs. EVANS. It seems to me that the central organization of the specialized agencies, as a part of the U. N. is a much more efficient organization than it would be if we let them all scatter and have each one act by itself.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Hays.

Mr. HAYS. Mrs. Evans, I notice in your statement about point 4, that your organization favors the unilateral approach to technical assistance problems and that you further believe strongly in the United Nations activity.

Now, you believe, in other words, that the two programs are quite compatible.

Mrs. EVANS. The point 4, as we call it, and the United Nations program. Yes, I do. They have a very adequate clearing in the field, itself, as to functions in relation to each other so that they don't overlap and don't duplicate their efforts.

Mr. HAYS. You are not advocating any change in the point 4 program?

Mrs. EVANS. No. We as a group are very much interested that the United States shall support both.

Mr. HAYS. Are you familiar enough with the problem of duplication to express any opinion as to whether or not progress is being made in more carefully defining the jurisdiction of these respective international agencies?

Mrs. EVANS. WHO and the Children's Fund, for instance, don't overlap.

I think there is an increasing effort to see that overlapping is eliminated. The statements that we get at the United Nations by the representatives of the technical assistance board indicate that one of their strongest efforts at the moment is directed toward having these things all coordinated. When the Children's Fund goes into the field, it is WHO that furnishes the doctors and they work right together on the same project.

Mr. HAYS. I have found in Central America some criticism of the program—not that there is any disposition to attack the goals or the general idea of help, but the feeling that there was some waste of funds in sending groups, one right after the other, or sometimes contemporaneously into a country. One editor coined the phrase, "international vagabonds." We ought to exert ourselves in the U. N.—in that direction to avoid that.

I think there is work to be done, don't you, in that field?

Mrs. EVANS. It seems to me we should do just as much as possible to see that that is avoided. Certainly we don't want the countries receiving assistance to feel that anything is being wasted. They need what they get so tremendously.

Mr. HAYS. Well, I offer that criticism myself, because as an enthusiastic supporter of point 4, I am eager that we not be vulnerable on any point.

Mrs. EVANS. Yes, I agree with you.

Mr. HAYS. Thank you for a good statement. It is very fine.

Mr. MERROW. I should say in connection with that point that the mission stated:

The study mission recommends that continued effort be made to support such multilateral programs and hope that the Foreign Operations Administration in administering our own technical assistance program will take cognizance of this recommendation, especially with regard to the elimination of possible duplication and overlapping or other conflicts.

That would help that.

Mr. LeCompte.

Mr. LeCOMPTE. No questions.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Bentley.

Mr. BENTLEY. Mrs. Evans, would you regard the U. N. as strengthened if the Communist members were expelled or otherwise eliminated from it?

Mrs. EVANS. No, I think it would be very much weakened. It would be more pleasant, but would it be as effective? In other words, how are we going to have relationships over the world and free discussion unless everybody is there?

Mr. LeCOMPTE. There are a good many countries not represented in the U. N. that have been vetoed from belonging.

Would you be in favor of adjusting the charter to eliminate membership veto?

Mrs. EVANS. The veto is a sign of disagreement. If we cannot agree, we cannot accomplish anything, anyway. I must speak for myself and not the association.

There have been efforts to get around the difficulties in the charter. If the United Nations really made up its mind, its membership, as to what it wanted, it could get around the membership difficulty, too.

Mr. BENTLEY. Well, I don't know. After all, there are many countries who have applied for membership and have been endorsed by an overwhelming majority of the members but the Soviet bloc insists on exercising the big power veto when I can see no reason for it. You say if we want to make up our minds to get agreement, we can do it, but in many cases I am afraid that would just mean agreeing with whatever the Soviets want, wouldn't it?

Mrs. EVANS. Not necessarily. There have been ways in which the other countries have been able to work out certain problems in which the Soviet disagreed, with regard to a peace resolution and where certain decisions were thrown into the General Assembly and taken out of the Security Council.

Mr. BENTLEY. Would you say our position in the U. N. ought to be changed if, in spite of our opposition, the Red Chinese are admitted?

Mrs. EVANS. Again, I must say whatever I answered would be my personal opinion. I can't see that the position of the United States, if

it is to hold its leadership and act always from the highest motives, would be hurt by having Communist China represented there.

Mr. BENTLEY. That is your personal opinion?

Mrs. EVANS. I feel that the United Nations could go on—that is what you meant, isn't it—and that we could go on with our membership. I am not advocating that it be admitted but if it were admitted, I think the United Nations would not be destroyed for that reason.

Mr. BENTLEY. Do you by any chance know if the association is going to make recommendations with respect to a charter revision?

Mrs. EVANS. The association has no recommendations at this time but will consider any suggested changes.

Mr. BENTLEY. Thank you very much.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Chairman, may I have just one other word: In my experience in the 3 months that I was at the U. N., I was very much interested in what seemed to be happening. Some of the smaller nations expressed it—and several larger ones—newly freed and developing their own methods, they rather ganged up against the United States. If the veto is done away with, there is no recourse for the United States against the majority vote and we could be voted right out.

Mr. BENTLEY. I was only referring to membership, of course.

For example, such matters as sending troops abroad would be different. I was speaking with regard to membership only, Mrs. Bolton.

Mr. MERROW. Mrs. Evans, on page 2 of your statement you have said that—

The American Association of University Women in promoting the effectiveness of the United Nations reflected in the association activities relative to the U. N., affiliated agencies as follows.

I am particularly interested in No. 2:

By launching a year-long study program in various State divisions of the American Association of University Women, a review of which reveals careful analysis of attacks on the United Nations and suggested strategies to refute unwarranted attacks.

What is the status of that study, at the moment? Is that proceeding, now?

Mrs. EVANS. The States that are doing that are doing it this year, I believe.

The association has a kit which it sends out. We don't as an association, tell our groups what to do. They choose. But the association has furnished a kit which contains the pros and cons of the United Nations and that is used as a basis of study.

Mr. MERROW. Does that contain the pros and cons of the specialized agencies?

Mrs. EVANS. We have had the pros and cons of the human rights covenants. Are you speaking of UNESCO?

Mr. MERROW. Yes, and the others, also.

What I want to get at is, when will the results of this study be available?

Mrs. EVANS. They will be available in the reports at the end of the year, which come in in about May or June.

Mr. MERROW. I think the members will agree with me, that what the subcommittee is interested in is to get an evaluation of these attacks as you have put it here, and perhaps even go a bit further. Those criticisms that are warranted, are you going to deal with those, too,

and make suggestions for changes that might be brought about in the specialized agencies and the U. N.?

In other words, I think it is splendid to make a study, because many of these attacks in my opinion are unwarranted but at the same time, there is a field of criticism. Probably many changes ought to be made. I wondered if your organization was going to come up with a program, or with suggestions at that time.

Mrs. EVANS. With constructive suggestions on how wrong everyone else is?

Mr. MERROW. Well, both things, I am thinking of.

#### STATEMENT OF MRS. LOUELLA MILLER BERG, LEGISLATIVE ASSOCIATE, AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN

Mrs. BERG. We have attempted to do that, first, in the pro-con statement carried in our most recent journal. We have one person presenting the side for the human covenants and another the case against, no decisions have been made.

Now, on the attack, specifically, various of the State divisions will undertake to gather together the attacks and then to evaluate such attacks, whether they are warranted or unwarranted, and if unwarranted, how best to deal with them.

Mr. MERROW. I think it would be very valuable if we could have something like that presented to the subcommittee. That is what I am trying to get at, and I think it is well that that study be made.

I was wondering if perhaps you would be able to pull that together and at some later date give us the benefit of your work on it.

Mrs. BERG. We shall be very pleased to do that. One analysis is completed at this time by one State division but not by others.

Mrs. EVANS. Mrs. Berg, who is backing me up, is our legislative representative.

Mr. MERROW. Thank you very much, Mrs. Evans.

Next is Mrs. Madalen Dingley Leetch, the American Coalition, Washington, D. C. Mrs. Leetch is a member of the executive committee.

You may proceed, Mrs. Leetch.

#### STATEMENT OF MRS. MADALEN DINGLEY LEETCH, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, AMERICAN COALITION, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mrs. LEETCH. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, my name is Madalen Dingley Leetch, resident of Washington, D. C., voter in Michigan. I am executive secretary of the American Coalition of about 100 civic, fraternal and patriotic organizations. I am also legislative chairman for the National Society of New England Women and the National Society Women Descendants of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. I bring you their resolutions which speak for themselves. My remarks are my own.

I think there is a basic difference of philosophy in all these things, Mr. Chairman. The basic issue is between internationalism and nationalism, and nationalism must survive or we will have no country.

There are two members of this committee at least who are sponsors of world government resolutions. I think my following remarks here will perhaps not meet with favorable consideration by them because they are of the school of thought that believes that we must have world government. We are of the basic school of philosophy that

believes it will swallow up the United States of America and make of us a department of a world Socialist-Communist State.

Your report of the Special Study Mission on International Organizations and Movements is informative and disturbing. The world-wide bureaucracy tentacles of the octopus United Nations and its specialized agencies, commissions, subcommissions, committees and subcommittees surpasses belief. It could go on indefinitely.

The time is coming, gentlemen, when you either sacrifice this Republic or else you withdraw your tentacles for the defense of this continent. The day is here for an accounting on a financial basis of money spent and benefit received.

The American people don't know exactly the extent to which they have been committed, but let me assure you the little man in the street realizes where his money is going and for what little good result.

Over a year ago the American people voted a change. We had a practical demonstration of the cost of entangling alliances. The United States contribution to the U. N. and its agencies, about one-third of \$380 million a year, ain't hay to the American taxpayers. In addition the U. N. war cost 25,000 American lives and about \$5 billion a year for 3 years; the United States carries the overwhelming burden of all costs.

Now, of course, the increasing cost of veterans' benefits is something some people don't think about that will be saddled on us for years in this country.

We are sick and tired of being played for suckers—tired of high taxes—the direct result of wars and foreign spending from lend-lease to the Economic Cooperation Administration—each having its own date limit—but always continued on some pretext or other under another name—for which vast expenditure we have neither peace nor security. We are not willing to bankrupt America to bankroll the world. We don't like the idea of our sons preserving the real estate of weak allies who drag their feet in their own defense while trading with the enemy.

The direction is still toward one Socialist-Communist world. It has not been changed by this administration. It is being aided—spearheaded—by the use of capitalist dollars to bring about the extinction of America, the goose that laid the golden eggs.

Could the cleverly contrived double-talk of the U. N. Charter, drafted by Alger Hiss, Leo Pasvolksky, Harry Dexter White, Gromyko, and others have planned it so?

In spite of the U. N. Charter's pledge not to intervene in matters within the "domestic jurisdiction of any state," its economic and social councils went to work to draft innumerable treaties and conventions to revamp the entire world in the Socialist pattern.

The Communist Manifesto says:

In short Communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things.

Point 4 appears to be right out of the Stalin book, *Marxism and the National Question*, International Publishers, pages 115-116:

The fourth factor—

which we call point 4, you see—

The fourth factor is that a new element has been introduced into the national question—the element of real \* \* \* equalization of nations—helping and en-



couraging the backward nations to raise themselves to the cultural and economic level of the more advanced nations—as one of the conditions necessary for securing fraternal cooperation between the toiling masses of the various nationalities \* \* \*. Unless such aid is forthcoming it will be impossible to bring about the peaceful coexistence and fraternal collaboration of the toilers of the various nations and peoples within a single world economic system that are so essential for the final triumph of socialism.

That is the socialism proclaimed by the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels to be the pocket edition of communism. It is indeed the vestibule to communism.

We have the testimony of Dr. Korowicz of Communist Poland to warn us that Communists regard the United Nations as their “most important platform” for spreading subversive propaganda to the free world. Dr. Korowicz states the Soviet master plan now recognizes war is not necessary, nor even the best way to achieve their world conquest. That the U. N. provides communism with a transmission belt for propaganda designed to operate through culture and such peaceful means to break down the economic and political foundations of the world still outside of the Soviet control. The timetable is a generation. The joker in the structure of the U. N. lies in the fact that, since Communist countries are members on equal footing with the other member nations, they expect and receive equal space and publicity for their ideologies on a worldwide scale through U. N. agencies. This arrangement gives them a vast reach which they might not otherwise get through their own individual efforts.

The debate on the Bricker amendment in the Senate has served a great purpose in alerting our people to the dangers of treaty law. There are said to be more than 200 treaties pending in the U. N. dealing with every subject formerly considered of purely domestic concern, such as motherhood, babies, hours of work and leisure, race relations, and the like to be regulated on a worldwide basis. According to testimony, the International Labor Organization has 90 of these pending. Through the loophole of article VI of the United States Constitution and the treaty status afforded the U. N. Charter and decisions of two state courts and the dissenting opinion in the Steel Seizure case, establishing the precedent that the U. N. Charter is the “supreme law of the land”—the danger is very real that world government may be brought about through the back door without the American people having anything to say about it. The hearings of the Senate Subcommittee of the Judiciary on Senate Joint Resolution 1, Treaties and Executive Agreements, 83d Congress, February to April 1953, are informative on this subject.

The United Nations Secretariat requires an oath of allegiance to it, excluding national allegiance. The Administrative Tribunal of the U. N. has required the suspect fifth amendment American employees to be reinstated with back pay and indemnities. It is an outrage against the host country whose leniency permits extraterritorial privileges to known Communists and Socialists alike.

I commend to your attention the booklet, U. N. Judgment Day, by Alice Widener. It is documentation on that subject.

The story of UNESCO has been documented before the McCarran Senate Appropriations Committee in the 82d Congress, 1952. In addition to its known efforts for world mindedness and world organization and citizenship, it has become uranium and fissionable material minded. On the agenda for UNESCO's convention March 26, 1947,

it was proposed to discuss the extension of peace through the means of the atom bomb. At UNESCO's instigation a European Institute of Nuclear Physics will be set up during the next year. It is now proposed that the United States share atomic secrets with the United Nations through an international atomic energy agency. This would include about the only group interested in the destruction of our Government.

How ingenious but naive.

The charter advises that membership in the U. N. is open to all peace-loving states and then confers on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of this international peace. It is this Council that determines threats to the peace and decides what measures shall be taken. These measures may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communications and the severance of diplomatic relations. Should these prove inadequate, the Security Council may take such action by air, sea, or land force as may be necessary to maintain peace; such action may include blockade by sea, air, or land forces. On its call Armed Forces, assistance and facilities, including rights of passage necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace, are arranged. This is from the peace-loving U. N. Charter.

When Red China is finally seated in the Security Council, the balance of power will become "collective security" against the United States, the world's richest prize. Already Nationalist China has been bypassed in the forthcoming Geneva conference which will seat Red China as an equal at the conference table.

The subcommittee might be interested in this photostatic copy of a speech by C. A. Hathaway, editor of the Daily Worker, in 1937, entitled "Collective Security—The Road to Peace." "Collective security" was a term originated by Maxim Litvinov before the United Nations, and many other phrases such as "peace is indivisible" were taken up by Secretary Acheson and used in his statements.

You will find here the type of foreign policy adopted by the United States for its so-called world security and peace—approved by the Communists.

Mr. Chairman, UNESCO is alive with "experts." Who are they? We think the world would be better off with fewer Ph. D.'s and with more persons of practical experience who know something about the difficulties of meeting a payroll.

Why do these people advise you that "multilateral aid" is better than "bilateral" assistance? What are they scared of? Why, their jobs, of course. This is one of the evils of so vast a bureaucracy.

Many Americans believe there is no need of the expensive facade of the U. N. in order to carry out world-uplift programs if desired. There is nothing the United Nations is doing in that department that could not be done better and cheaper if negotiated bilaterally in a thus-restricted area. The United States could protect herself and her interests as she cannot when she is perhaps one twenty-fifth of a negotiation in which political considerations and whims always play a paramount part. Thus, we have negotiations signed, but often never ratified. But aid goes to those who have not ratified and who are in arrears anyway.

EDC is a classic example of the political considerations that play a paramount part in any negotiations, and it will always be so, for the interests of the various nations are so divergent. They are not parallel as it sometimes seems to be assumed. That is why the proceedings are stalled now over the European Defense Community.

On page 82 of the report you have listed books, "for the cultured public, for secondary schools, and universities and written by distinguished authors of international repute," offered by UNESCO. I have here a review of these for the record, if it will be helpful to the committee.

The first is *Race and Psychology* by Otto Klineberg, professor of psychology, Columbia University, New York. Dr. Klineberg has a long record of Communist-front affiliations in congressional reports; is listed in appendix IX as defending the Communist Party in the *Daily Worker*, et cetera.

The *Roots of Prejudice*, by Arnold Rose, professor of sociology, University of Minnesota; *Race and Biology*, by L. C. Dunn, of Columbia University, New York; *Race and Culture*, by Michael Leiris of *Musee de l'Homme*, Paris; *Racial Myths*, by Juan Comas, professor of Mexican School of Anthropology. This series is a calculated affront to American society and the Anglo-Saxon people in particular. It includes every Communist cliché on the downtrodden proletariat, oppressed colonials, underprivileged "workers," and malicious, mischievous distortions on almost every page. It is a further insult inasmuch as the American taxpayer pays the greater proportion of the expense incident to the United Nations and it may well be exceedingly dangerous to our national reputation and national influence throughout the rest of the world where it is sold and distributed through the 49 UNESCO sales agents.

We have no confidence in the proposed UNESCO venture to rewrite and standardize textbooks and histories of the world. Many patriotic societies have asked that UNESCO teaching materials be removed from the schools and, in some places, they have been when alert parents vigorously protested to local school boards.

We learned from your report that "every school in Panama now has a radio receiving set and next year every school will be provided with a motion-picture projector." Do you know of any American schools with these luxuries? We can't get plaster repaired on the walls of the schools of the city of Washington, D. C.

We find it hard to believe that a "UNESCO project" has "completely changed the psychology" or lessened the "false hope" of the poor Arabs to return to their homes from which they were ousted by the peace-loving United Nations, thus producing a first-class war.

We were intrigued that FAO and WHO are concerned that "population is decreasing in India"—of all places—and they are setting about to increase it. The famine will be bigger and better and the United States will probably send gift wheat to feed them, unless Turkey—under FAO and point 4—now exporting wheat for the first time in her history—should be called upon to supply it.

Your report mentions the "new strains of poliomyelitis" that have been introduced into the United States by the "return of troops from tropical regions as the cause of serious outbreaks in the United States." This is part of America's dividend on her investment in self-appointed world leadership and intermeddling.

Much of the UNICEF aid goes to Iron Curtain countries direct. We have supplied as much as 72 percent in addition to the materials, including raw cotton from which nitrocellulose for gunpowder is made. We, through UNICEF, built three \$250,000 milk-processing plants in Poland, provided thousands of layettes and medical supplies in order to help raise Polish children to healthy maturity, the better able to carry a gun against our 18-year-olds in Europe should war be thrust upon us. If this makes sense to you, gentlemen, it does not to me.

GATT is the international agency concerned with lowering United States tariffs and is the economic planning department of the world order. They would remove the degree of independence and self-sufficiency the United States enjoys—although the lowest tariff nation—for one economic world.

We suggested before a Subcommittee on Appropriations of the Senate July 27, 1951, that U. N. agencies be removed from the United States State Department and placed under the legislative branch of the Government, where they would have to justify their expenditures. The Department of State would then be released to function in the interests of the United States of America and not, as now, as an agent of the United Nations.

Is it not still possible that we can pick up the thread dropped in 1917 and go forward in friendly cooperation with all nations and give up these costly and unprofitable entangling alliances which the Founding Fathers warned against and which modern experience have proved a failure?

"The saddest epitaph which can be carved in memory of a vanished liberty is that it was lost because its possessors failed to stretch forth a saving hand while yet there was time," wrote Mr. Justice Sutherland.

We haven't much time, gentlemen. We think the time is here when you will either sacrifice this Republic—as we said in the beginning—or you will prepare to defend this continent.

Mr. MERROW. Thank you, Mrs. Leetch.

Do I take it from what you have said that you and your organization are opposed to the United Nations and its specialized agencies and feel that we shouldn't belong to any of them?

Mrs. LEETCH. Mr. Chairman, I have here and was going to put into the record their resolution. If you wish me to read them I will. I will read the "Resolved" and offer the entire documents for the record.

*Resolved, (a) That the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies, in annual convention assembled, affirms its support of the effort to insure by constitutional amendment that no treaty or international agreement shall infringe on the rights and liberties contained in our Bill of Rights, including those reserved by it to the States or the people; (b) that no executive agreement or understanding, formal or informal, shall take effect until promulgated by Presidential proclamation or communication to Congress, and shall not become effective as part of the internal law of the United States until implemented by an act of Congress; (c) that we urge upon our representatives in the Congress and in the United Nations to prevent any amendments to the structure or covenant of the United Nations which shall in any way affect the Government or independence of the United States or the liberties contained in our Constitution or laws, or shall subject our country or its citizens to any supergovernment of whatever form, or subject its citizens to trial by any tribunal not established by the laws of the United States or of one of its States, or where the fundamental rights established by our laws for an accused person do not exist; (d) that we appeal to Congress to withhold appropriations for any agency, international or foreign, which teaches, supports, or inculcates an ideology contrary to the ideals of true,*

sincere, and unhyphenated Americanism, and to forbid the display in schools, churches, or other public places of the flag of any government or institution which does not admit the supremacy within this country of the Constitution and Government of the United States over any other sovereignty whatsoever

Mr. MERROW. Do you advocate doing away with these special organizations?

Mrs. LEETCH. They have not so resolved. We have resolved in the National Society of New England Women that unless the United Nations lived up to what everyone supposed at the time the United Nations was ratified, it really meant, and did not intervene in the domestic affairs of the several countries, that in this case, they would then recommend that this country withdraw, unless they lived up to what was assumed to be the original declaration.

Mr. MERROW. These specialized agencies don't work in any country unless they are requested to do so.

Mrs. LEETCH. Well, I don't know the answer to that, Mr. Chairman. I suppose they work in any country where we are willing to spend our dollars and expend materials. I suppose they would be glad to have it spent on them. I can't imagine they wouldn't.

Mr. MERROW. But the budgets of the specialized agencies are very small and from the statement here, I would think, if I interpreted it correctly, that you would be opposed to the work that FAO, and WHO, and the rest are doing.

Mrs. LEETCH. I would like to do it directly, bilaterally, so that the interests in this country could be protected in so doing.

Mr. MERROW. Doing it bilaterally costs us much more money than we are spending on any of the specialized agencies. We have a large bilateral program, but I just wanted to be clear whether there was complete opposition to the UN and all of its agencies and a feeling that international organizations are no good.

Mrs. LEETCH. I think international entangling alliances that bind us as this one is binding us, are certainly no good for America. We are going to have to choose sooner or later, and the time is just about here. They are swallowing us. We have never been more than 61½ percent of the world's population. In any of these international entangling alliances where there is a permanent commitment—we are always outnumbered and outvoted and always will be.

Mr. MERROW. Well, you say we have asked for world leadership. I thought world leadership had been thrust upon us.

Mrs. LEETCH. I said it was self-appointed.

Mr. MERROW. You said it was self-appointed world leadership.

Mrs. LEETCH. Well, the Fates didn't put it upon us, did they. Well, we assumed it and we sure made a mess of it, so far.

Mr. MERROW. Well, I don't know that I can agree that we have made a mess of it.

Mrs. LEETCH. You couldn't?

Mr. MERROW. But it would appear to me that we are in a position where we possibly can't escape our responsibility as the leader of the free world.

Mrs. LEETCH. I know that some Members of our Congress have been extremely critical of these programs—Members who have been over there, and also Members of the Senate have been extremely critical and have asked where this spending is going to stop, how far can 61½ percent of the world's population carry the rest of the world on their back,

and raise them to the cultural level of ourselves, which is an impossibility. We are going down to their lack of culture.

Mr. MERROW. Mrs. Bolton—

Mrs. BOLTON. Thank you very much. It is very interesting to have so clearly expressed testimony.

On page 3 you say that China has been bypassed. It has been made exceedingly clear that the people to be present at the Geneva Conference are the people who fought in Korea and the Nationalist Government did not fight in Korea.

Mrs. LEETCH. Mrs. Bolton, oh gracious, I think that is such a deadly equivocation. To bypass the United Nations.

Mrs. BOLTON. We are not bypassing the United Nations.

Mrs. LEETCH. Well, we say we are not going to seat Red China in the Security Council now, so we form another council outside of the United Nations to let them in.

Mrs. BOLTON. It is not a council.

Mrs. LEETCH. Well, it is a conference.

Mrs. BOLTON. It is a meeting of the people who fought in Korea.

Mrs. LEETCH. And they bamboo-speared our boys to death and now we seek them and sit down with them as our equals at a conference table and I say it is dreadful. Dreadful. We are not commanded to be brothers to those people, Mrs. Bolton. They are unredeemed. They are not in Christ's Church of the Redeemed at all. They are infidels. The worst barbarians of the world. We are not commanded by any brotherly love talk to take those people to our bosom. We are going to be outsmarted at these conference tables, you will see if we are not. And eventually I would wager you that we would seat Red China in the United Nations.

Mrs. BOLTON. I think you have answered Mr. Merrow's question very clearly that you are very much against this whole international setup.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mrs. LEETCH. I sure am.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Hays—

Mr. HAYS. Mrs. Leetch, on page 1 do you intend to charge that point 4 was inspired by the Communists?

Mrs. LEETCH. I gave you the record, Mr. Hays. It is out of the Stalin book. It speaks for itself, I think. I will be glad to supply the book to you, if you would like to have it.

Mr. HAYS. That is your purpose, then, in making reference to the fourth factor mentioned in Stalin's book?

Mrs. LEETCH. I found it extremely interesting that Stalin's fourth factor was, "Aid to the backward countries, for the triumph of socialism," which we call point 4.

Mr. HAYS. Do you know what point 6 is in Mr. Stalin's book?

Mrs. LEETCH. No.

Mr. HAYS. Do you know that point 6 in Mr. Eisenhower's inaugural message was the point 4 of the previous administration?

Mrs. LEETCH. It could be. You are undoubtedly correct.

Mr. HAYS. Then, is there any parallel? Do you feel that is good logic to suggest that because—

Mrs. LEETCH. I just found it interesting. I don't suggest anything.

Mr. HAYS. You don't suggest, then, that point 4 was inspired by the Communists?

Mrs. LEETCH. I think it is a purpose of the Communists to bring about world socialism, somehow, as the vestibule to communism and in their book obviously they think that aid to the backward countries will help to bring that about.

Mr. HAYS. You mean, then, if you find us agreeing with the Communists or they agreeing with us that we are immediately to abandon that position and take exactly the opposite?

Mrs. LEETCH. I have already told you that I thought I found it very interesting. You can put your own interpretation on it, Mr. Hays. I am giving you the facts. The rest of it would be speculation, wouldn't it, in the field of speculation and I am merely dealing with the facts.

Mr. HAYS. You feel, then, that both administrations, the Democratic administration that preceded it and the present administration that confirms it, is following the Communist line in promoting technical assistance? I just want to know what you believe about technical assistance.

Mrs. LEETCH. I feel that technical assistance is going to wreck this country if it is carried to its ultimate which is to raise the living standards in the backward countries to the level of this one because it is going to drag us down. We can't raise them—Do you think so?

Mr. HAYS. I am just interested in getting your view. You are opposed to it because it will bankrupt us. I asked if you opposed it because it was communistic. Now what is the basis of your opposition?

Mrs. LEETCH. If we are bankrupt, Mr. Hays, what difference does it make? The people who drop a bomb on us or the people who sell us out from within, the net result is the same—the loss of this Republic as we have known it.

In my opinion—nobody asked my opinion, but that is my opinion.

Mr. HAYS. Well, I am seeking it. You have been very frank with us, and with the chairman.

Mrs. LEETCH. What I think is purely speculation. I don't know. But I would say that 6.5 percent of the world's population could not successfully maintain their own standard of living and raise the rest of the world's population to our level. Do you think so?

Mr. HAYS. Well, I think it is very much in this Nation's interest to raise standards of living everywhere. I don't think it would be to our interest, since you have asked my opinion, to bankrupt ourselves in doing it, because the worst thing that would happen to the world would be for us to exhaust ourselves, but that, of course, is a collateral point.

Mrs. LEETCH. Where would we end, then?

Mr. HAYS. I am trying to get at your point in bringing in the Stalin reference.

I just wanted to know if there is a group in America that feels that point 4 is communistic. That is my purpose. Now, if you think it is just a coincidence that point 4 in Mr. Truman's 1949 address happens to be point 4 in Stalin's book, if that is just a coincidence, let it be recorded as a coincidence. I am sure you don't want to be unfair to either the present administration or the previous one, both of which promote point 4, by charging that it is communistic, that is all.

Mrs. LEETCH. Well, it is socialistic. I will say that it is socialistic.

Mr. HAYS. Do you happen to know what it costs us to do the job in point 4?

Mrs. LEETCH. That is X number of dollars. That is this gentleman's department. He knows.

Mr. HAYS. You have charged that it is bankrupting us.

Mrs. LEETCH. Well, I said it could go on indefinitely. Where is the end?

Mr. HAYS. You are not charging, then, that its present tempo is bankrupting us. It is only because of what it might lead to.

Mrs. LEETCH. Mr. Hays, that too is speculation. I would say that it is proposed to raise the debt ceiling of this country to \$270 billion, which could mean \$90 million more of checkbook money which we can spread all over the world. We will be spending \$1 for a ham sandwich and mustard extra at home.

Mr. HAYS. Do you have any figures to refute the statement of Mr. Lodge that it costs us 16 cents per capita a year to be in the United Nations?

Mrs. LEETCH. Perhaps he doesn't include the specialized agencies and our point 4 and the other things that we do.

Mr. HAYS. If he includes those, then, the figures are shown to be 71 cents. Do you have any figures to refute that?

Mrs. LEETCH. I don't have any figures at all to refute anything. I wouldn't dream of even trying to refute Mr. Lodge.

Mr. HAYS. Do you have any figures to raise any question as to Mr. Henry Bennett's statement that if we did this job around the globe in point 4, it would be about 1 day's cost of our present armament expense?

Mrs. LEETCH. I have no figures to refute it at all. I am merely one of the little people of this country, Mr. Hays—well, I will let another witness answer this. I am among the little people of this country who don't like what they see and do not think what we are doing is benefiting this country, that it is the reverse.

Again, I don't think we are winning friends and influencing people. They don't like us for doing this sort of thing.

Mr. HAYS. I had two purposes in asking you these questions, one to invite you to comment on this statistic as to Stalin, because I think it is important that we avoid confusing point 4 with communistic goals. I feel strongly on that score, and I wanted to pursue that thought.

My second point was—and it is still related to technical assistance—was to raise questions about it from the idealistic or Christian standpoint, to use your phrase, because it seems to me this is the one outlet, and here I am expressing my own viewpoint, to draw groups like your own, that of a religious tradition, into something that could unify our world.

Mrs. LEETCH. What is your question?

Mr. HAYS. My question is, do you feel that point 4, if it isn't communistic, is un-Christian? You made some reference to the people living outside the Church of Christ.

Mrs. LEETCH. I mean the great distinction between what the United States chooses to do to help other people. This has been a country that always lent a helping hand to other people, you know that better than I do. We have never been isolationists in any sense. We have



maintained diplomatic relations and our travelers have sailed the seven seas and so on. We have helped downtrodden people but I mean these permanent, entangling alliances where we have a voice of one twenty-fifth, perhaps, or whatever it would be of a group, and then we are subject to the political considerations and the whims of the various countries which confound, in many cases, the purpose of the whole thing.

I don't feel that it is winning friends and influencing people. I think much of it has been misplaced and even not wanted.

We sent tractors to Holland, and that sort of thing that they couldn't use. I think the report indicates there is overlapping and duplication, because they say the job is so big. It is enormous. It is incredible to me how big it has become.

On the religious connotation, it seems to me that Christians, as we like to call ourselves, are glad and willing to help the other fellow and we have always done it and I am afraid in some instances we have been taken for a ride for our pains but I do not feel we are commanded to be brothers with these people who would destroy us. The Bible—in fact St. Paul says:

Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers: for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness?

And what concord hath Christ with Belial? or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel?

And what agreement hath the temple of God with idols? for ye are the temple of the living God; as God hath said, I will dwell in them, and walk in them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people.

Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you—

And, parenthetically, if you obey my commandment then I will be a Father, and so forth.

And will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty.

Mr. HAYS. You have been very frank with the subcommittee and I didn't mean to embarrass you at all.

Mrs. LEETCH. You didn't embarrass me a bit. Who is embarrassed?

Mr. HAYS. Well, I am glad I didn't, but I was pursuing this reference to religious faith. That ordinarily is outside the pale of our questions so you will pardon me if I step outside strictly governmental policy. It seems to me that our Nation with Judaic-Christian culture, to use a broader phrase, does have some obligation to help other peoples. I would hope your group would at least be openminded on point 4.

Mrs. LEETCH. Mr. Hays, speaking for myself personally I would be much more openminded on point 4 than I would on the United Nations agencies which duplicate point 4, which means that we also contribute to WHO and FAO plus what we do in point 4. We get it going and coming.

Mr. HAYS. I appreciate your frankness. You have given us a full statement.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. LeCompte—

Mr. Lecompte. I have no questions at this time.

Mr. MERROW. I also think with regard to the specialized agencies, FAO dealing with increasing nutrition, also the World Health Organ-

ization that seeks to combat disease and so on, perhaps we would do well to keep in mind also that "inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me." And insofar as we can help these people, we have an obligation.

On page 1 you said the direction is still toward one Socialist-Communist world and then you have gone on to say that nothing has been done, and you talk about the capitalist dollars to bring about the extinction of America. It seems to me that is a pretty broad statement without documentation. I don't see how anything like this can be substantiated.

Mrs. LEETCH. Now, what is the question?

Mr. MERROW. You said the direction is still toward a Socialist-Communist world and it has not been changed by this administration.

Mrs. LEETCH. Our foreign policy is still tied to the United Nations.

Mr. MERROW. That is one phase of our foreign policy, but a statement like that takes in a great deal of territory. It is a part of our foreign policy to exercise leadership in the United Nations specialized agencies and all these other organizations, in an effort to aid the free world.

Mrs. LEETCH. No one can define the free world very well.

Mr. MERROW. There is a difference between the free world and the Communist world, you will agree, won't you? And our EDC program and all the rest is an attempt to build up the strength of the free world.

Mrs. LEETCH. Do you think the attempt has been successful?

Mr. MERROW. Yes. Perhaps we can constantly get more success, but certainly it has been successful and as far as I can see, the administration has taken the initiative, which is very excellent.

Mrs. LEETCH. You see, that is the basic difference in philosophy that I spoke about in the beginning.

There are still a lot of people in this country who are very desirous of seeing the form of government that we have here not infringed upon by forms of government that in our opinion are not adequate to guarantee the privileges that we have under our Constitution and Bill of Rights and we don't want to see those unique, inalienable rights reduced and lost to our own citizens. I think there is a very definite threat of that on all fronts.

Mr. MERROW. Every treaty has to be ratified by two-thirds of the Senate.

Mrs. LEETCH. You don't want to get into that, I am sure, do you?

Mr. MERROW. No, but that is a safeguard.

Mrs. LEETCH. I sat through all of the hearings, Mr. Chairman, on Senate Joint Resolution 1, and I can assure you that every one of the objections to the Bricker amendment has been thoroughly answered and that no new arguments were brought up on the floor of the Senate that have not been answered time and time again.

Mr. MERROW. Thank you, Mrs. Leetch.

Mrs. LEETCH. Thank you, Mr. Merrow. I appreciate your courtesy very much.

Mr. MERROW. You are welcome. Thank you.

(The following documents were submitted for the record by Mrs. Leetch:)

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE AMERICAN COALITION OF PATRIOTIC SOCIETIES AT ITS ANNUAL CONVENTION IN WASHINGTON, D. C., FEBRUARY 4, 1954

Madam President and members of the coalition assembled, following a careful review of the issues involved, and now with the approval of the executive committee, we have the honor to present the following resolutions:

I. DEDICATION

*Resolved*, That the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies, in annual convention assembled, reaffirms its fundamental purpose to promote undivided allegiance to the unique principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States; to expose and combat the political and economic fallacies of socialism and communism; and to defend this Nation against all enemies, foreign and domestic; and hereby calls upon each of its participating organizations, to exert every effort to bring the information contained in these resolutions to its members and through them to mobilize public support of them.

II. PRESERVATION OF CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES

Whereas the United States has prospered internally and achieved a leading place in world affairs under a loyal adherence to the system of government established by our Constitution, a rigorous insistence on not allowing outside powers to intermeddle in the internal affairs of the United States and allowing no infringement from without or within on the fundamental liberties embodied in our Bill of Rights; and

Whereas, beginning in 1933, Executive agreements and commitments to foreign powers and agencies have undermined and are still threatening the peace and security of the Republic and the continued existence of its constitutional form of government: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, (a) That the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies, in annual convention assembled, affirms its support of the effort to insure by constitutional amendment that no treaty or international agreement shall infringe on the rights and liberties contained in our Bill of Rights, including those reserved by it to the States or the people; (b) that no Executive agreement or understanding, formal or informal, shall take effect until promulgated by Presidential proclamation or communication to Congress, and shall not become effective as part of the internal law of the United States until implemented by an act of Congress; (c) that we urge upon our Representatives in the Congress and in the United Nations to prevent any amendments to the structure or covenant of the United Nations which shall in any way affect the Government or independence of the United States or the liberties contained in our Constitution or laws, or shall subject our country or its citizens to any supergovernment of whatever form, or subject its citizens to trial by any tribunal not established by the laws of the United States or of one of its States, or where the fundamental rights established by our laws for an accused person do not exist; (d) that we appeal to Congress to withhold appropriations for any agency, international or foreign, which teaches, supports, or inculcates an ideology contrary to the ideals of true, sincere, and unhyphenated Americanism, and to forbid the display in schools, churches, or other public places of the flag of any government or institution which does not admit the supremacy within this country of the Constitution and Government of the United States over any other sovereignty whatsoever.

III. THE IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY LAW

Whereas the immigration and nationality law, more commonly referred to as the McCarran-Walter Act (Public Law 414, 82d Cong., 2d sess.), became effective on December 24, 1952, after enactment by the Congress over a Presidential veto; and

Whereas the enactment of this act not only provided a much-needed codification and revision of our immigration and nationality laws, but also provided this country with a sane and sound immigration and naturalization system with primary emphasis upon the protection of the interests of this country and its citizens; and

Whereas the act is operating effectively in the best interests of the American people, especially in the denaturalization, debarment, and deportation of criminals and subversives; and

Whereas since the act became law there have been continuing assaults upon the act in an effort to discredit its provisions and destroy our immigration and naturalization system; and

Whereas the Communist records of many of the participants in these efforts to destroy the immigration and nationality law have been revealed from the House Un-American Activities Committee files; and

Whereas considerable pressures have been exerted by and on behalf of certain minority groups seeking special privileges for prospective additions to their own groups: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies, assembled at its annual meeting in Washington, D. C., on February 4, 1954, reaffirms its conviction in the soundness of the immigration and nationality law and its continuing support of that law; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies calls upon all patriotic citizens to resist any weakening amendments or changes to the immigration and nationality law; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies most earnestly urges the Committee on the Judiciary of the United States Senate and the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives to refuse to permit their committees to be used as forums for the dissemination of false propaganda under the guise of "hearings" on alleged substitute bills which would destroy our immigration and naturalization systems as presently maintained by the immigration and nationality law.

#### IV. NATIONAL DEFENSE AND ECONOMY

Whereas the new defense concept veers from mass armies and places principal reliance in overwhelming airpower first and primarily as a war deterrent, and, second, as a weapon of massive retaliation if war is forced upon the United States; and

Whereas this increased military strength justifies reduction in surface forces and drastic curtailment of foreign aid, with resultant balanced budget, lower taxes, and a greater measure of freedom and prosperity: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies supports the new defense concept which is based upon the preeminence of airpower as our first line of defense.

#### V. APPRECIATION

*Resolved*, That the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies expresses its cordial appreciation for the many examples of patriotic endeavor which have been furnished by such periodicals as the National Republic published by Walter S. Steele, the American Mercury published by Russell Maguire, and Human Events, published by Frank Hanigan; by such brochures or books as Wings for Peace, by Bonner Fellers; Communist Imperialism, by Anthony T. Bouscaren; the Yalta Betrayal, by Felix Wittmer; More Defense for Less Money, by C. R. Smith; the Lattimore Story, by John T. Flynn; and From Major Jordan's Diaries, by George Racey Jordan; by such publishers as the Caxton Printers operated by James Gipson, the Henry Regenery Co., and Devin-Adair; by the television series produced by Herbert A. Philbrick; by such radio commentators as Fulton Lewis, Jr., James F. Fifield, John Flynn, Frank Kilpatrick, Robert F. Hurleigh, and Willis J. Ballinger; by such columnists as John O'Donnell, David Lawrence, Walter Trohan, and Westbrook Pegler; and by a host of other faithful Americans in all parts of the United States, including the committees of the Congress and of the several legislatures that are investigating un-American activities, as well as the work of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, under the able leadership of J. Edgar Hoover.

Respectfully submitted by

FREDERIC GILBERT BAUER.  
MERRITT BARTON CURTIS.  
BONNER FELLERS.  
U. S. GRANT 3D.  
MADALEN DINGLEY LEETCH.  
WILLIAM EVERETT WARNER,

*Chairman, American Coalition of Patriotic Societies.*

RESOLUTIONS OF THE 39TH ANNUAL CONGRESS, NATIONAL SOCIETY OF NEW ENGLAND  
WOMEN, CAVALIER HOTEL, VIRGINIA BEACH, VA., MAY 12-14, 1952

Supported House Joint Resolution 167 to require foreign flag be always accompanied by flag of the United States; supported S. 2039 to prohibit display of flag of the United Nations in place of, equal, or superior to the flag of the United States; supported Senate Joint Resolution 130 and House Joint Resolution 325 to protect the rights of citizens, the laws of the States and of the United States and to limit the treaty-making power so that international treaties will not supersede domestic law; supported the McCarran-Walter immigration bill; urged reduction of the Federal budget; supported Sons of the American Revolution bill of grievance; opposed world government and/or Atlantic Union; opposed proposed genocide convention (treaty); opposed proposed international covenant (treaty) on human rights; opposed socialized medicine; opposed Federal aid to education; opposed the use of UNESCO booklets and UNESCO indoctrination in schools.

Pledged an educational campaign on dangers of the United Nations.

Whereas the principle of collective security on which the United Nations is founded has been tried literally hundreds of times in the world's history and has always failed and is being amply demonstrated a failure now; and

Whereas the United Nations' war in Korea has cost more than 105,000 American casualties; and

Whereas the United Nations and its multitudinous agencies threaten our liberties through their continuous efforts to supersede the United States Constitution and Bill of Rights; and

Whereas the United Nations is the mechanism for the bankruptcy of the United States through spending and using up our natural resources; and

Whereas the United Nations and its agencies are infested with spies, as charged by Members of Congress; and

Whereas internationalists are promoting strengthening of the United Nations into a world government with full power to establish one Socialist-Communist world: Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the 39th Congress of the National Society of New England Women encourage an educational campaign to acquaint citizens with these alarming facts, so that public opinion will force Congress to rescind our participation in the Charter of the United Nations from which the United States reserved the right to withdraw; and

*Resolved*, That such action now seems to be imperative because United States participation is uselessly costing not only the lives of our American boys, but also threatening our solvency, the laws of our land, and our personal liberties.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE 26TH ANNUAL RENDEZVOUS OF THE NATIONAL SOCIETY  
WOMEN DESCENDANTS OF THE ANCIENT AND HONORABLE ARTILLERY COMPANY,  
STATLER HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C., APRIL 14, 1953

1. SUPPORT OF FLAG BILL S. 694

*Resolved*, That the National Society Women Descendants of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in 26th Annual Rendezvous support S. 694, introduced by Senator Ed. Martin of Pennsylvania, a bill to prohibit the display of the flag of the United Nations or any other national or international flag in place of or superior to that of the flag of the United States now before the Senate Judiciary Committee.

2. TREATIES

*Resolved*, That the National Society Women Descendants of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, in 26th Annual Rendezvous, strongly support an amendment to the Constitution of the United States which would prevent any treaty, convention, executive agreement, diplomatic note, or covenant from authorizing United States participation in any world or regional government and any international agreement by reason of the supreme law clause that would impair any rights or freedoms specified in the Constitution of the United States, without specific implementation by act of Congress.

## 3. OPPOSITION TO PROPOSED INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Whereas the International Covenant on Human Rights claims rights which stem wholly from the state, contrary to our American concept of inalienable, God-given rights and are in conflict with our economic system; and

Whereas international tribunals in which American citizens would be in the minority would enforce these so-called rights; and

Whereas such international covenant would become a treaty and thus the supreme law of the land, superseding our Bill of Rights: Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the National Society Women Descendants of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, in 26th Annual Rendezvous, concurs in the opinion of the American Bar Association, that it is not in such form nor of such content as to be suitable for ratification by the United States of America.

## 4. OPPOSITION TO THE PROPOSED GENOCIDE CONVENTION

Whereas, the Senate of the United States is asked to ratify as a treaty, the so-called Genocide Convention, designed to surrender to the United Nations, a foreign-controlled international body, the power to define and punish the newly conceived crime of genocide without regard to the country or jurisdiction wherein such offense shall be committed; and

Whereas the matters to which said Genocide Convention pertain are matters exclusively within the jurisdiction of the Government of the United States of America and the States of the Union under the Constitution and Bill of Rights:

*Resolved*, That the National Society Women Descendants of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in 26th Annual Rendezvous is opposed to ratification of the said Genocide Convention, with or without reservations and this Society reaffirms its faith in the Constitution and Bill of Rights for the security, defense and preservation of this Republic and its sovereign people.

## 5. OPPOSITION TO ANY FORM OF WORLD GOVERNMENT AND/OR ATLANTIC UNION

*Resolved*, That the National Society Women Descendants of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in 26th Annual Rendezvous, is opposed to any and all plans which tend toward the development of any form of world government, or the strengthening of the United Nations or any international organization which would abolish or limit any of the rights, privileges, or immunities now enjoyed by the citizens of the United States, and is opposed to the proposal for permanent political Atlantic Union as a step toward world government with consequent loss of sovereignty of the United States of America.

## 6. UNESCO AND UNITED NATIONS TEACHING MATERIALS

*Resolved*, That the National Society Women Descendants of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company are alert to the danger of the promotion of world citizenship and world government through UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization) teaching materials and United Nations materials generally.

*Resolved*, That in educational institutions and churches where such materials are used that members of this Society will insist that materials and information on these dangers be also presented and that members pledge themselves to an educational campaign on the dangers of the United Nations to the life of our Constitutional Republic.

## 7. CONGRESSIONAL INQUIRY REQUESTED

Whereas the National Society Women Descendants of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company is composed of the lineal descendants of the men who formed the first line of military defense of this country in Boston, 1637; and

Whereas the defense of this country is our primary concern and the unimpaired sovereign right of the United States to command and control the Armed Forces of the Nation is necessary to that end: Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the National Society Women Descendants of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in 26th Annual Rendezvous request the Armed Services Committee of the House of Representatives or of the Senate, to conduct an inquiry and submit a report to the American people showing to what extent the command over American Armed Forces (military and naval) has been limited, divided or shared with the United Nations or any other international agency.

## 8. FOR A STRONG AIR FORCE

Whereas, because of the enormous numerical superiority of Communist ground forces over those of NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), it is obviously impossible for the United States to resort to ground combat; and

Whereas the only weapon which can retaliate against an attack by the U. S. S. R. is the long-range bomber and our survival is dependent upon a strategic bombing force capable of sustained retaliation against Red airbases, aircraft on the ground, and war industries; and

Whereas airpower is the only arm of the service which can defend America against air attack, airpower has become our first line of defense: Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the National Society Women Descendants of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in 26th Annual Rendezvous, urge that our Government build without delay, the best air force in the world and that it be supported by an adequate Army and Navy. (See Gen. Bonner Fellers new book, *Wings for Peace, A Primer for a New Defense*, Henry Regnery Publishers.)

## 9. TAX REDUCTION

Whereas tax reduction was promised the American people by the administration now in power; and

Whereas vast foreign spending the chief cause of high taxes in the United States has permitted other governments to reduce taxes, has not bought friends or contained communism and has not strengthened the American Republic; and

Whereas domestic spending can be cut by simplifying bureaus, cutting duplication and waste, and reducing the number of civilian employees of the Army: Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the National Society Women Descendants of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in 26th Annual Rendezvous supports H. R. 1 introduced by Hon. Daniel A. Reed of New York, to fulfill the tax reduction pledge and thus raise the morale of the American people.

## 10. LIMITING THE TAXING POWER

Whereas H. R. 252 was introduced in the last session of Congress by Hon. Ralph Gwinn of New York and substantially the same bill in the Senate by Senator Ferguson and Senator Taft, calling for a constitutional amendment to limit the power of the Federal Government to tax, spend, and borrow for civilian purposes to 2½ percent of the total income or about \$7 billion; and

Whereas the proposed limitation on the Federal Government follows the same principle as the limitation of the taxing power that applies to local and State governments: Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the National Society Women Descendants of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in Annual Rendezvous (26th) support the principle involved in this bill and urge its consideration in this session of Congress.

## 11. COMMENDATION TO HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

*Resolved*, That the National Society Women Descendants of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in 26th Annual Rendezvous express appreciation to Chairman Harold H. Velde and the House Committee on Un-American Activities for their tireless efforts to uncover subversives in the United States.

## 12. COMMENDATION OF SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY

*Resolved*, That the National Society Women Descendants of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in 26th Annual Rendezvous express appreciation to Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, chairman of the permanent subcommittee of the Senate Investigations Committee and his committee for their investigation of subversives in the Information Service and the Voice of America.

## 13. COMMENDATION OF SENATOR WILLIAM E. JENNER AND SENATOR PAT MCCARRAN

*Resolved*, That the National Society Women Descendants of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in 26th Annual Rendezvous commend Senator William E. Jenner for the high judicial standards he has maintained as chairman of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee of the Judiciary in investigating subversive activities in the United States and appreciation to the former chairman, Senator Pat McCarran, for exposing subversives in the United Nations.

## 14. OUTLAW THE COMMUNIST PARTY

*Resolved*, That the National Society Women Descendants of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in 26th Annual Rendezvous request the Congress of the United States if necessary to initiate a constitutional amendment to be submitted to the several States for adoption to outlaw the Communist Party of the United States, all political or subversive organizations or other groups which do or may advocate the overthrow of the constitutional government of the United States.

## 15. OPPOSITION TO FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION—REAFFIRMATION

*Resolved*, That the National Society Women Descendants of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company reaffirms its opposition to all legislation in whatsoever guise to place the control of education under any department or bureau of the Federal Government.

## 16. OPPOSITION TO SOCIALIZED MEDICINE—REAFFIRMATION

*Resolved*, That the National Society Women Descendants of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in 20th Annual Rendezvous reaffirms its opposition to the establishment of socialized medicine or compulsory health insurance with accompanying increased bureaucracy and mounting tax burden in the United States.

17. SUPPORT OF SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION BILL OF GRIEVANCES—  
REAFFIRMATION

Whereas the National Society Sons of the American Revolution have presented a bill of grievances to the Congress of the United States which has as its object, "to acquaint the American people with dangers threatening the overthrow of the Constitution of our republican form of Government,"

Where attacks upon un-American teaching, textbooks, and methods are not attacks upon American public schools but necessary measures for their preservation: Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the National Society Women Descendants of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in 26th Annual Rendezvous endorse the purposes of the bill of grievances as prepared by the National Society Sons of the American Revolution and urge the Congress of the United States to give it early, favorable consideration.

## 18. SUPPORT OF THE M'CARRAN-WALTER IMMIGRATION LAW

*Resolved*, That the National Society Women Descendants of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in 29th Annual Rendezvous supports the McCarran-Walter immigration law against repeal or crippling amendments urged by pressure groups for ulterior purposes.

UNESCO PUBLICATIONS DISTRIBUTED AT U. N. HEADQUARTERS OF THE RACE  
QUESTION IN MODERN SCIENCE

At the information desk in the U. N. headquarters on the East River in New York City there is a series of five books on sale; they are printed in English but in foreign typography and bear the address: 19, Avenue Kleber, Paris, UNESCO Publications.

This series is a calculated affront to American society and the Anglo-Saxon peoples in particular. It includes every Communist cliché on the downtrodden proletariat, oppressed colonials, underprivileged "worker" and malicious, mischievous distortions on almost every page. It is a further insult inasmuch as the American taxpayer pays the greatest proportion of the expense incident to the U. N.; and it may well be exceedingly dangerous to our national reputation and national influence throughout the rest of the world where it is sold and distributed through the 49 UNESCO sales agents listed at the end of the five books.

1. Race and Psychology by Otto Klineberg, professor of psychology, Columbia University, N. Y., United States of America. (Dr. Klineberg has a long record of Communist-front affiliations in congressional reports; is listed in appendix



1X as defending the Communist Party in the *Daily Worker*, etc.) For all the world to read, he uses the less advanced areas of Kentucky as illustrations on points he makes; is much concerned over the fate of American Indians, the foreign-born Negroes; twists intelligence tests to show that Negro children show up with better I. Q.'s than white children do (under unrepresentative conditions); and advocates "ethnic mixture" which he says is opposed on emotional and religious grounds. He states on page 30 that there is no evidence that race mixture produces bad results. Also puts in a slanted bit for Jewish children whom he describes as superior to others in tests involving language, etc. And concludes with the observation that no one nation has a monopoly on what is good and true and that we can learn something from the ways of life of others. (His omissions are significant; there is absolutely no praise for Anglo-Saxon Americans or traditional American concepts.)

2. *Roots of Prejudice* by Arnold Rose, professor of Sociology, University of Minnesota, United States of America. Professor Rose starts with the premise (p. 7) that "those who go forth as colonial administrators, traders, or extractors of the natural resources of underdeveloped lands, learn that callousness toward subject peoples and an attitude of racial superiority will aid them in their venture \* \* \* harsh manner and exacting demands will gain a large output from workers who have no means of defense or retaliation. Payment of low wages and provision of only a minimum of life needs to these workers will mean larger profits." He continues: "John Dollard has pointed out there are some prestige gains in a society based on prejudice." (Our society is not based on prejudice; in fact we are the only country in the world where the foreign-born can become Supreme Court judges and be in charge of our Armed Forces.)

Professor Rose states on page 15: "All differences between a minority group and the majority group are thought to be signs of inferiority. For example, according to this popular theory, Jewish religion, Catholic religion, and the Negro's expression of religion are all inferior to the white Protestant's religion." (Editor's note: Most Negroes are themselves Protestant in this country.) Rose continues: "If Negroes were allowed to eat in the same restaurants as whites, they might become so bold as to ask whites for their daughter's hand in marriage, according to the racist theory." (Dr. Rose uses a small "w" for whites and a large "N" for Negro.) He also attributes prejudice to the aristocrats in a desperate search for tools and allies to support their waning power, and he states that Bismarck became anti-Semitic because the Socialist Party had Jewish leaders. Writing with bias and venom, Professor Rose alleges (p. 25) that Christian children learn prejudice through their Sunday-school teachers; that surveys reveal textbooks, especially history books, disparage minority groups; that if people are poor and ignorant they are looked down on. He uses the contemporary slant that prejudiced people are mental cases (on which he could himself very well border); makes such wild charges as the statement that in times of business depression there is an increase of violence against Negroes in the Southern States; that in the 1930's there were 114 organizations which spent their time and money in spreading hate against Jews; and he goes so far absurdly as to attribute prejudice to a feeling of sexual inadequacy. He ends with a revealing suggestion as to action which should be taken. Legislation which penalizes discrimination reduces the occasions on which prejudice is made to seem proper and respectable, as well as eliminating some of the worst effects of prejudice. Legislation against discrimination is thus one of the most important means of breaking traditions."

3. *Race and Biology*, by L. C. Dunn, of Columbia University, New York, United States of America, is a fairly objective presentation, although some of his sources of reference are considerably over on the left.

4. *Race and Culture*, by Michel Leiris, of the Musée de l'Homme, Paris. This is an offensive and dialectical publication. M. Leiris starts out by stating in his second paragraph that the white man has something to be proud of in his great inventions and discoveries \* \* \*; it is questionable, however, whether these achievements have yet brought a greater sum of happiness to mankind as a whole \* \* \*; the civilization he regards as the only one worthy of the name is increasingly threatened with overthrow from within and without. Then the author takes three examples of workers, strangely enough, one from Wall Street, one from Vietnam, and a peasant from Guinea. On page 15 he reminds us that the thinner lipped and hairier white man more closely resembles the anthropoid in these respects than does the Negro. He uses a small "w" and a large "N," too; and he claims that to picture the Negro as irresponsible is unfair because his masters have forced him to tasks to which he can bring no interest. M. Leiris

also describes the now peaceable farmers of modern Scandinavia as descendants of dreaded Vikings, and the Britons as so barbarous that Cicero advised against buying them as slaves. (Hardly complimentary references and unlikely to create a favorable opinion of Nordics throughout Asia and Africa, or was this the author's deliberate intention?) Covering the Middle Ages, he says Catholics and Protestants exterminated each other and the picture only began to change with the opening of the period of colonial expansion by the European peoples who decreed the inferiority of those enslaved and robbed of their land, etc. He gives as reference material Franz Boas, Ashley Montagu, Ruth Benedict (founder of the Congress of American Women, leading Communist women's front in this country and on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations), and other "liberals."

5. *Racial Myths*, by Juan Comas, professor of Mexican School of Anthropology. Here again the whole world through the U. N. is reminded of color prejudice as stemming from imperialistic colonizing spirit. Comas writes in frank Marxist dialectic: "Racist doctrine is a question of finding pseudobiological support for discrimination against the proletarian classes by the bourgeoisie." And he then attacks Alexis Carrel and his book, *Man the Unknown*, which has a deeply spiritual content. Comas treats the theme of miscegenation sympathetically; speaks of the major absurdities of color prejudice in the United States; and claims color prejudice has served as the basis for introducing a caste system in our society. For good measure he adds that the Hindu intellectuals described the Americans as boorish, materialistic, unintellectual, and uncivilized.

On page 24 he claims that the texture of the hair, the lack of body hair, the thickness of the lips are all consistent with a more advanced stage of evolution in the Negro man than in the white man; then he launches into the exploitation of the Negro again. With disdain for the people of northern Europe, the author then fulminates (p. 45): "Generalizations about the superiority of the Aryan (Anglo-Saxon) race and its superiority are based on arguments which lack all objective validity and are erroneous, contradictory, and unscientific."

Concluding, he writes: "The growing discontent of the peoples of India, the development of racial feeling among the Negroes, the self-confidence displayed by the Japanese, Chinese, and Indo-asian peoples are among many proofs that the races hitherto despised for their supposed inferiority are every day less ready to accept the judgment on their qualities passed by certain elements in the white races. (Note the use and omission of capital letters.)"

Another U. N. booklet recommends *Little Songs* on the U. N., distributed by Columbia University Press, with lyrics by Hy Zaret who also wrote lyrics for the Communist Peoples Songs.

Discrimination is a rather large booklet of 88 pages on sale at U. N. headquarters for 50 cents. It is described as a memorandum submitted by the Secretary General (Trygve Lie). The selected bibliography on discrimination in the United States includes three pamphlets by Communist Herbert Apetneker, printed by International Publishers, New York, the known Communist printing house (giving the most radical possible point of view).

Other extremists recommended to give information to all the world on internal conditions in the United States are Louis Adamic, Gordon W. Allport, Ashley Montagu, Ruth Benedict, Franz Boas, Theodore Brameld, Pearl S. Buck, H. Cantrell, Stuart Chase, Everett R. Clinchy, Rachel D. DuBois, W. E. B. DuBois, John Dewey, Henry Pratt Fairchild, Charles I. Glicksberg, of the New School, J. S. Huxley, Charles S. Johnson, of Fiske University, William Kilpatrick and William Van Til, Clyde Kluckhohn, Hans Kohn, Paul H. Landis, Henry S. Leiper, Kurt Lewin, Alain Locke, Maxwell S. Stewart, Carey McWilliams, Gunnar Myrdal, Hortense Powdermaker, the Progressive Education Association, Arnold Rose, Margaret Schlauch, who gave up her American citizenship to teach in Prague, Bernard Stern, Hina Taba, Goodwin B. Watson, and Louis Wirth.

When are the American people going to catch on to the bitter fact that the U. N. is a cruel hoax and UNESCO keyed to their discredit and undoing?

Mr. MERROW. Col. John Coffman, Defenders of the American Constitution.

### STATEMENT OF COL. JOHN H. COFFMAN, DEFENDERS OF THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION, INC.

Colonel COFFMAN. I am John H. Coffman. I am an attorney in the active practice of law here in town. My office is at 1616 I Street NW. I appear this morning as general counsel of the Defenders of the American Constitution.

The Defenders of the American Constitution is a nonprofit education corporation, organized and existing under the laws of the District of Columbia. It appreciates this opportunity to appear before this committee in order to express its views on the proper functioning of subsidiary bodies of the United Nations as they operate within the United States of America.

It is our understanding that no specific legislation is before the subcommittee, in that no bill has been introduced before the Congress, that this hearing is in the nature of a forum to consider what safeguards this committee should propose in order to insure that the fundamental principles of constitutional government will not be frittered away by inattention to the implications of purported treaty law or government.

It is also our understanding that some 10 alphabetical offshoots of the U. N. are the subject of this inquiry. Time for preparation has been too short for proper consideration of all of these agencies. Suffice it to say, in general, that the Defenders of the American Constitution oppose any agency of the United Nations which attempts to carry its propaganda for the one world directly to the individual citizen of any nation.

The United Nations is a forum where sovereign nations may meet as equals and have an equal voice to express their views as sovereign nations and their creatures have no better right to a forum than their creator. With these remarks, my client wishes to reserve for the future a right to appear and oppose or endorse, as the case may be, any specific proposal of these various alphabetical offshoots of the United Nations, if and when they have one. We are here today to urge this subcommittee to take the appropriate steps to prevent any of the United Nations from attempting to act directly or indirectly upon our citizens. We are particularly concerned about an agency of the United Nations known as UNESCO. What we have to say about UNESCO, so far as it is pertinent to the efforts of any other international organization to operate directly upon the citizens of any state, or citizens of the United States, we wish to have considered as applicable to all.

UNESCO has made a blatant and we may say subversive effort to deal directly with the citizens of the United States. We know of no other country or nation in which this organization has endeavored, or been permitted, to operate in such a fashion. As a matter of fact, UNESCO has not attempted to feed its poison into the bloodstream of any other nation than the United States, so far as we know. We think its efforts here ought to be stopped. We say "ought to be," because if this committee can't do it, the local citizens ought to.

I refer you to the Los Angeles Evening Herald Express of Monday, January 19, 1953, in which they report that the Emergency Citizens' Committee had filed an effective protest against UNESCO material being used in the Los Angeles public schools. So you may well ask, Why, among these many alphabetical agencies of the U. N., do you single out UNESCO for condemnation?

So that we shall not have to beg the question of what the proof is, I refer you to the Congressional Record, extension of the remarks of Hon. John T. Wood, Thursday, October 18, 1951. You may read there, if you will, the titles of nine books published by this organization for use in the public schools of the United States of America.

Now, why is it, if the subcommittee pleases, that the youngsters of the United States are the special target of this United Nations outfit? It is because the United States, alone of all nations, afford its boys and girls under the age of 16 years an elementary education; nay, this country requires that they be sent to school until the youngster reaches the age of 16 years.

UNESCO labored for a long time and produced what they called a Declaration of Human Rights. The subcommittee is, I am sure, familiar with the elements included in that statement. They insist that their declaration be enacted as a whole guaranty of freedom that any individual has under any government anywhere around the globe.

The latest proposal is that this Declaration of Human Rights, in the form of a covenant, would be submitted to the United Nations as a treaty. To illustrate why we are against this proposal, let us compare the freedom of speech as guaranteed by the United States Constitution and what UNESCO proposes. Our Constitution says:

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

That is from the first amendment to the Constitution. The UNESCO proposal is:

The right to seek, receive, and impart information and ideas carries with it special duties and responsibilities and may, therefore, be subject to certain penalties, liabilities, and restrictions, but these shall be such only as are provided by law and are necessary for the protection of national security, public order, safety, health, or morals, or of the rights, freedoms, or reputations of others.

Should the UNESCO covenant be adopted, and, as a treaty, become the supreme law of the land, then our free press would "be subject to certain penalties, liabilities, and restrictions." A far cry, indeed, from a free and untrammelled press protected by the first amendment.

You may say that the provisions of a treaty that are repugnant to the Constitution is not valid. We agree, but say that so far no effective way to challenge such a treaty has been discovered. There is now a case in the courts which may establish by judicial decision that such treaty provisions cannot prevail in the United States. The case is that of Private Keefe, habeas corpus 148-53, United States District Court for the District of Columbia. The Status of Forces, NATO. Treaty gave away the United States jurisdiction over United States servicemen stationed abroad and surrendered jurisdiction over men who were accused of offenses against civilians of the country in which the person happened to be stationed.

Keefe and another soldier knocked out a Frenchman and drove away in his taxicab. Keefe was tried by a French court and sentenced to 5 years' solitary confinement in a French jail, where he now is. The district court dismissed the petition for a writ of habeas corpus and the case has been appealed to the United States Court of Appeals, District of Columbia circuit.

The Keefe case highlights the necessity of effectively curbing UNESCO's efforts to influence our citizens. The great fallacy in the treaty which gave away Keefe's protection under the United States Constitution is that Keefe and all other service men and women abroad have forced upon them an allegiance to a sovereign other than the United States.

Submission to jurisdiction of the courts of a State is evidence that the individual owes that State an allegiance. For example, under the Status of Forces Treaty, an American stationed in England who makes a derogatory remark about the Queen can be tried by an English court for treason to the Queen, which is a violation of British law, but has not been a crime in the United States since 1776. So that treaty, in effect, imposes upon our servicemen an obligation of a citizenship other than that of the United States.

How does this bear upon UNESCO? The extension of remarks of the Honorable John T. Wood lists nine booklets for teachers and on the education of children. These booklets are ones which were being used in the Los Angeles public schools, and removed as a result of civic indignation.

Booklet No. 5, as stated by Congressman Wood, advises the teacher to eliminate all words, phrases, descriptions, pictures, maps, classroom materials, or teaching method of a sort to cause his pupils to feel or express a particular love for or loyalty to the United States of America. This, if the subcommittee please, is to use our public schools to train young and malleable children to eliminate any particular love for the United States, their country, or loyalty to it.

In conclusion, we urge this subcommittee to initiate appropriate legislation to curb efforts by international agencies to subvert the loyalties of young America. This is now being done by UNESCO. Because UNESCO is an international agency, we must look to the Congress to protect us at the national level.

I thank the subcommittee for this opportunity to appear before it.

Mr. MERROW. Thank you. I am sorry I was out while you presented your statement, Colonel.

Mrs. BOLTON. I did want to ask a number of clarifying questions, because I am wondering if you are really discussing UNESCO. You know, there are two groups—the UNESCO itself, and then there is the Commission for UNESCO.

Colonel COFFMAN. That is the one Congress has passed a law for, the National Commission for UNESCO?

Mrs. BOLTON. Yes. Is that that, or the United Nations UNESCO group which has intruded itself into the California schools?

Colonel COFFMAN. It is the material supplied by the UNESCO group that goes down directly to, in this case, the schoolchildren.

Mrs. BOLTON. But how does it go to the schoolchildren if the schools don't want it? If the schools are alert, why do they take it?

Colonel COFFMAN. That, of course, I can't answer. I can only use as an illustration the action of the parents in the Los Angeles schools. Now, who shipped it in there and how the parents found out about it, that, of course, I have no information on.

Mrs. BOLTON. I am glad to know the parents are alert.

Colonel COFFMAN. Well, of course, they had probably been used for 2 years before some parent found out about it. But since it is an international agency, I think the Congress ought to do the protecting. The parents shouldn't have to find out 2 or 3 years after the damage was done.

Mrs. BOLTON. Frankly, I was unaware that UNESCO or any of the international organizations were supposed to be active in the United States.

Colonel COFFMAN. It came to me as a surprise, Mrs. Bolton.

Mrs. BOLTON. It is supposed to be on the outside where the countries need help, and so on. I will be looking into that myself to see what that is.

You were quoting the Keefe case. How does that relate to UNESCO?

Colonel COFFMAN. I used that to illustrate the dangers we would be under if this covenant which they propose to present as a treaty were enacted.

Mrs. BOLTON. Of course, you know we have refused the covenant several times.

Colonel COFFMAN. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

Mrs. BOLTON. It gives encouragement when we are alert and don't accept such things, does it not?

Colonel COFFMAN. A treaty was ratified by the Senate July 15 and proclaimed by the President on the 27th day of October; and if I had been here last year, I would have said that that would never have passed, either.

Mrs. BOLTON. I don't know that I have very many questions, Mr. Coffman. We are grateful for your testimony.

Colonel COFFMAN. I am sorry I didn't have more time to prepare it.

Mrs. BOLTON. I am sorry we don't have more members present, but when we have these quorum calls, we must leave. We do have a very difficult time after 12 o'clock.

Colonel COFFMAN. I am sorry I have to rely on documentation on Mr. Wood's statement in the Congressional Record, but I did this at home over the weekend, and I didn't have a library.

Mrs. BOLTON. Well, I think most of us remember Mr. Wood and what he has given us on this.

Mr. MERROW. I notice on page 2, you have said that UNESCO made a blatant and subversive effort to deal directly with the citizens of the United States. Is that documented?

Colonel COFFMAN. Only to the extent of a newspaper report cited from the Los Angeles Evening Herald Express, Monday, January 19, 1953, but the main documentation as to their efforts in distributing these booklets is the extension of remarks of the Honorable John T. Wood, published in the Congressional Record for Thursday, October 18, 1951.

Mr. MERROW. That, of course, is a rather broad statement. So far as any information we have on the matter is concerned, there is nothing that would indicate that that is so.

Of course, there have been various seminars in countries where certain publications have come out under the aegis of UNESCO, but with regard to there being such a policy as you have indicated, there has been nothing that we have seen which would indicate that that is the fact.

Colonel COFFMAN. All I can offer on that, Mr. Chairman—and I apologize for not having it with me, but I could not have it reproduced over the weekend—I will be glad to furnish photostatic copies of the report from the Los Angeles paper. Now, that is a report of an action by a citizens' committee, compelling the removal of these UNESCO textbooks from the Los Angeles public schools. My contention is that when they take these pamphlets and they put them in the public schools in Los Angeles, they are disseminating their propaganda directly to the individual citizens of the country.

Mrs. BOLTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MERROW. Yes.

Mrs. BOLTON. I am just wondering how they can do that. I think it would be helpful if you could advise us by what process UNESCO feels that it could go into our schools.

In the first place, the schools are always jealous of the material that goes in, and with us, we have some material that isn't too good in Cleveland, but we don't invite outside agencies.

Colonel COFFMAN. I read one part of it—I haven't had time to study too much, but it is like the Rugg books. You will recall them.

Mrs. BOLTON. I know them very well.

Colonel COFFMAN. They were prepared and began showing up all over the country, and it took the parents years to get them taken out of the high schools.

We had here in the District of Columbia in 1947-48 a book widely used called Building America, I think. Mr. Davis had a hearing on it in 1947 or 1948. The editor appeared there and several sentences were called to his attention, and he said he didn't intend to have anything like that in there and he intended to take it out. Then it developed, and I speak from memory, that in keeping up the editions of his book, of course, he had to have help and apparently he had somebody working on the book who was putting it in.

Mrs. BOLTON. Thank you very much.

Mr. MERROW. Then in reference to that statement, which I just quoted, and in reference to the last paragraph which you have on page 5, the subcommittee would like to have anything that you wish to submit, if you want to bring up the details of the Los Angeles situation. We would like to have such information. There is a criticism, or charge, or whatever you wish, that is pretty serious, and we would like to have the steps that led up to that.

Colonel COFFMAN. All I have readily available is the newspaper report which I will have photostated and furnished tomorrow to the subcommittee, and then any other information I can locate.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Bentley—

Mr. BENTLEY. I have just 1 or 2 brief questions, Mr. Chairman.

Colonel Coffman, do you regard this attempt by UNESCO to infiltrate our schools as directed by member governments of UNESCO, or members of the International Secretariat of UNESCO?

Colonel COFFMAN. Well, I doubt if it is either. Actually, I have no information on it. What I object to is that they are making, or they have made, these pamphlets available to somebody in this country in sufficient quantities that they could be used in the Los Angeles public schools.

Now, if they get an inquiry for such material, from an individual in this country, certainly it ought to be screened at the national level, before they flood various schools down in the States with that material. Now, how they got it, I have no information.

Mr. BENTLEY. Are you familiar with the United States National Commission for UNESCO?

Colonel COFFMAN. Only that I know there is a public law. I haven't read the law. It has 100 members and 40 of them are from Congress; I am not sure.

Mr. MERROW. From Government agencies. Not from the Congress.

Mr. BENTLEY. Would you have any idea as to whether this National Commission might be competent to do this screening job that you just mentioned?

Colonel COFFMAN. I am sure that they would be.

Mr. BENTLEY. I know the chairman would be glad to hear you say that, because he is a member of the Commission.

Colonel COFFMAN. I am quite sure it was done without any knowledge of our own National Commission, and I think the National Commission was probably set up just to prevent the very thing that has happened.

Mr. MERROW. If some of the criticism offered could be cared for, you would be in favor of such an organization as UNESCO?

Colonel COFFMAN. I will have to say, Mr. Chairman, that I have not been instructed by my client as to what their particular position would be. So far as I, personally, am concerned, I am an old Democrat, and I think with our democratic way of government, when we are dissatisfied with people, we can't punch them on the nose, first, we have to wait for them, and the only way we can stay out of getting into a shooting war, if we have any hope of it, we have to meet them at a conference table. There must be some forum where we can effectively present our views without having to fight a war.

Mrs. BOLTON. My secretary has just handed me this information from the report on UNESCO. It says:

Actually, UNESCO produces only a limited amount of material suitable for classroom purposes and this material is used only upon the initiative of the appropriate school authorities. For example, in Arab refugee camps, and so on.

As long as you bring the Los Angeles matter to the foreground, I think we would very much appreciate your giving us the method that was used to put it into the schools.

Colonel COFFMAN. I will get what information I can.

Mrs. BOLTON. It is quite definite, here, that the only material they have can be used only under the initiative taken by the proper school authorities.

Thank you very much.

Mr. MERROW. Thank you, Colonel.

Mrs. BOLTON. We will appreciate it very much if you will let us have that material.

(The information requested has been furnished by Colonel Coffman and is contained in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. MERROW. Our next witness will be Mrs. Zaio Woodford Schroeder, of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

#### STATEMENT OF MRS. ZAIO WOODFORD SCHROEDER, CHAIRMAN, INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT, GENERAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS

Mrs. SCHROEDER. I am Zaio Woodford Schroeder, chairman of the international affairs department of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. We regret very keenly that Mrs. Sporborg could not be here. She is suffering from a fractured leg and the doctor has advised against her attendance. It is regrettable, because I am sure she could do a much more competent job than I shall.

Mr. MERROW. I am sure you will do all right.



Mrs. SCHROEDER. Thank you. I shall try.

Most of this is her handiwork. However, at this time, I would like to offer some resource material which you might like to use in the future.

(The documents referred to are contained in the files of the sub-committee.)

Mrs. SCHROEDER. The General Federation of Women's Clubs has a membership of about 5 million, and we have a like number in 39 other countries.

Our program of international relations has been of many years standing, and it has been supplemented by world cooperation tours by our members which we feel has created a sphere of understanding perhaps much better than the printed word.

We acted in an advisory capacity both at Dumbarton Oaks and at San Francisco, and we have been fortunate enough to have Mrs. Sporborg as our accredited nongovernmental observer at the United Nations from the inception of that organization.

Our program on the United Nations has been very extensive, including the specialized agencies. There were thousands of copies of the original charter sent to our members for study purposes. There have been numerous studies outlined. We have conducted many model meetings as we like to call them, which we feel not only gave our members the opportunity of knowing more clearly the purposes of procedures and, of course, including technical assistance, and from the knowledge, we hope they gained understanding. We have alerted them in the most recent past, and are continuing in that work, to alert some 3,000 of our members to study possible revisions of the charter.

You will find in our statement the various techniques we have used. As a result of those techniques, we think one of the interesting figures which I would like to emphasize briefly is that some 15,000 clubs have asked for information and programs on observance of United Nations week and day, which means that in 1953, Mr. Chairman, we show an increase of 73 percent over previous years.

I would like to call your attention to the resolutions attached to the statement. There are six in number, and as you know, probably better than I, they form the policy of the General Federation of Women's Clubs and, therefore, we must function within the framework of those policies, and they speak for us far more clearly and vocally than anything that I or any other individual might say.

(The statement and resolutions referred to are as follows:)

STATEMENT OF MRS. ZAIO WOODFORD SCHROEDER, CHAIRMAN, GFWC INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT

TESTIMONY ON THE UNITED NATIONS AND SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

I am Zaio Woodford Schroeder, chairman of the international affairs department, General Federation of Women's Clubs.

The General Federation of Women's Clubs has a membership of approximately 5 million women in the United States, and a like number in 39 other countries.

The General Federation of Women's Clubs was chartered by the United States Congress in 1901, and Congress has approved two amendments since that time.

The General Federation of Women's Clubs through the years has carried on a program of international relations including numerous world cooperation tours by our members.

The General Federation of Women's Clubs participated in an advisory capacity at the Dumbarton Oaks proposals as well as at the San Francisco Conference.

The General Federation of Women's Clubs has continuously had an accredited nongovernmental observer to the United Nations.

The General Federation of Women's Clubs has carried on an extensive program of education on the United Nations including the specialized agencies. For example, 25,000 copies of the original charter were distributed in early 1945 to our member clubs, together with study outlines to all States, and Hawaii, Alaska, and the District of Columbia. Meetings modeled after the United Nations Assembly have been conducted in 34 of the 48 States as a medium of education to assist in the understanding of the purposes and procedure of the United Nations, including technical assistance programs and activities and United Nations specialized agencies.

The General Federation of Women's Clubs has recently alerted 3,000 leaders in the federation at State and local levels to further study the charter with possible revisions in mind, all of which is in accordance with the provisions in the charter that it be reconsidered every 10 years (1955). Also copies of the recent Elmo Roper poll (public opinion concerning the U. N., the strengthening of it, World Government, etc.) are in the process of distribution.

*Media.*—Lectures; conferences; institutes; workshops; panel discussions; seminars; bulletins, articles; and study kits.

*Visits to U. N.*—The membership of the General Federation of Women's Clubs is reputed to hold the record for attendance in tours and visits to the United Nations headquarters in 1953.

In the autumn of 1952 and 1953, over 15,000 clubs were supplied upon request by our headquarters with literature on the observance of United Nations Week and Day; and supplemented by additional material requested by many thousands of our members from the United Nations headquarters.

In 1953 there was a 73-percent increase in active participation in the U. N. Week and Day over previous years by our membership.

As evidence of the General Federation of Women's Clubs' sustained support of the United Nations and its specialized agencies attached hereto are some of the resolutions adopted by the membership body in conventions assembled, and which resolutions are in effect as of this date.

#### SUPPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS (CONVENTION, 1952-55)

*Resolved,* That the General Federation of Women's Clubs in convention assembled, May 1952, reaffirms its endorsement of participation by the United States in the United Nations; and further

*Resolved,* That the General Federation of Women's Clubs, in order to spread accurate information and objective interpretation of the United Nations and its agencies, promulgate a campaign of education on the United Nations and urges all chairmen to integrate into their programs information concerning those United Nations agencies and activities which are germane to their respective chairmanships.

#### IMPLEMENTATION OF ARTICLE 43 OF THE U. N. CHARTER (CONVENTION, 1951-54)

*Resolved,* That the General Federation of Women's Clubs, in convention assembled, May 1951, supports the principle of implementation of article 43 of the United Nations Charter and further supports the United States mission to the United Nations in the resolution, now pending in General Assembly, to make such implementation available and in readiness for prompt service to meet any future emergency.

#### COLLECTIVE ACTION AGAINST AGGRESSOR BY THE U. N. (CONVENTION, 1951-54)

*Resolved,* That the General Federation of Women's Clubs in convention assembled, May 1951, reaffirms confidence in the United Nations and faith in its ability as an instrument for collective security, and declares the general federation's conviction that the United Nations constitutes our greatest hope for the welfare of all nations in war or peace.

#### INTERNATIONAL POLICE FORCE (CONVENTION, 1948-54)

*Resolved,* That the General Federation of Women's Clubs in convention assembled, May 1948, urges the United States delegation to the United Nations to press for the prompt establishment by the Security Council of an international police force, an international military contingent provided for in article 43, chapter VII of the charter, to be in readiness to carry out the United Nations' decisions and to act in emergencies of aggression.

## FOOD SURPLUSES (CONVENTION, 1950-56)

*Resolved*, That the General Federation of Women's Clubs in convention assembled, May 1950, expresses its strong support of continued efforts to reach an effective method for the constructive use of United States agricultural surpluses; and further

*Resolved*, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, to all members of the Congress, to the food and agriculture organizations of the United Nations, and to the United States Departments of State, Agriculture, and Commerce.

## GENOCIDE CONVENTION (BOARD OF DIRECTORS, 1949-55)

*Resolved*, That the Board of Directors of the General Federation of Women's Clubs at its meeting, October 1949, endorses the principle of the Genocide Convention and urges its prompt ratification with adequate constitutional safeguards; and further

*Resolved*, That copies of this resolution be sent to the President; the Department of State; members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee; Philip Jessup, Ambassador-at-Large; Warren Austin, United States representative to the United Nations; and Trygve Lie, Secretary General of the United Nations.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Here are our conclusions: We feel the U. N. organization is necessary. We feel it is necessary because it is the only world organization besides our organization of American States which, of course, concerns itself with the problems of ourselves and Latin America.

We feel we have no choice except to see that the United Nations is a going concern, because whether we choose or not, science has seen fit to dwarf the world. The United Nations, if I may use an expression which is a bit classic, has become the cup of the community of nations of the world. We know it is not as perfect or effective as we desire. We know that the charter at San Francisco was an improvement over the provisions as contained in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. We are looking forward with eager and intensive study toward the forthcoming consideration of the conference on the revision. We are extensively interested and are going to dedicate ourselves to the study of any possible proposed revisions or review.

We hope—and I am now quoting someone other than myself—that the conference will not be one of punctuation or showdown, but one of program.

We believe, as women, that it is our responsibility to share with our country, in the role of responsibility for world leadership, because our women, as all women throughout the world, are biologically pacifists, and as the conservationists of the race, and until such time as those who oppose the United Nations can give us a better instrument toward keeping the peace—it was not dedicated toward making the peace, but toward keeping the peace—then we, of the general federation, will tend to support it and supplement it, where we can.

That is the conclusion of my statement, Mr. Chairman, at this time. Mr. MERROW. Mrs. Bolton.

Mrs. BOLTON. I remember one of the talks I made at the United Nations. It was brief like yours, and I was almost cheered.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Thank you. That is very nice.

Mrs. BOLTON. You have said things very clearly and very well, and we are deeply grateful to you.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Thank you. It has been a privilege to have this opportunity.

Mr. MERROW. Is there anything in these resolutions which has to do with the specialized agencies?

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Of course, we feel in our thinking, Mr. Chairman, that the United Nations cannot be separated from the specialized agencies at any time, and our general support of the United Nations does include, you see, the specialized agencies. These are only a part of our resolutions. You will find in our folder a complete set of resolutions pertaining to the United Nations and I am sure you will find one pertinent to the specialized agencies.

Mr. MERROW. You have committees working on this all the time, do you not?

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Our international affairs department has a division on specialized agencies. Your Mrs. Arnold, of New Hampshire, is the chairman of that division—I believe you are from New Hampshire.

Mr. MERROW. Yes.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. May I say she is a most competent leader.

Mr. MERROW. I was just thinking that perhaps at some later date we might want a more detailed statement from your committee, after you have studied the specialized agencies, particularly if you could suggest any improvement that might be made.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. There is some very fine material in that folder by Mrs. Arnold. I am sure you will find some, what I shall call subtle suggestions as to amendment.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Bentley—

Mr. BENTLEY. Does the federation intend to submit any recommendations next year at the time the charter is to be revised?

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Let me say this: We intend to study it within certain areas of our thinking, and one of the recommendations in our resource material which was sent out to our clubs and to local chairmen concerning objectivity. If I may indulge for just a moment, at this late hour, to read a few sentences, I think it will do it better than anything I can say.

We ask women to do the following: "Do a thorough job. After you have chosen the particular phase or problem of international affairs which you wish to study, consult the Department of State or any other agencies directly responsible for organizational expression on the subject.

"When the matter also involves, directly or indirectly, private business or other agencies, consult them, also. Be objective. Study all the facts, despite the level of administrative hierarchy involved. Exhaust and appraise all sources of information before you sanction or discount any measure or instrument. It is better to be inarticulate on something which you have not examined for a variety of points of view than to be vocal and mistaken.

"A frequent process of cross-checking is necessary in order to prevent the growth of misleading emphasis or the possibility of contradictory ad hoc decisions."

What I am saying is, we feel it will take us a year to study this properly and if, at the end of that time, we are concluded that we have sufficient information and enough know-how, I presume—I am not prophetic—we may come forth with some recommendations.

Mr. BENTLEY. Now, I would like to ask you about this last resolution which you have included on page 2 of your statement, about the

genocide convention. The principle of the genocide convention was endorsed by the board of directors of the General Federation of Women's Clubs in October 1949. Is that endorsement binding upon all of your local groups, or do you know if there have been different expressions of feeling?

Mrs. SCHROEDER. I am afraid there have been differences of viewpoint. However, this is the policy of the General Federation. We have endorsed the principle of the genocide convention and urged ratification.

With a large organization like ours, we cannot assure you of the complete understanding and cooperation, as you realize.

Mr. BENTLEY. The expression of opinion of your board of directors, of course, is not binding upon your local organizations. I mean, they are perfectly at liberty to take a different view if they wish?

Mrs. SCHROEDER. I presume they have complete autonomy, but they generally do not exercise that right.

Mr. BENTLEY. I am informed, Mr. Chairman, that the District of Columbia Federation of Women's Clubs is opposed to the genocide convention.

I think that is all. Thank you very much, Mrs. Schroeder.

Mr. MERROW. Thank you very much, Mrs. Schroeder.

I have a statement for the record by Adin M. Downer, assistant legislative officer of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States. I will include that in the record at this point.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

STATEMENT OF ADIN M. DOWNER, ASSISTANT LEGISLATIVE OFFICER, VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, I appreciate the opportunity of appearing before you to express the views of the Veterans of Foreign Wars in regard to the United Nations and its specialized agencies. As you probably know, the Veterans of Foreign Wars is an organization composed of men who have served in the Armed Forces of the United States on foreign soil or hostile waters in time of war or during a recognized campaign or expedition. While our activities are largely those of a service organization, our principal objective is to maintain the security of the United States and to preserve the American way of life. This objective is, of course, inseparable from the matter your subcommittee has under consideration.

As an organization we recognize that the advancement of science is, in effect, continually reducing the distances that separate nations and necessarily imposes upon us a continually increasing need for international cooperation. Recognizing this basic fact, we have consistently endorsed the principles of collective security and international cooperation. Our endorsement of the United Nations and the activities of its specialized agencies, however, is not *carte blanche*. We have consistently opposed proposals of many well-meaning persons who would carry international cooperation to the point of establishing a world government in which our sovereignty would be impaired and our unrestricted right to self-government forfeited.

We have consistently supported UNESCO and recognize that it has done much to promote international understanding in the minds of men. However, we have been apprehensive that some aspects of its study program tend to promote a doctrine of world citizenship under which the obligation of citizens to our own country would be subordinated to that of a world organization. As necessary as international cooperation may be, we feel that this is too high a price to pay. The trend in this direction is not identical but related to proposals to create internal law, defining and limiting the rights of American citizens through treaty law. This was the basis of our support of the Bricker resolution. While it is true that the recent U. N. Covenants on Genocide and Human Rights have not been ratified by the United States Senate, this does not change the fact that there has been a tendency to promote this type of international agreement. I shall not attempt to go into many complex questions involved in the Bricker resolution.

It is sufficient to say as a broad general principle that we endorse and support the United Nations and its efforts to achieve international cooperation and understanding insofar as it can be done without impairing the sovereignty of the United States.

The annual national encampment is the supreme governing body of our organization. I should like to offer for the record two resolutions unanimously adopted by the delegates to our last national encampment, held in Milwaukee, Wis., August 2-7, 1953. Resolution No. 427 expresses our opposition to world government and resolution No. 425 expresses the views of our organization in regard to the recent amendment to the NATO Treaty, under which American military personnel are subjected to the jurisdiction of the courts of NATO countries in which they may be stationed. It is, of course, natural that any country should desire jurisdiction over any peacetime military forces stationed in it. However, it seems to us that the rights any foreign nation might reasonably expect to have over American military personnel must be reconciled with the individual's rights as given him by the Constitution of the United States. It is not enough that by these treaties we obtained equal rights as to jurisdiction over the military forces of any of the foreign nations that might be stationed in this country. Reciprocity in this instance does not create equality because an American citizen has greater rights than do most of the citizens of the foreign countries signatory to the NATO Treaty. Consequently, American citizens are the only ones who lose rights under this treaty while foreign citizens who might be stationed here will, for the most part, gain rights under American law which they would not have under the laws of their own country. This is the most recent example of international agreement which has caused us to feel concerned that international cooperation can be carried to the point that it deprives our citizens of rights which we are unwilling to surrender.

We have been interested in and appreciate the report of your special study mission which made a personal visit to the specialized agencies of the UN and other international organizations on the continent of Europe. Your report has compiled information valuable to all persons who are interested in these problems. We appreciate your concern with them and thank you for your kind attention to our views.

**RESOLUTION No. 425—OPPOSING TREATY FORCING AMERICAN SERVICEMEN TO BE TRIED BY FOREIGN COURTS**

Whereas, under a recent executive treaty ratified by the Senate of the United States, American servicemen who are citizens of the United States who are alleged to have committed crimes in foreign countries shall be tried under foreign laws and procedures by foreign courts in the foreign countries where said crimes are alleged to have been committed; and

Whereas said treaty law will deprive American servicemen of their constitutional rights to be tried under the American system of legal jurisprudence for crimes alleged to be committed; and

Whereas said treaty approval was justified under the cloak of reciprocity that the United States will have the authority to try foreign servicemen for crimes alleged to have been committed in the United States under the American system of legal jurisprudence; and

Whereas it is a well-known and established fact that with the exception of some foreign military personnel in special training or who are attached to foreign embassies, there are a negligible number of foreign troops in the United States compared to the number of American servicemen in foreign countries; and

Whereas with the exception of one or two foreign countries, the laws and legal procedures of foreign countries in which American servicemen are serving compare most unfavorably with the laws and procedures governing American citizens; Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the 54th National Encampment of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, That we go on record vigorously opposing the recently ratified treaty which places American servicemen who are American citizens at the mercy of foreign laws and courts, and call upon the President and the Congress of the United States to repeal said treaty and protect the constitutional rights of American servicemen in accordance with the opinion of former Chief Justice John Marshall of the United States Supreme Court who held that service in the armed forces of the United States shall not abridge or nullify the constitutional rights of an American citizen.*

*Adopted by the 54th National Encampment of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, Milwaukee, Wis., August 2-7, 1953.*

## RESOLUTION NO. 427—OPPOSING WORLD GOVERNMENT

Whereas, under the pretext of the establishment of a permanent world peace, a widespread attempt is being made to merge the sovereignty of the United States of America into an international federation known as World Government which would be empowered: (1) to create a world legislature to enact all laws necessary to carry out the functions delegated to the world federal government; (2) to set up a world executive agency to administer and enforce the laws; (3) to establish world courts to interpret the Constitution and laws, and to try and sentence law-breakers; (4) to have authority to raise revenue by direct taxing powers, independent of national taxation; (5) to assume the present national debt of member nations; (6) to take over all gold reserves and regulate the currency of member nations; (7) to prohibit the possession by any nation of armaments or armed forces beyond an approved level for internal policing and the establishment of a worldwide international military force; and

Whereas under any World Federation program, including that of Atlantic Union and United World Federalists, the representatives of the people of the United States would lose individuality and be outvoted by the representatives of the masses of population of the World Federation, Government or Atlantic Union; and

Whereas 23 States had adopted resolutions or memorials petitioning the President and the Congress of the United States to explore and survey the possibility of some form of World Government or Federation before the Veterans of Foreign Wars and other patriotic groups had become alerted to the growing danger of such a movement and the possible loss of American sovereignty; and

Whereas 21 State legislatures of the original 23 States which had approved resolutions or memorials favoring some form of World Government have rescinded said resolutions or memorials since the Veterans of Foreign Wars launched an aggressive campaign in opposition to World Government, Federation or Atlantic Union through a VFW American sovereignty campaign; and

Whereas events during the past few years have shown that World Federation or Atlantic Union are impracticable and unrealistic: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the 54th National Encampment of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, That we reaffirm their opposition to any form of World Federation or World Government, including Atlantic Union, involving the loss or serious diminution of our national sovereignty; and be it further*

*Resolved, That the Veterans of Foreign Wars continue its campaign to educate the citizens of the United States regarding the dangers of any World Federation or Government including Atlantic Union; and be it further*

*Resolved, That the American sovereignty campaign of the Veterans of Foreign Wars be endorsed and continued throughout the fiscal year 1953-54.*

Submitted by Commander in Chief James W. Cothran, to Committee on National Security, National and Foreign Affairs.

**Mr. MERROW.** This concludes the hearings this morning, but the subcommittee proposes to continue to have hearings on the United Nations and its specialized agencies so that any organization interested in making a statement and appearing before the subcommittee may do so.

The subcommittee now stands adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 1 p. m., the subcommittee adjourned, to reconvene at the call of the chairman.)





# INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS

THURSDAY, MARCH 4, 1954

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS, SUBCOMMITTEE  
ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:45 a. m., in room G-3, United States Capitol, Hon. Chester E. Merrow (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. MERROW. The committee will be in order.

This is a continuation of hearings on international organizations and movements. There will be other members in a little later, I think.

Mr. Bentley, who is a member of the study mission, was with us the other day. We regret the terrible incident which occurred in the House on Monday and certainly hope that he has a rapid recovery.

I might say that the study mission report referred to throughout the hearings the other day has now been printed as House Report 1251 and is available at the House Document Room.

In this connection, I would like to clarify the record and point out that the list of booklets which Mrs. Leetch referred to the other day, she being a representative of the American coalition, the list she referred to on March 1 was a list submitted to the study mission by UNESCO and is contained in a memorandum which UNESCO gave to the study mission. This is put in as a memorandum from UNESCO. The memorandum is produced on pages 81 through 84 of the report. I would like to repeat that it is UNESCO's account of what it claims is being done by UNESCO toward international understanding and peace. It is not the account of the study mission.

I would also point out in this connection that in the findings of the study mission on UNESCO, on pages 228 and 229, is the following:

UNESCO's deficiencies and confusion—

and I am quoting—

are particularly apparent when considered in the light of rapidly moving events. The forces of freedom are engaged in the great struggle with those who are constantly seeking to destroy that freedom. In this struggle, UNESCO could and should do far more to publicize and set forth the values of the ideas and ideals which form the foundation of the free world and to denounce the Communist ideology which seeks to destroy those ideas and ideals.

The first witness we have this morning is Adm. W. R. Furlong, United States Navy, retired, representative of the Sons of the American Revolution.

Admiral Furlong.

**STATEMENT OF ADM. W. R. FURLONG, UNITED STATES NAVY  
(RETIRED), REPRESENTING THE SONS OF THE AMERICAN  
REVOLUTION**

Admiral FURLONG. As the chairman just said, I represent the National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution. I am the national chairman of the committee for the preservation of American sovereignty.

We ask Congress to insure that proposals to strengthen the United Nations do not weaken the United States. The persons most vocal about strengthening the United Nations are the extremists who want world government now, and who hope to establish a super world government through the necessary changes in the United Nations Charter.

One of the frequently advocated changes is the abolition of the veto. The power to veto is the last resort by which the United States can protect its own vital interests and retain its sovereignty against a foreign vote detrimental to us.

The Sons of the American Revolution want the veto power in the charter retained.

Another important matter that will arise among proposals to strengthen the U. N. is that of giving the U. N. greater military power. The member nations have not found it practicable or to their best interests to carry out those articles in the charter such as articles 43, 45, 46, and 47, which give military power to the U. N. These articles require the members to make special agreements with the U. N. for the supply of armed forces and for keeping immediately available air force contingents, and for a military staff committee for the strategic direction of forces under the Security Council. The member nations have not complied with these articles.

A more efficient way of preventing aggression and at the same time not losing control of our own forces was found in forming regional pacts such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, known as NATO.

In the regional pacts, nations ally themselves in a particular region to meet a particular situation. It serves no purpose to keep in the charter articles which nations will not carry out.

On March 5, 1951, the collective measures committee, which was established under the General Assembly, recommended that member nations maintain within their own armed forces, units for the use of the U. N. Such a measure, if adopted, would strike a blow to voluntary enlistments in our armed services where young men enlist to serve in defense of their own United States, and not where they may be detailed to fight the battles of the U. N. around the globe.

If the U. N. is to continue as a possible preserver of world peace, it is our contention that it should use consultation, cooperation, diplomacy and sanctions. It should not be equipped with a military force of its own. It may call on nations to supply forces voluntarily where sanctions are too slow, but it must never have a permanent military force of its own. That, of course, is an essential, so it is said to be, by the world federalists, who want a supergovernment.

Only 2 days ago, on March 2, as reported in the New York Times, the members of the Human Rights Commission of the U. N., after long endeavor, have given up an attempt to draft an article on prop-

erty rights for inclusion in the U. N.'s future covenants on human rights. Some nations on the Commission do not have the same regard for property rights as we do. We ask the Congress to give the closest scrutiny to proposed treaties which originate in the committees of the U. N., so they do not abrogate our own laws and go contrary to our own rights.

This recent example of the failure to agree on property rights is one of the things to be watched. The recent debates in the Senate on the effect of treaties on the Constitution show there is a danger for the United States in proposed treaties originating in specialized agencies. As long as these agencies exist as a part of the U. N., this watchfulness must continue in the Congress.

Mr. MERROW. Thank you, Admiral, for your statement.

From what you have said, I would conclude that you favor the United Nations and feel that it can be strengthened. You said the veto must be maintained in the United Nations. I am thinking of making it a more effective organization. From what you have said, you feel that ought to be done to make it effective. Have you further suggestions as to how it could be more effective in preserving the peace?

Admiral FURLONG. I think a statement made by Dean Rusk, Deputy Under Secretary of State, to the Committee on Foreign Relations, in reply to a similar question answers your question. He said, the charter contains "provisions which if loyally carried out, would insure peace." "We do not need another overall agreement; we need performance on the ones we already have." You will find that in the Committee Report No. 2501, of September 1, 1950.

The part of the U. N. Charter that I am interested in chiefly, and of which I have spoken here, is that part of the charter which has to do with the preservation of peace and the prevention of aggression. I touched, in the last part of my statement, on things that have to do with the specialized agencies, which, of course, the United Nations could get along without, because many of them the United States already had in working order by treaties with other nations before the United Nations existed.

Mr. MERROW. By "specialized agencies," you mean what?

Admiral FURLONG. Things like UNESCO. But the ones that were already working were things like the International Radio Conferences, the World Meteorological Organization, Safety of Life at Sea, International Boundary Commissions, Control of Opium, Universal Postal Union, and so forth.

Mr. MERROW. You would keep those?

Admiral FURLONG. Well, those are not necessary for the United Nations at all in connection with the preservation of peace, except as they say, for the long-term effect. They could operate outside the U. N.

Mr. MERROW. I am glad you mentioned the long-term. You would say they were necessary in the long-term, would you not?

Admiral FURLONG. I would be willing to do away with them under the United Nations Charter, particularly those under UNESCO, because they create this terrible situation of harm from treaties originating in the United Nations which has come up and which has been debated in the Senate lately on the Bricker resolution. If

we didn't have committees in the United Nations—that is, these specialized committees—that were bringing up things which, due to the membership of the committees, are necessarily not completely in accord with our laws, if we didn't have those committees, then there wouldn't have arisen this debate in the Senate about changing our own Constitution.

Mr. MERROW. I want to get this clear in my mind, Admiral. Do you mean from what you have said that we could do away with the specialized agencies, or is it your view we could do away with the specialized committees in the U. N.?

Admiral FURLONG. Keep the matters handled by these committees as matters handled between the United States and other nations direct.

Mr. MERROW. But you don't mean we could do away with the specialized agencies such as the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Labor Organization, the World Health Organization, and similar specialized agencies?

Admiral FURLONG. Well, what I meant to say was, I am more interested in the immediate preservation of peace, and prevention of aggression. That is the real reason for the U. N. Those other agencies that you have just mentioned could be accomplished between the United States and the other nations without the U. N.

If they are kept in the U. N., then we must have this watchfulness that I speak of by the Congress, on the treaties that they propose for us to carry out.

Mr. MERROW. I thought there was some difference between the committees you referred to within the U. N. itself and these specialized agencies that are set up by legislation in the Congress.

Admiral FURLONG. No.

Mr. MERROW. I thought you were making a distinction.

Admiral FURLONG. The specialized agencies set up between the United States, our State Department, and, of course, ratified by the Senate, a number of them before the formation of the U. N., weren't called specialized agencies. They were just organizations established by treaties, to carry on things that had to be carried on between nations. Of course, they have now gravitated toward, been taken up, and absorbed in some measure in the United Nations. That is why I say it wasn't absolutely essential to put them in the United Nations, because many of them existed before the United Nations existed.

Mr. MERROW. You are right; some of them existed before the United Nations came about.

Admiral FURLONG. If you have any that raise such a controversy in the country, as UNESCO, then you have to have that awareness that is going on in the Senate.

Mr. MERROW. UNESCO was set up by a law, of course, which passed both Houses. UNESCO is controversial.

Admiral FURLONG. My testimony has been mostly on those things I feel are very essential; that the veto power must be retained; and the other matter, that is, the giving to the United Nations direct military power in which they have their staffs to control the movements of forces in the field and in which they have the forces given to them as was required by these chapters, 43, 45, 46, and 47, which have never been carried out—these articles and the power they give the U. N.—I say, should be omitted from the Charter.

Mr. MERROW. You agree with the NATO setup, I take it?

Admiral FURLONG. Oh, yes. Handle regional troubles by nations who are sovereign and who will agree to go in and fight that particular issue and clear it up. But what I am against is this proposed super-power for the U. N. After giving them this direct control of military power, you open the way to give them legislative power to tax to support that military power that you have given them.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Hays, a member of our Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements, do you have any questions?

Mr. HAYS. I don't believe so, Mr. Chairman. I heard just the last part of the admiral's statement, but I was interested in what he had to say about retaining the veto as long as we have the present condition confronting us. At the moment I see no other alternative myself. I feel that while we are exploring all of the possibilities, that if anyone can come up with an effective substitute for the veto, he would be rendering us a great service to let us have the benefit of his thoughts. I am sure the admiral would agree that between now and the time of the Charter revisions conferences the Nation would do well to ponder these various matters. That is the value, we think, of the hearings that we are conducting.

Admiral FURLONG. That is what I thought was the purpose of your hearings.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Carnahan, a member of the full committee. Do you have any questions?

Mr. CARNAHAN. It is your feeling that the U. N. as presently constituted is perhaps strong enough to give about the only service that could be expected at the present time?

Admiral FURLONG. I think so.

Mr. CARNAHAN. Your concern, then, is not with extending to it what you would consider unusual powers?

Admiral FURLONG. That is right, sir, exactly.

Mr. CARNAHAN. Among the specialized agencies, they are all at the present time independent organizations, I believe, with their own organizational structures. Do you feel that these specialized agencies are any particular hindrance or burden to the U. N.?

Admiral FURLONG. Not to the U. N., no. Probably it is good to have them all related and cooperating; that is, agencies that were established by the United States before the U. N., since the U. N. is doing things like those the United States did in international agreements. However, there are certain ones of them that, while they do no harm to the U. N., I don't think they do special good to the United States by being in the U. N. They might just as well be carried on as they were formerly.

Mr. CARNAHAN. You feel that at least some of the specialized agencies could, perhaps, do a better job operating completely as an independent agency?

Admiral FURLONG. Yes; I noticed that the United States still carries on and does a great deal of work in helping other nations, alone and on its own, and by appropriations of its own, even though you still have the same thing in the U. N. That is because of a feeling I think, that our Congress thinks we can do the job better.

I noticed in the report of your subcommittee, sir, dated February 1, 1954, that there were some 800 people employed in the headquarters Secretariat of UNESCO, the largest headquarters secretariat of all the specialized agencies.

We might have in our own Congress a more economical view of the number of people required to carry on a particular work.

Mr. CARNAHAN. Do you feel that the U. N. is any particular detriment to any of the specialized agencies?

Admiral FURLONG. No, I don't think it is, but I think it might be a detriment to the United States to have those specialized agencies under the U. N., if they are not watched, particularly, as I said before when it comes to making treaties that originate in those specialized agencies.

For instance, you will remember how long the Commission has been working on the Human Rights Covenant and how, in the Human Rights Covenant, the matter of regulation of the press came up, and how our representatives from this country went abroad to talk with the foreign representatives about freedom of the press in the Human Rights Covenant and how those editors of ours came back bitterly opposed to the restrictions that foreign nations want in the Human Rights Covenant on the freedom of the press.

That is what I mean by watchfulness; see that some treaty that specialized agencies propose, by which the world is to be governed, is not something which really is less than the rights we already have in our country as to freedom of the press, religion, the right to assemble, and so forth.

Mr. CARNAHAN. Do you feel that we, as a Nation, have as much watchfulness over the specialized agencies, through their rather loose association with the U. N., as we would have if they didn't have that association? Will we watch them closer if they are not in the U. N., as we will if they are in the U. N.?

Admiral FURLONG. I couldn't say whether we would or not. I hope that we will watch them very close since they are in the U. N., because they are made up of committees whose foreign membership we don't know very much about until finally the proposed treaty comes up for presentation to the Congress. Of course, our own representative on a committee is closely associated with the U. N., and he knows what nations are on that committee. I think if we, the United States, were represented on an agency directly with the nations that we were going to make a treaty with, on some particular subject, we certainly would watch the proceedings closer than we do in the U. N.

Mr. CARNAHAN. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MERROW. Just one thing more. Of course, the House doesn't have a voice in the ratification of treaties, as we all know. We passed a proposed amendment some years ago in the House asking that the House take part in treaty ratification by voting with the Senate. With the constitutional provision that a treaty must be ratified by two-thirds vote of the Senate, do you feel that that is a safeguard?

Admiral FURLONG. That is a safeguard, certainly. I think if it were ratified by a recorded vote, it would still be a better safeguard.

Mr. MERROW. Is there anything else?

We thank you, Admiral.

Admiral FURLONG. Thank you, sir.

Mr. MERROW. Next is Mrs. Ernest Howard, representing the Wheel of Progress, Washington, D. C.

You mentioned 1 or 2 other organizations that you would represent this morning, Mrs. Howard.

# STATEMENT OF MRS. ERNEST HOWARD, THE WHEEL OF PROGRESS, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mrs. HOWARD. I am representing the Wheel of Progress, which is a patriotic organization about 25 years old. That is who I am representing officially. That is not the only organization that I belong to.

Mr. MERROW. You mentioned several others whose names I don't recall, now.

Mrs. HOWARD. I never like to especially speak of them in a hearing like this because it might be misconstrued that I was speaking for them officially, but I could name DAR, United Daughters of the Confederacy, the Parent Teachers, the American Legion Auxiliary, and I am president of the International Association of Firefighters; I am vice president of the Women's Auxiliaries of Labor, et cetera, et cetera. I am not speaking for those, but only the Wheel of Progress, which has a resolution asking that all UNESCO materials be withdrawn from the public schools and colleges of this country.

Mr. MERROW. You may proceed.

Mrs. HOWARD. There are a few remarks I would like to leave with you.

Mr. Chairman, we are living today in a world in which—I would like to say, to Mr. Carnahan, are you from Missouri?

Mr. CARNAHAN. Yes.

Mrs. HOWARD. So am I.

We are living today in a world in which nations are divided against nations, class against class, and race against race, and never has there been a time in world history when science could so effectively destroy man and his institutions as completely as today.

It is a fact known as anything can be known in human affairs that we and all we hold dear, this country is sitting on a powder magazine and the fuse is lighted.

According to the Charter of the United Nations, it was founded for three principal purposes: To maintain international peace and security; to protect and expand human freedom; and to provide human welfare, or promote human welfare, and now, judging from these three goals up to date, it has a record of complete failure, and will be a failure so long as the United Nations allows itself to be blackmailed and sabotaged by the Soviet Union.

To the Communists, the U. N. is a bourgeois parliament. It is imperialistic, an agency of the class enemy. In party textbooks, Communists must join such parliaments in order to gain the best vantage point from which to destroy them.

A resolution of the Second Congress of the International says:

The Communist Party enters a parliament not to participate organically in its activities, but to undermine the parliament from within, to rally the masses.

Every Communist representative is required to realize that he is not "a legislator searching for agreement with other legislators," but an agitator of the party, sent to the camp of the enemy in order to carry out the decisions of the party.

He is not to make motions with the aim of getting them adopted by the bourgeois majority, but only for—

propaganda, agitation, and organization, there being no question of the utilization of bourgeois governmental institutions except for the principle and purpose of their destruction.

Obviously, it is the presence and not the absence of the Communists that paralyzes the U. N. From past experiences, we know that the nations will attempt to settle their differences over the compromise table, and certainly into this organization our country has poured our ideals and our hopes and our prayers. However, we must surely know by now that we cannot safeguard our security by sacrifices made upon the altar of international brotherhood.

We know we cannot defend ourselves against the perils of war by mumblings written down in arbitration treaties. And yet, today we have coming out of this colossal international intrigue, two proposed treaties, both of which would supersede our own Constitution of the United States, the greatest document that has ever been written by the pen of man. These two are the genocide convention and the international covenant on human rights which, if adopted, will become the overlaw of the adopting nations. In the United States, it will become the law of the land, because our Constitution provides that a treaty adopted by the Senate shall become the supreme law of the land.

It was announced on February 5, 1952, that the General Assembly of the United Nations, meeting in Paris, adopted a resolution to divide the covenant into two sections, each to be presented as a treaty. One would contain the political and civil provisions—articles 1 and 18—the other would contain the social and economic provisions—articles 19, 73. No bearing on the issues, but much easier to put over on the people, by this division.

The provisions of the U. N. on human rights follows a pattern and thought found in the constitution of the dictatorial governments. Take this sample from the Russian Constitution, article 25:

In conformity with the interests of the working people, and in order to strengthen the socialistic system, the citizens of the U. S. S. R. are guaranteed by law (a) freedom of speech; (b) freedom of press; (c) freedom of assembly, including the holding of mass meetings; and (d) freedom of street processions and demonstrations. These civil rights are insured by placing at the disposal of the working people and their organizations, printing presses, stocks of paper, public buildings, streets, and other requisites for the exercise of these rights.

Now, that sounds like complete freedom, but you can do all of these things, enjoy all of these freedoms and facilities supplied by these governments, if you get them, and of course, they can be so easily taken away.

The genocide convention is one more attempt to hand over the sovereignty of the people of the United States to an international committee, in which the United States would be a hopeless minority.

What is the purpose of the genocide convention? Is it to prohibit mass murder or is it really the foul means whereby any person of any minority, whether it is Christian, Jew, Negro, or Chinese, or what have you, if aggrieved or fancies himself so, can bring charges against some individual or group before an international committee and then submit the fate of these free Americans to the mercies of aliens. And isn't it a short cut to a world FEPC, thus making unimportant the success or failure of the FEPC in Washington or in any State capital?

We know—Mr. Chairman, at this point I want to point out that when we get about this far in what we have to say, usually they say to us that we are in an atomic age. In the hearing yesterday before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the chairman pointed out, that



at one time the world was so big, and now, in his estimation, it is now down to the size of a ping-pong ball, according to the fact that we live in an atomic age. We do live in an atomic age, but we still know that we have certain fundamentals that have never changed, such as, it still takes 9 months to produce a baby.

Since the United Nations in 1945, we have seen a gradual decline of the prestige and power of the United States. We are pushed around in Korea, in Europe; we are no longer free agents for what we feel is good for this country. In the Old Testament we find that God himself frowned upon world government as a short cut to heaven when he disbursed the builders of the Tower of Babel.

Peace, even world peace, is not a Christian concept. Political peace is not to be confused with that inner and spiritual serenity in the face of death and defeat which Christ referred to when He said, "My peace I leave unto you."

Christ himself refused to be the head of a political world government when it was offered to Him by Satan. He said, "Get thee behind me, Satan."

Two thousand years ago the desire for peace was advanced by men of good will. In our lifetime, we have hoped and worked for peace, but two world conflicts have shattered that hope and now a nation dedicated to the enslavement of all the peoples of the earth is on the march.

Mr. Chairman, it is felt by a great many thinking Americans that we, ourselves, unleashed the devil's chains in 1933.

The greatest difficulty in teaching truth is to remove bias of false learning, and at the present time, the false teachings of the world do-gooders and propagandists have so proselyted public opinion that many of our American citizens are profoundly confused. Aspiring to high positions and popular favor, these propagandists have found it easy to get their audiences with them. They are so imbued with what they conceive to be divine principles they believe there is no excuse for anyone holding an opinion other than theirs, and that one who holds a different opinion is an enemy of mankind, or an isolationist.

But while they decry every manner of aggression, still they undertake to enforce their doctrine by most aggressive practices, and that is why the people of this country have become aroused and want to know whether the United States of America is to be governed in our international affairs, and in our domestic laws, by treaty laws or by laws with a constitutional basis passed by the Congress of the United States, or, are we to surrender our God-given rights and freedom to an international tribunal having no qualification for interpreting the laws of our country. The condition under which God has given liberty to man is eternal vigilance, which condition, if he breaks, is servitude.

Mr. Chairman, those were a few remarks. I will wade in here, now, and point out to you from the standpoint of the United Nations that as we know it, the United Nations was set up to be a mediating board. We know, today, that there are statesmen in the Senate who say that if they had it to do over again, they would not have voted for it.

They would not have voted for it because it was conceived, as we all know now, by a father who is now behind bars for treason—that is what it is—and it, like many other contracts, was written with a great

deal of fine print, and much to the—to make a sad story—the fine print is often not read.

There is a big question in the minds of our people today as to the cost of the U. N. Yesterday, Ambassador Lodge, told the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee himself, that it costs only 16 cents per person, such a bargain for this country, only costs 16 cents a person.

Now, I don't know where Mr. Lodge got his figures and that is not up to me to defend his figures, but a great many people of this country; and I say that advisedly and I feel I am justified when I say a great many people, because I come in contact with, I suppose, as many people as any Congressman or Senator does during the year.

They wonder about those figures, how that figure is arrived at, because we know there are nearly 160 million people in this country and is the figure of 16 cents in proportion to what other nations are paying, where many other nations may pay only 1 or 5 cents? And that figure does not stand up entirely with other figures, because in 1952, I think the cost of the United Nations according to the Wall Street Journal of August, was about \$385 million.

It was most revealing, when the Ambassador said, too, that none of these specialized agencies were under his jurisdiction. He wished that they were. Later, when interviewed—we asked—since these agencies were not under his jurisdiction, did the 16 cents include them, so he said it did.

Mr. Chairman, we are old fashioned enough to believe that whoever pays the fiddler calls the tune.

Now, the thing of it is, this is not something that can be talked about within a few minutes, or within even a few hours, because this is a great, colossal organization that has a thousand legs reaching out into every community in this country. Some people have called it—first I want to say here, the United Nations per se, as it was set up to mediate around the board, the things that could cause war, that probably is what everybody had in mind when it was first organized. And as you see, and don't have to be shown the things that have happened since it was organized, and then from that has grown this great mold. A mold just came over the whole outside of the U. N. in the form of these different agencies.

First, we have to remember that there is a system to this whole thing. It is not just what you read. You have to pull up the logs and see the worms under there. Some people have called UNESCO a crackpot system. It is more serious than that. It is insidious, just like a cancer that you don't know is there.

For instance, we hear it said, "There is no need for the Bricker amendment. Don't worry a thing about it because if anything happens all you have to do is come back to the Senate."

But as has been pointed out after agreements have been made then it is too late, and the intelligence of the people of this country must not be insulted by the fact that they do not realize that the honor of a nation is involved after these agreements and treaties and other intrigues have been instituted. So you just can't say that you don't have to worry.

Now, "where do you get all this," you might say. Now, all that I have in my mind that I have given to others, is based upon what they say—and when I say "they" I mean what UNESCO says, what the

United Nations says they do, what the World Health says they do, what International Labor Organizations says they do—which, by the way, was an autonomous organization—it was organized about 35 years ago, but has been swallowed up by the United Nations.

I noticed in this latest report that UNESCO probably is not responsible for everything that goes out in the pamphlets. If they are, then, not responsible, they should be careful that they don't include it in their material.

The United Nations was rather fathered under peculiar circumstances and by peculiar fathers and probably was hatched in August 1941, out in the Atlantic by President Roosevelt and Churchill. Then, of course, they strained every nerve that they had from then on, in order to do everything in the way of appeasement, in giving away all that was not nailed down in this country to Russia or to Stalin, in order that he might be persuaded to come into the United Nations.

Then, in a book called *Now is the Moment* by B. Harold Rugg, you know—he points out here—he wrote this book in 1943, and *Now is the Moment* means that they are all set up now, that everybody is here in Washington with the same idea, especially the center-to-the-left crowd and they are all set up and now is a good time to have this great transition of the Government. And he points out here, on page 146, the system of the world government.

And, by the way, I must show you here that they say—and that is the United Nations, it sets up here, it says that while it isn't a world government, but it is all set up to be if necessary. That is in here. They say that. No one else says it.

The harmful part that the people of this country—and they are to be pitied, the majority of the people, because a great majority of the people of this country have not the privilege nor the opportunity to study all of this and to hear what it is all about, and, of course, as you know, it is hard to get anything but one side through the press or through the radio channels. It is absolutely almost an impossibility. And it is what is not said. For instance, in the teaching of the great educational program that UNESCO has put on, it is what is not said. It is how they work through other channels. In fact, they point that out, that they are all set up, you see. They are all set up.

It says, "United States National Commission." There isn't any difference. I heard a question the other day asked of a witness by one of your members. "Are you sure you are talking about UNESCO or the United States National Commission?" Mr. Chairman, it is all out of the same barrel; and that is the insidious part of it.

This teaching by the U. N. in the schools and colleges of the United States in 1950 and 1951, in this book it tells exactly what they are doing. Here are their high-school programs, and it gives it by States, just exactly what is going on. This isn't what anybody says, what any isolationist says. It is what they say.

Mr. HAYS. May I see that. Thank you.

Mrs. HOWARD. Then they work through groups, as they point out, too. I will give you a sample of this. This is a very full subject.

As I say, it is the impression they are making—of course, they have taken the idea from Russia that if you get a child, up until the time he is 7 years old—you see the Russians do that. They take the children away from their parents and keep them in school up to a certain age and then the boys are put in the army. And we—under the United

Nations, that is the same idea, through this UNESCO, and teaching in the schools, that if you get the children first—and it is definitely true—and I want to point out it is not exactly what they say it is, what they omit and what they don't say.

For instance, we have such a good sample here: The National Association of Real Estate Boards—in February they had a national essay contest. At that time the essay contest was on What the Bill of Rights Means to Me. And the winner of that was Geraldine Rainwater, 17, Springfield, Mo. We are very proud of that. She was a high school senior. Of course, she was brought to Washington, of course, to see the sights and everything. So, when she came to Washington—now keep in mind—you have to follow this—the subject of the contest was What the Bill of Rights Means to Me. Now, that means our Bill of Rights. Not anybody else's because I don't suppose any other country really has one. We have a Bill of Rights.

So she wrote a very wonderful essay and won the prize. So, here she is to go out—for the publicity to go out all over the country, she is taken to the State Department and meets the Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, in Washington, and the flag is the United Nations banner. The contest was sponsored by the National Association of Real Estate Boards and here I have a photostatic copy. I have the real copy from the paper of him pointing out to her the United Nations flag. You see, it is what wasn't done. It would have been so much better since the idea was What the Bill of Rights Means to Me, for him to have perhaps posed before the American flag.

And the Real Estate Boards at that time authorized this statement, when they were questioned on this, and they were very much upset about it and they said:

Our essay contest on What the Bill of Rights Means to Me was designed only to emphasize our own Constitution and Bill of Rights and what they mean to America. It was not designed to promote any other national or international organization.

That is just a sample of what can happen by omission, and how they are working through different other groups.

And so the people of this country are definitely disturbed. We are disturbed by the different meanings of such things that our own heads of Government are putting out and, of course, it is the influence of the statements that they make.

For instance, our own—at the time he was not Secretary of State but he is now, Mr. Dulles, who said:

Communism is atheistic and materialistic. Its leaders reject the concept of moral law. There are some similarities between the social and economic ends that Communists profess, and those that Christians seek.

I have never seen anything that would seem to be very much alike.

But the methods taught are utterly dissimilar and the present methods of communism are incompatible with peaceful change.

So you can see why the people are confused, and, again, it is not what they say but what they omit.

Here, for your information, too, is what the—now, for instance, here is a kit that went out. Of course, you see they have this great channel, they are able to channel all this information. You see it is just like a leader of a gang. He doesn't have to go out and peddle

his wares. He has stooges to do that. And so that is what they send out all through the different organizations, all the way down. Now, for instance, this is a program kit of the United Nations from the General Federation of Womens Clubs with which I happen to be affiliated. But I do not approve of it being a clearinghouse for the United Nations.

All of this is from the State Department. All of this propaganda—and that is what it is, propaganda—you see they emphasize the children, you know, all over.

I think very interesting—I think it would be very good—I would like to address your attention to it—I can't give you this because it is too good to have. It is by Russell J. Klinchy, formerly minister of the First Church of Christ, Congregational, in Hartford, Conn., now a member of the foundation staff and is author of the book, *Faith and Freedom*.

He says in his booklet *Human Rights and the United Nations*:

In 5 years after its founding, the United Nations is—the announced purpose of which was that of being a limited authority to prevent war—is attempting to control the minds of men. No greater danger to the freedom of men has arisen since the days of the claim of the divine right of kings. This danger is a greater threat to the citizens of the United States of America than the danger from any foreign military foe, for it might mean that this control together with the abrogation of the Bill of Rights would be thrust upon the American people, accomplishing by treaty that which the Constitution would prohibit being accomplished by legislation. Only a new birth of the understanding of the true nature of our freedom can save us—

And, Mr. Chairman, I want to point out at this time that no Christian American citizen could ever, if he was honest with himself, believe that the United Nations could ever be a success because they have refused to admit God, and this country was founded upon God, and all they have there is a little place—even Alcatraz, any part of it, would be more inviting—and they give you a prayer card when you go in to meditate, and you know that He has said that unless you build your house upon His rock, that you will be building it upon the sand and fall, and that is what we have been doing for a long time.

Mr. MERROW. We have the documents to which you refer. If we haven't all of them, we will get them. Some of the members will have to leave and I am sure there are some questions that they might like to ask.

Mrs. HOWARD. I told you it would be time consuming.

Mr. MERROW. Perhaps we should ask our questions.

Mr. HAYS I have no questions, Mr. Chairman, thank you.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Carnahan—

Mr. CARNAHAN. I have no questions.

Mr. MERROW. Thank you Mrs. Howard.

We have another witness here this morning.

Mrs. HOWARD. This is never very interesting.

Mr. MERROW. It is very interesting. We have the documents to which you have referred. We thank you for your statement.

We have another witness, Mrs. John G. Lee, president of the League of Women Voters of the United States.

We would be happy to have any of that that you would like to leave with us.

Mrs. HOWARD. I would like to check it over to see whether I could afford to leave it or not.

Mr. MERROW. If there is anything you would like to check and submit to the committee we would be very glad to have it.

Mrs. HOWARD. I am pretty sure there is some that you probably don't have.

Mr. MERROW. Mrs. Lee.

#### STATEMENT OF MRS. JOHN G. LEE, PRESIDENT, LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES

Mrs. LEE. The League of Women Voters supports the United Nations as the cornerstone of United States foreign policy today. During the 30 years of the league's history we have worked for the principles of international cooperation that were eventually embodied in the charter at San Francisco. It was on this basis that the league supported United States membership in the United Nations when the charter was before the Senate for approval in July 1945. While the United Nations has not fulfilled all of the hopes of its supporters, the league believes that it has an impressive record of contributing to the solution of basic world political, economic, and social problems. In the security field we believe that the United Nations' effort in Korea, though it has been subjected to many criticisms, was an historic step in the effort to create and use a United Nations force to check aggression.

The league's support of the United Nations does not imply endorsement of all its policies or programs. It implies rather a conviction that the United Nations must be maintained and strengthened as a necessary mechanism for settling international differences.

The league believes that the success of the United Nations depends not so much on its organization and procedures as on the willingness of member nations to make use of it. The United States position as a major world power gives it special responsibility for assuming increased leadership within the United Nations, and a special opportunity to contribute to the more successful functioning of the organization. With sufficient agreement on objectives and with sufficient will to achieve them, the member nations of the United Nations could do much to increase the effectiveness of the organization.

Basic to the successful use of the United Nations by our Government and all others, is citizen understanding of the necessity for the United Nations and the opportunities it provides for the solution of world problems. Recognition of this need led the league to undertake a sustained and intensive program of public education about the United Nations in local communities throughout the country. We began this effort with a major campaign to promote understanding of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. Under the slogan "Know Your United Nations" we continued to develop understanding of the charter itself. In our latest effort, launched a year ago, to help meet rising attacks on the United Nations the league undertook to stimulate in local communities greater cooperation among various organizations to create a more fundamental understanding of world interdependence and the need for working with other nations to assure our own survival. Once this understanding is achieved, we believe that support of the United Nations will follow inevitably.

We are grateful for the opportunity afforded by these hearings to reaffirm our support of the United Nations. Our national convention is meeting in Denver the end of April. I believe that thereafter we may wish to request an opportunity to present to you a supplemental statement reflecting the views expressed there by delegates from our 917 local leagues.

(The following was submitted for the record by Mrs. Lee:)

**LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS LEGISLATIVE ACTION IN SUPPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS**

1. Support of the United States membership in the United Nations.
2. Support of United States membership in the following specialized agencies that related to areas of league concern:

Permanent Court of International Justice  
 International Labor Organization  
 International Monetary Fund  
 International Bank for Reconstruction and Development  
 Food and Agriculture Organization  
 United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization  
 World Health Organization  
 The proposed International Trade Organization

The fact that the League of Women Voters did not support United States membership in the remaining specialized agencies in no way implies opposition to them.

3. United Nations appropriations: The league has consistently supported United States appropriations for payment of our contributions to the United Nations. It has occasionally worked on appropriations for some of the above-listed specialized agencies.

4. Moves to strengthen the United Nations: The league supported the Vandenberg resolution of 1948 as a means of expressing approval of United States efforts to strengthen the United Nations in every way possible. To this end we supported the North Atlantic and Inter-American Defense Pacts, giving emphasis to the necessity of establishing these collective-security arrangements within the framework of the United Nations. We supported United Nations action in Korea and backed the General Assembly Uniting for Peace Resolution to make possible United Nations action against aggression.

5. Technical assistance: The league has supported technical assistance programs of the United Nations and has urged their expansion.

6. Atomic control: The league supported the Baruch plan for the control of atomic energy.

Mrs. LEE. And I have brought along two documents issued by the League of Women Voters which I would like to leave with you also.

Mr. MERROW. You may leave them with the subcommittee.

(The document referred to entitled, "Memo, the Citizen and the U. N., September 1951," is contained in the files of the subcommittee. The document entitled "Working Together for International Cooperation, a Guide for Community Action," is as follows:)

**WORKING TOGETHER FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION—A GUIDE FOR COMMUNITY ACTION**

The purpose of this guide is to help you organize your community resources to reach people who do not yet understand that our security and survival depend on working with other nations. This job is tough, but challenging. The stakes are high—they involve peace, and people are wondering if it is possible to have peace.

After having made the sacrifices to win World War II many people believed that peace would be automatic. But international affairs took an entirely different turn from what we expected. We did not get peace. Instead we found the developed countries undertaking huge rearmament programs because of the danger of war. In the underdeveloped countries a series of economic and social revolutions threaten world stability.

Confronted with the failure to achieve peace, many people have become discouraged and wish to escape from international responsibility. However, there are leaders in every community who feel that something can and must be done to help restore the conditions that make peace possible—but the job is too big for any one group.

The purpose of this guide is to help you work in your community to gain acceptance of the following points of view:

1. The United States cannot survive unless it follows a course of international cooperation.
2. As the inevitable leader of the free world, the United States must assume major responsibility for fostering international cooperation.
3. The United States will not follow such a course unless our Government leaders are convinced that a large majority of people strongly advocate international cooperation.

Americans can and should have different opinions on how crises should be met, but we should all start with a common set of principles. We cannot do an effective job in increasing the number of people who accept the validity of these principles if we just:

1. Review the U. N. for our membership.
2. Hold meetings for like-minded groups.

Taking our ideas to such an audience may strengthen their convictions, but it will not extend the range of the understanding of or support for international cooperation.

Situations in local communities vary and the following four steps will have to be adapted to your local needs.

Step I. Analyzing your community.

Step II. Planning a limited number of projects to realize your objectives.

Step III. Training leaders to talk, discuss, and write about the need for and the elements of international cooperation.

Step. IV. Reaching the uninterested and meeting attacks designed to weaken public confidence in international cooperation and the United Nations.

#### MAKING PLANS

##### *1. Timing*

This guide can be used at any time of the year and take any length of time. U. N. week (October 18-24) and U. N. day (October 24), however, might be used as your starting point. In this way you can capitalize on the interest of other groups.

##### *2. Who is involved?*

It is the job of the chairman of international relations and her committee to decide how to carry out the steps involved. Your plans should be discussed and approved by the local board. An important consideration is the stage at which other groups should be invited to participate. If other groups are invited at the beginning, they may help to analyze your community. An analysis of attitudes in your community can probably be more accurately made and more readily accepted if done by a cooperating group. This early participation will enlarge the effort and insure later cooperation.

##### *3. Scope of activity*

This guide does not have to involve your group in an all-out campaign. You can provide some of the leadership, can suggest procedures and provide materials, and above all can take the initiative to set the plan in motion. Some groups may believe that a campaign is necessary now and may wish to undertake plans on a large scale; if so, the various steps outlined here could be used to the fullest extent.

##### *4. How to begin*

Once you have board approval of your plans, and you have an interested and dedicated committee to undertake this effort get together a few individual leaders and some representatives of groups in your community who are known to support the principles of International cooperation. Discuss with them your concern about the lack of understanding of and support for international cooperation, the attacks on the United Nations, and suggest to them the possibilities of community action to counteract these.



Note: At the end of this guide there is an elaborate bibliography to help you with your work. It is arranged according to subjects and you will find it particularly helpful as supplements to steps III and IV.

### STEP I. ANALYZING YOUR COMMUNITY

1. Find out the groups in your community that—
  - (a) Support the principle of international cooperation.
  - (b) Are not concerned about it.
  - (c) Are hostile to international cooperation.
2. Make a card file of leading organizations which should contain—
  - (a) Name of organization.
  - (b) President or program chairman or person to contact.
  - (c) Major interest of the group.
  - (d) Attitude toward international cooperation.

Try to determine the political, economic, or social reasons why these groups think as they do about international cooperation.
3. This information can be obtained from the following sources:
  - (a) A list of organizations can often be obtained from the Council of Social Agencies, Council of Community Agencies, or Community Council. The Council of Churches and the chamber of commerce frequently have lists also.
  - (b) The attached list of organizations which help sponsor U. N. Day and those which belong to the United States Conference Group of National Organizations on the U. N. (see p. 21). The organizations listed do not necessarily have strong stands in support of the U. N. and in some cases where the national organization has a strong stand the local group does not share such a conviction. The lists, however, will give you a place to start.
  - (c) See part D in the bibliography for a list of some groups opposed to or highly critical of international cooperation and the U. N. in particular.
  - (d) Accounts of meetings and statements of leaders in the local press.
4. When the information is collected and compiled, the card file should be divided into the following three categories:
  - (a) Groups which support international cooperation and the U. N.
  - (b) Groups which are indifferent.
  - (c) Groups which are opposed.
5. Make a card file of your community resources. The file should be divided into the following categories with specific information on each card:
  - (a) Newspapers: Editor—publisher—deadlines; editorial policy or international cooperation, if any; news coverage of local programs; extent of coverage of international events; availability of a letter-to-the-editor column.
  - (b) Radio and TV stations: Important local programs—hours—station—type; availability of time for public-service programs; names of liaison persons, such as program director; are U. N. broadcasts used? (See attached list of U. N. broadcasts, p. 22.)
  - (c) Movie houses: Manager; policy on showing educational films; where educational films can be obtained (U. N. film distributors, p. 22).
  - (d) Schools and colleges: Attitude of board of education and superintendent toward teaching about the U. N. and international subjects; special school programs and studies; what schools have done in the past on international cooperation, the U. N. and study of foreign countries; who to contact—board of education, superintendent, local teachers' association; existence of a citizens committee on the public schools—name of chairman.
  - (e) Speakers who can be called upon from: Organizations, newspapers, radio, and TV stations; colleges and schools; churches; specialists in health, agriculture, education, and so forth who know something of the technical work being done by U. N. agencies; people in your community who have been members of United States and U. N. special missions; business, farm and labor groups.
  - (f) Library facilities: Do they carry U. N. publications, Government documents, and other books and pamphlets of private organizations concerned with international affairs? Do they sponsor discussion groups?
  - (g) Foreign students and exchange scholars in your community.
  - (h) Government branch offices, i. e., local department of commerce; do they have research facilities, send out speakers, have films and other useful material?
  - (i) Existence of adult education program.

## STEP II. PLANNING A LIMITED NUMBER OF PROJECTS THAT WILL HELP YOU TO REACH INTO THE COMMUNITY WITH THE AID OF OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

### 1. *Determine plans best suited to the needs of your community*

With the analysis of your community and its available resources completed, the group should come together to discuss the nature of your local situation.

What has your analysis revealed?

What are people saying about international affairs and the U. N.?

Is there apathy toward international problems?

What are the attitudes you hope to influence and perhaps change?

How extensive an educational job is it practical to undertake?

Is the community thinking being greatly influenced by anti-international cooperation forces?

Is the work of the U. N. clearly understood?

With the needs of your community in mind, and the resources at your disposal, map out your goals.

### 2. *Set specific goals*

Working for continued and increased support for international cooperation is a long-term goal. Attitudes are not changed in a day. The entire population cannot be interested and informed at once. Some of us carry out only one project in this field and think we have done our bit. Others of us are so overwhelmed at the immensity of the task that we decide to work on problems more limited in scope and less controversial. Neither of these approaches is an answer. Nor is the answer an all-out campaign where everything else is put aside. Few communities and few organizations are in a position to do this. The answer lies in setting specific goals after you know something of community attitudes.

Each group should map out its own community goals. For example, one goal could be to persuade a definite number of organizations that previously had shown no interest in world affairs to devote a meeting to the subject of international cooperation or the U. N. or a similar topic. In another community the cooperating organizations might conduct a public opinion poll (see p. 11). The results would help determine the kind of information needed for further work and in what areas and for what groups. Evaluate for yourselves whether it is better to concentrate on combating the hostile groups or in awakening an interest in those who are apathetic. In many cases you may decide you need to do some of both.

### 3. *Use of United Nations Day—October 24*

The theme for U. N. Day is Know Your United Nations. The Leader's Guide issued by the United States Committee for U. N. Day gives several suggestions for U. N. programs. As in past years the Committee for U. N. Day recommends that local U. N. Day committees be established consisting of representatives of several organizations. The existence of a local committee can be an aid to groups which want to promote greater information on and understanding of the values of international cooperation. Many of the groups belonging to local committees can be a nucleus for action in the face of particular problems concerning the U. N. and public attitudes and understanding toward it. (The United States Committee for U. N. Day is located at 816 21st Street NW., Washington, D. C.)

## STEP III. TRAINING LEADERS

Any plan which you adopt for the purpose of helping to formulate public opinion in your community will require some trained leadership. This does not mean that you need experts—although a few experts would be helpful—but those who are going to reach the public, whether as leaders of discussion groups, or by speaking, or on the radio, or by writing for papers, must be well equipped with facts, and able to interpret the facts in the light of present-day problems. In other words they must know what they are talking about.

The purpose of this training program is to explore some of the current misunderstandings and to lay a firm, realistic foundation for thinking about international problems. Through discussion and study and wide use of the attached bibliography a group of interested citizens can become well informed. People should not attempt to influence the public who are not sure of their basic facts. They should be able to say with the French jurist and philosopher, Montesquieu, "I have not drawn my principles from my prejudices but from the nature of

things." The training session will help the members clarify their own thinking and agree on a common point of departure. It should be stressed that the real purpose of this undertaking is to build a better understanding of the great problems this country faces and our vital need for working with other nations. The approach should be based on the belief that the vast majority of American citizens and will act wisely and generously if they understand the issues at stake.

The number of sessions which the group will need will depend on the background and preparation of those attending and how rapidly they can absorb new material.

*Who should attend the training sessions?*—The training sessions are planned for interested persons from organizations which are cooperating to promote greater understanding of the need for international cooperation. Some individuals—not members of these groups—such as teachers both men and women, may wish to join also. The trainees must be willing and able to give time for serious effort both for study and accepting some assignments in the community as your plans develop. They should be interested in the subject and have some facility in public speaking, leading a discussion, or writing. Someone well informed and able to direct study and discussion should lead the group.

*What should the training program consider?*—The group should examine the analysis of community attitudes and resources which has been made. The members should have a clear understanding of the objectives of the plan and of their part in carrying it out.

The training program should include a study and discussion of various aspects of international cooperation. As groundwork for such a study the following is suggested:

Basic to the whole approach must be an understanding of why it is essential to the security and survival of the United States that we cooperate with other nations. It is folly to expect people to support such measures as the U. N., international trade, foreign aid, and other policies and programs, unless they understand the underlying reasons why such cooperation is vital to our well-being. In most cases of apathy or opposition it appears that many people are clinging to a concept of a world which no longer exists. The pictures they carry in their heads do not correspond to the factual world with which we must deal. Truth is hard to accept and it is easier to oppose changes that force us to alter our thinking and our habits than it is to accept reality. For example, it is essential that the training program start with an understanding of the kind of world we live in and that we discard some of the "dear dead beliefs" that no longer serve us. The following are exercises that the training program might include:

*Exercise No. 1. Some factors underlying United States position in the world today*

The following questions should be discussed. The answers constitute basic reasons why international cooperation is essential. Answers are not intended to be comprehensive but to be used as an aid to discussion. The participants should try to enlarge on the answers and add points they feel have been omitted.

1. *How has the advance of science changed our world environment?*—A review of the mid-20th century presents startling changes that have taken place in the last 50 years. These are due to the advances of science, technology, and engineering which have changed the whole nature of our world. We hear such statements quite often, but it is necessary to grasp the full significance of scientific advancement if we are to understand the implications of it in modern life. To mention four changes that have been revolutionary:

(a) Development of all kinds of transportation—this has eliminated the problems and the safeguards of distance. It has made isolation impossible.

(b) The means of modern warfare—weapons from jet planes to hydrogen bombs.

(c) The specialization and division of labor, resulting in a higher standard of living, greater interdependence of individuals, and vast need for raw materials from all over the world.

(d) The advancement of communications by which we are informed in a few minutes or hours of events occurring thousands of miles away.

2. *How has history changed our position in the world?*—Throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries the British Navy and the British Empire policed areas of the world and maintained law and order. The power and action of the British relieved the United States of the responsibility for helping to fashion and maintain world peace. The British are no longer able to police troubled

areas of the world. We are now exposed to serious threats of aggression which the British once suppressed.

For a century, from the Congress of Vienna in 1815 to the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, the concert of powers—the balance of power—of Europe played a major role in preventing local wars from spreading. The political, economic, and military strength of the great powers of Europe determined to a large extent the conditions which prevailed in Europe and most of Asia. The breakdown of the great power system as a result of World War I left the world without leadership and controls which the great power system had provided. This was the realistic, factual situation which left no alternative but the creation of the League of Nations. This was not an idealistic, impractical dream but a realistic approach to a disorganized world that demanded some type of collective effort and effective leadership.

The breakdown of the League of Nations engulfed the world in a Second World War. All nations recognized the need for a world organization at the close of World War II. This resulted in the United Nations. In the U. N. we now have a second opportunity to avoid another destructive world war.

3. *Are two oceans adequate for our protection?*—For years Americans could rest comfortably with the thought that two great oceans could insulate and protect us from the problems and conflicts existing in Europe and Asia. Many people emigrated to the United States to escape from the wars in Europe and other parts of the world. With the emergence of the United States as a great power, with the advancement of communications, and transportation, and with the inventions of modern weapons of war it is no longer possible for the United States to remain isolated from the ills that afflict the world around us. Our foreign policy must recognize that while it took Lindbergh 33½ hours to fly the ocean in 1927, a jet bomber made a trans-Atlantic flight in 4¼ hours in 1953. Today, unfortunately, many people still believe two oceans can protect us. Being wrapped in this belief makes it possible for some to be uninterested in world problems and others to be opposed to any foreign policy which involves us with the rest of the world.

4. *Do we produce all we need?*—The United States has never been a completely self-sufficient nation. Before the invention of modern armaments and modern machines, however, the United States had most of the raw materials for its industry. If supplies of raw materials from abroad had been cut off, we would not have needed to worry about how we could produce airplanes, turbines, and diesel engines. We were not so mechanized then, and therefore we didn't need so many raw materials. What we did need in our early days was investment by European nations to enable our industry to grow. Many United States citizens still believe we can get along without raw materials from the far distant parts of the world. This belief also leads to the conclusion that we need not concern ourselves with the problems existing in such places as Iran, India, and Malaya; some do not realize that what happens in these countries affects our supply of strategic materials.

Today there are some 75 different materials on a United States stockpiling list.<sup>1</sup> The existence of this list means that there are 75 materials that would be in short supply in this country in time of war. People want security and they are proud of their standard of living. If they can be shown the relationship between their security and standard of living and our dependence on other nations for raw materials, they might then realize that United States self-sufficiency is a myth.

5. *Can we use all we produce?*—All of us are gratified to go to the department, grocery, furniture, or hardware store and find a wide assortment of goods for sale. When buying a loaf of bread or a cotton dress or shirt we seldom ask ourselves whether all the wheat and cotton grown in the United States find their way into our stores. If we read the financial pages of some of our newspapers we would realize that of 981 million bushels of wheat produced in the United States in 1951, 474 million bushels or 48.3 percent were not consumed at home but sent to many countries all over the world. Of over 15 million running bales of cotton picked in the 1951-52 crop, 5½ million or 36.6 percent were sold abroad. The same is true of many other things such as tobacco and soybeans.

The reason for selling so much abroad is because we can't use it all here at home. If our farmers and our businessmen did not sell their surplus products abroad, there would be a serious threat of a depression in this country. If we don't see the connection between our production at home and what we sell

<sup>1</sup> This list is available at the League of Women Voters of the United States

abroad, we are not apt to be interested in the ability of other nations to sell some of their goods to us which they must do if they buy from us.

6. *Must all nations be alike in order to cooperate?*—Some people believe that a democracy that does not base its functioning on a free enterprise economic system is not a democracy at all and should not be treated as belonging to the free world. They seem to think that such a country does not deserve the cooperation of the United States because the only true democracy existing is the United States of America. Those who hold to this do not think we should be of any assistance to other governments, nor should we rely on such governments for aid in time of war or associate ourselves with them in international organizations.

One of the advantages of living in a free country is that we learn it is not necessary that everyone think alike, act alike, and be alike in order to get along. This is just as true in the family of nations as it is at home. Not all nations have our high standard of living; no other nation has exactly our form of government; most nations have different laws regarding individual rights and liberties; few nations have the same degree of free enterprise in their economic systems. It is possible, however, to distinguish between nations having a totalitarian system of government and nations which grant varying degrees of freedom to their citizens.

7. *Should our defense program rest solely on strong armies and armaments at home?*—Americans who believe that strong defense at home is adequate to make the United States secure will be skeptical of any program which aims to build the defenses of other nations. At a time when our national debt is the largest of any peaceful period, Americans who advocate only strong home defense think aid to other nations is a waste of the taxpayers' money. Such Americans do not calculate what would be the position of the United States if all of the industries of Western Europe and all of Asia's raw materials and the combined manpower and military bases of both fell under Soviet control. Men, materials, and bases are crucial factors in forestalling and in winning a war. When we look at the odds posed in these terms, the importance of having a strong defense on the home front only loses some of its potency.

8. *Do we lose some of our sovereignty and our national independence every time we cooperate?*—In the past we had only ourselves to consider. Today, we must deal with other nations because our life depends on such cooperation. Our reluctance to give authority to a group of nations comes from the fact that for so long we didn't have to consult others. Some of us don't really trust our partners nor treat them as equals. It is extremely difficult for a nation with our wealth and education to feel that people with a lower standard of living are in any sense our equals and have anything much to offer in the way of advice. Our material superiority breeds contempt. Yet if we are to work with others, they must have some voice in decisions so that all move forward on a mutual basis.

Cooperation in community life, for example, does not mean the loss of rights of the family, or of corporations, or of professional position. It is the means by which we achieve stability which affords everyone a chance to progress. By cooperating with other nations we surrender only such rights as increase our own security and make for progress by helping to create social and economic stability throughout the world.

To summarize, international cooperation is essential to our survival. This is so because of the fundamental changes that have taken place in very recent years in scientific and industrial advancement. It isn't only a crusade for a better world or because we believe it's good to cooperate—it is our life—it means the life of every nation in the kind of world we live in. This may seem simple. It's been said before time and again, but until people get it into their thinking they will never move forward to a real grasp of world problems—whether in trade, in the U. N., in NATO or in economic development, and the real reason why we have to cooperate is that we can no longer survive unless we do.

#### *Exercise No. 2. Pros and cons of international cooperation*

The above questions and answers dealt with the principles of international cooperation. The training program may want to discuss the advantages and disadvantages of international cooperation as a method of conducting United States foreign policy.

Advantages of international cooperation:

1. Decisions when mutually arrived at are always stronger than when they are enforced by a single powerful nation. If we wish to enforce our decisions

then we must be prepared to do so by force and methods of totalitarian states—large Army and police force.

2. International decisions jointly arrived at lessen the charge that any one nation is imperialist.

3. Those who meet together at international meetings get tremendous education. They see problems from the point of view of other nations and modify their own views accordingly.

4. In implementing decisions and setting up projects it is important to be able to call on the personnel of the world.

5. Nations working together, through international cooperation, can gather vital facts concerning conditions and needs which no one country could ever learn alone.

Disadvantages of international cooperation :

1. It takes longer to reach agreement.

2. It requires compromise; one nation can't control the show.

3. The country which pays the most money doesn't always have the most control and advantage.

4. When several countries cooperate on projects, no one country gets the credit.

*Exercise No. 3. Some arguments of the critics of international cooperation*

Most of those who are opposed to international cooperation focus their criticisms on the U. N. In the training program, some time should be devoted to examining the arguments of the critics. If you are going to speak up in favor of the U. N., you must be prepared to deal with the following arguments. Those in the training program should discuss the validity of these and other arguments and how they might be answered.

The critics say :

1. Korea proves collective security won't work.

2. We can't work with other nations because they think differently than we do.

3. We shouldn't rely on other nations for raw materials, the supply of which may be cut off during a war.

4. The General Assembly of the U. N. is acting more and more like a legislative body. It all points to world government.

5. The U. N. is forcing the United States to condone socialistic concepts and practices, because most of the nations have less free enterprise than we do and therefore U. N. resolutions and recommendations reflect socialistic thinking.

6. The U. N. interferes more and more with the domestic problems of member nations. This will lead to increased centralization and world government.

7. The U. N. has failed as a body to preserve world peace because the U. N. cannot force member states to abide by U. N. decisions. For example, some nations traded with Red China during the Korean war; India and Pakistan won't settle their dispute over Kashmir; Israel repudiated a U. N. decision by moving its capital to Jerusalem; Iran refused to let the International Court of Justice help in arbitrating the oil controversy with Great Britain.

8. Most of the nations of the world are more concerned with their individual well-being than with the threat of Communist aggression; therefore, being in the U. N. doesn't help the United States in winning the cold war.

9. The U. N. shouldn't try to reach agreement on questions of human rights, freedom of information, and freedom of religion, because (1) these are domestic rather than international questions and (2) nations are too far apart in their thinking to come to any agreement which would raise world standards.

10. Being in the U. N. only embarrasses the United States because we are such a minority that we often get outvoted.

11. If Red China is admitted to the U. N. the United States should get out.

12. International cooperation is too costly. If the United States is ever going to have a balanced budget and decrease its national debt, we must reduce the amount we pay to international organizations and international programs. Besides, most nations belonging to the U. N. and NATO when asked to provide money and men for their common defense refuse because they say they can't afford it or because they don't want to take sides in the cold war.

13. We should quit the U. N. if its charter is not revised soon to prohibit the U. N. from all domestic questions and to strengthen the organization by forcing all nations to abide by U. N. decisions, re collective security and in the settlement of international disputes.

STEP IV. REACHING THE UNINTERESTED AND MEETING ATTACKS DESIGNED TO WEAKEN PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND THE U. N.

*Interesting the uninterested*

From your community analysis you have determined what groups in your community are relatively uninterested in international cooperation. You know the names of their leaders and you know their major interests. You have also determined whether you are going to concentrate on combating attacks already begun or whether you are going to arouse more people to the importance of international cooperation. If you have decided on the latter you have determined the groups with which your efforts ought to be most effective. Here are some points to consider. Basic to every point is the importance of a positive, not negative, approach (have facts in hand and be able to interpret them in the light of present-day needs).

1. Making a community analysis will itself arouse the interest of some groups. When you call to find whether the group has shown any interest in the U. N. and international cooperation, you can then suggest a later meeting to arrange a program.

2. Start with the leaders of the groups you hope to reach. Through a phone call or informal meeting with the leader of the group, try to find out what approach, or topic of interest, would have the greatest appeal. Discuss with him or her whether the group would like to have a speaker, panel, film, or discussion on some phase of international cooperation. You might suggest a speech related to the group's major interest.

3. Start where people are. Recently a member of the U. N. Food and Agriculture Organization went to Kansas to speak to a group of farmers. She didn't go to talk about the U. N. or even the FAO but rather about wheat marketing. The farmers were interested in avoiding a further decline in wheat sales abroad. One thing led to another—why other nations could not always buy our wheat, the problems of earning dollars through trade to buy wheat, the role of the FAO in aiding the distribution of wheat, the FAO and U. N.'s technical assistance program to aid in raising world agricultural production. Four hours later the FAO speaker finished and a great part of the time had been spent on the U. N. and the importance of United States membership in it.

The above is an example for all of us. We can find out the major interest of the groups we are trying to reach and show how their interests are related to the work of the U. N., to international trade, to defense, to foreign aid, and so forth.

4. Go to the audience; don't make it come to you. Frequently hours of time, effort, and considerable money are spent in holding a large public meeting on some international problem or organization. Often those who attend the meeting are already convinced and informed. It is far better to go after the groups which are indifferent than to waste effort trying to make them come to you; they usually will not come.

5. The value of gimmicks. People like to do things. If some people aren't interested in listening to or joining in a discussion of the U. N. or some phase of international cooperation, they might come to a U. N. party or send U. N. greetings to people in other nations, or provide a CARE package. If your group decides to embark on one or more of these projects, there is one factor to be kept in mind. When successful these projects may stimulate interest in the U. N. and in other nations but they do not necessarily result in support for the U. N. or a conviction about the importance of international cooperation. They should be followed up with programs of content, showing of a film, a panel, a discussion.

6. Take a community poll. Up to now most of the previous discussion has been about reaching the community mainly in terms of organized groups. We must also realize that in every town or city at least 20 to 40 percent of the population belongs to no organized group. Yet many of these people have a real concern about what is happening around them; many of them vote and many of them help to form public opinion in this country. How do these people form their opinions? How can they be reached by those who wish to build a better understanding of the concept of international cooperation?

Researchers in various fields have tried to determine how these unorganized citizens form their opinions. Some studies reveal that radio and newspapers have a decided influence on them. Other studies, more numerous, disclose that these people are influenced by direct contact with their friends, especially those

friends and acquaintances they regard as leaders. People congregate at a bridge party, a tavern, in the neighborhood drugstore, at a community dance, and at work. Invariably the conversation centers for a time on some political, economic, or social question. Usually one or more persons emerge as the respected authorities. If one opinion goes unchallenged, the group may tend to accept the argument.

How can we hope to reach and influence those who do not belong to any formal opinion-making organization? A community poll provides information about the unorganized as well as organized public.

A poll can be wide in scope and include many people. But it can also be valuable if narrowed. Suppose you wish to know what attitudes people have toward United States cooperation with other nations and toward the U. N. Suppose we also wish to learn who are some of the natural leaders forming public opinion. Here is a procedure to follow.

A. Take a sample of the area you wish to poll.

(1) If you wish to poll your entire town, you can take the city directory as your starting point. Find out how many names are listed. Take a certain percent of the total, depending on the size of the directory and the number of volunteer interviewers you have to help you. For example, suppose you have a directory of 50,000 names and you have about 10 or 15 interviewers. You want to get a random sample of opinion in your community. If each volunteer will interview 10 persons, you can expect to reach 100 to 150 persons. A sample of 125 is one-fourth of 1 percent of the 50,000 or 1 out of every 400. To determine which 125 to interview you would have to start from the beginning and take every 400th name and interview that person. The individual should be interviewed in person, not over the telephone. Face-to-face contact is important.

The above formula serves only as an example. If you have more volunteers, or if your interviewers want to poll more people or if you have a smaller number of names you can enlarge your percentage. If you have a larger community you can decrease the size of your sample. You do not necessarily have to take the city directory. Instead you might take a percentage of the registered voters or a percentage of those who have automobile licenses or a percentage of the telephone directory. In a county you may be able to obtain from the county courthouse a map of all the dwelling units. Then you could easily divide the area into sections for the interviewers to cover.

(2) You may not want to poll your entire community but only one geographic area. For example, suppose you want to have a sample of opinion from your north side. First define by streets the limits of your north side—say from 15th Street to 42d Street, 26 blocks and A Avenue to K Avenue, 10 blocks. Suppose you have 20 volunteers. Have 10 start on the corner of 15th and each avenue from A to K, and 10 start on the corner of 28th and each avenue from A to K. From this point each interviewer would plan to interview one adult member of every fifth family, for example. This means that you don't count houses or the number of houses on a block to determine every 5, but you take each family in sequence, whether there are only 2 houses or 6 apartment houses on a block.

(3) Suppose you want to learn the opinions of one type of person, say the doctors in your community. In a community of 50,000 there may be, for example, 50 doctors and 10 interviewers, each of whom should interview 5 doctors. In this way you are interviewing the complete list rather than a sample.

The above serves to illustrate something about polling public opinion so that each interviewer himself does not choose whom he shall interview. If he had to choose, he might pick those people who live in the best houses, or who have opinions most like his, or whom he can reach most easily.

B. What shall you ask?

There are many things you can determine in an opinion poll. For example, you might want to learn one or more of the following:

(1) How much knowledge does the person have on the subject in question, i. e. the U. N.?

(2) What are his opinions on the issue?

(3) How strongly does he hold these opinions?

(4) What are the sources of the opinions?

In polling it is important that the interviewer not annoy the person interviewed by taking too much time and asking too many questions. It is also important that the questions be free from bias. The person interviewed does not want to feel he is being trapped. He is also more likely to respond if he thinks his answers and the poll will serve some purpose. Here are some sample questions:



Do you think that the United States should cooperate with other nations in international bodies to solve world problems? Yes----- No-----  
Qualified-----

Do you think the U. N. is the best means of promoting international cooperation? If yes—why? If no—what is a better way?

Can you list any accomplishment of the U. N.? Yes ---- No. ----

If yes—what 1 or 2 things would you list? If no—would you want the United States to withdraw from the U. N.?

Have you heard any criticism of the U. N.? If yes—what are some? Where do you hear of them? Do you think they are justified?

Name two of your friends and acquaintances whose opinions on public affairs you most respect.<sup>1</sup>

Name two sources, other than friends and acquaintances, where you get most of your information on international problems.<sup>2</sup>

C. How can the results of the poll be made useful?

(1) Once the results of the poll are tabulated, they can be used to determine how to reach the unorganized. For example, visit the leaders who were listed and find out whether they can be interested in international affairs.

(2) Invite the leaders to a meeting to discuss some current problems in United States foreign policy. Since they are opinion formers they should want to talk about the problem and they should be delighted to know their opinions are highly esteemed by their friends.

(3) Go to your newspaper with a provocative summary and suggest they reprint the results of the poll. Arrange a radio program to discuss the answers to the questions. The newspaper might even be willing to ask its readers to fill out the questionnaire and send in their own answers. This creates more interest and gives you more information, although such replies are most likely to come from those who hold their opinions very strongly.

#### *Meeting attacks on international cooperation*

*Case 1.*—If you have to appear as a speaker on a panel or debate on the U. N. or on the United States in world affairs or on a similar subject where other speakers and perhaps the audience may be hostile.

Point 1: Start with something positive that you hold in common, such as desire for United States security, prosperity, love of country, desire for well-being of our children, something with which no one will disagree. You thus establish yourself with the group.

Point 2: Don't plunge into a discussion of the U. N. itself but with the basic reasons why the United States must cooperate with other nations in order to survive. State the facts which show the United States is dependent and the world interdependent.

Point 3: Emphasize where we get our raw materials. This places a burden on the opposition to try to show that the United States doesn't have to go beyond the Western Hemisphere for its raw materials and trade.

Point 4: Don't try to outargue the opposition. Pick out their 2 or 3 most distorted arguments and point out the fallacy, such as the fallacy that the U. N. is a world government; the fallacy that UNESCO teaches school children they should not be patriotic; the fallacy that the genocide convention would require United States citizens accused of certain crimes to be tried by an international court without a jury. This can usually be done by quoting the original documents or by quoting responsible officials.

Point 5: If there are sympathetic people in the audience, they will help answer some of the questions. If all questions are directed at you, the opposition's arguments may be unchallenged. The moderator may want to call on several in the audience for their opinions. The whole audience would benefit by having various types of questions directed at the speakers.

Point 6: Stick to facts and principles. Indulging in personalities will not prove your point. Keep calm.

Point 7: Use popular phrases. Often the severe critics of the U. N. win converts by arousing deep feelings in Americans with such false comments as: The U. N. is un-American; your liberties will be taken away; UNESCO is teaching contempt for patriotism; international cooperation will result in a loss of your standard of living; U. N. agencies are fostering socialism; the Communists are running the U. N.

<sup>1</sup> These two questions should not be asked as the formal part of the poll but incidentally. Tell the person interviewed that you want the names to determine whether these "natural" leaders may want to be invited to meetings on international subjects

Many of these groups exist by promoting racial hatred and hatred of anything new and foreign. Sometimes it is necessary to use phrases that will win popular support for your side.

Ask your opponents: Isn't it un-American as well as dangerous for their future to refuse to allow your children to know what is happening in the rest of the world? Isn't it against all religious principles not to consider the problems of others and try to understand them? Are they not refusing to face facts to argue that the United States can get along in the world without cooperation and trade with other nations? Isn't it undemocratic not to help spread the seeds of liberty and democracy to parts of the world that have only known oppression and dictatorship?

Point 8: No matter how much you may know about trade, the U. N., and the issues of international cooperation, someone in the audience, often just to embarrass you, may ask you a question to which you don't know the answer. What can you reply?

(a) Ask for the source of the statement which led to the question. Try to determine whether the statement is based on fact. Is the source reliable?

(b) Say you don't know the answer, but you can get it and give it to the person later.

(c) If the question is aimed to discredit the U. N., go back to basic principles, use the analogy of our own Government. We support our Government, but that doesn't mean we like everything it does nor all the people in it. We know we have an opportunity to change it and improve it. We can do the same thing in the U. N. United States policy has great influence in every U. N. operation and we as citizens can influence United States policy.

*Case II.*—Where pro-U. N. groups take the initiative in asking opposing groups to meet. There are at least three approaches to this situation.

Point 1: Suggest a discussion on a subject of mutual concern. Groups opposed to the U. N. will probably not invite you to be a speaker and a speech will not usually sway an already prejudiced audience. The best way to tackle such a group is to get them to meet with you jointly in an informal way such as a discussion group.

At this type of meeting there is an opportunity to explore their views and ask questions. Don't harangue the group by trying to impose your opinions. Start out by discussing something of mutual concern to each of you, such as the security of the United States. Does our security demand armed strength, alliances with other countries, military bases outside the United States, raw materials from abroad, a trade policy to encourage stability in other countries \* \* \*?

If it does, can the United States dictate these policies to other nations or must we work them out jointly? If jointly, is it better to have international organizations for these purposes, or should we call meetings to cope with each problem as it arises?

The best way is to start out with a concept which the group has in common. Then face up to the alternatives which confront us in a go-it-alone or a cooperative basis. Ask questions; don't argue. Know your facts on strength of the United States, strength of Communist world, and strength of the free world in terms of territory, population, armed forces, use and location of strategic raw materials. These facts will be your eloquent friends.

Point 2: The recording issued by the League of Women Voters of the United States called Points of View—the U. N., with Mrs. John G. Lee as moderator and Senator Cooper (Republican, of Kentucky), Senator Sparkman (Democrat, of Alabama), and James Reston, correspondent of the New York Times, can be used as stimulant to discussion about the U. N. and related subjects. A discussion leader could play the 25-minute recording, and then get the group to discuss the points raised.

Point 3: If the group is too large to have a discussion and they are uninterested in the subjects you propose, then suggest a panel or debate on the importance of the U. N. Show that you are willing to speak on the side that is unpopular with the group. If the group accepts your recommendation, then follow the points given in case I.

*Case III.*—An anti-U. N. campaign.

This usually manifests itself with one or more organizations holding meetings where the U. N. is condemned, writing articles for or letters to the editor of your newspaper, or demanding that the schools stop teaching about the U. N. and its affiliated agencies.

Point 1: If such groups are holding public meetings, urge members of cooperating groups to attend to ask questions, challenge their facts, state an opinion which refutes their position.

Point 2: Invite the leaders of these groups campaigning against the U. N. to meet with U. N. supporters in a public panel or discussion.

Point 3: Arrange your own public meeting designed to discuss the specific criticisms made. Be sure you don't have in the audience only those who are already convinced of the U. N. Try to get all possible publicity for your meeting both before and afterward.

Point 4: Ask the audience if any of them would like to have small discussion groups arranged so that all may have an opportunity to go further into this problem.

Point 5: If meetings do not seem to be effective or feasible, a radio or TV program might be arranged.

Point 6: See if the radio stations will encourage citizens to send in questions on the U. N., and allow radio time to answer them.

Point 7: Get the "heroes" of your community to speak up. Often the anti-U. N. groups say that only "left-wingers" and "pro-Communists" support the U. N. This, of course, is not true. You can answer with quotes from such national leaders as President Eisenhower, Ambassador Lodge, Senator Wiley, Senator Sparkman, and Paul Hoffman. Sometimes it may be better to have leaders in your own community speak up—a bank president, a leading athlete, a businessman, your mayor or governor, and your church officials. A great many of the pillars of your community support international cooperation, but may not have spoken up because no one has asked them to.

Point 8: The silent treatment. Some people who try to discredit the U. N. as well as other institutions and policies in our local and national life are mainly publicity seekers. They keep on attacking as long as they receive publicity. If they don't get publicity by airing their views in one field, they go on to another. In such cases, and they are hard to detect, it is better not to answer the attacks or take notice of the attacker. Such a policy, however, must be coordinated with other groups. If all of you refuse to keep a controversy alive, it is possible that the attacker will either remain silent for a time or endeavor to find another field of activity.

**CAUTION.**—Before you use the "silent treatment," be sure you're not dealing with a widespread and concerted campaign; because if you are, you may wake up one day to find half the town convinced the United States must pursue a go-it-alone policy in international affairs.

**Case IV.**—An unfriendly press. The term "unfriendly press" here refers to a press whose editors and editorial policy are opposed to the concept of international cooperation and who are highly critical of the U. N.

Point 1: If the press is giving relatively little news of international events and the work of international agencies, or is giving slanted coverage, a select group representing several organizations might meet with the editors to determine if it would be possible to increase the space allotted to straight news—unedited—relating to international affairs. The group might also request that a particular news columnist with an international attitude be carried by the paper. Ask your newspaper to subscribe to U. N. News features which may be obtained free on a biweekly basis by writing to Press Section, U. N., New York.

Point 2: Get in the news by making news. If the paper appears to be uninterested in international events, you can obtain some news coverage by sponsoring meetings and projects related to international problems which are worthy of press notices. Sometimes the woman's editor carries stories on those subjects when the news desk will not.

Point 3: Use the letter-to-the-editor section. Writing short but thoughtful letters to an editor is a good way to get points of view before the public. These can be answers to an editorial. Call attention to a particular local event regarding the U. N. or supply information on an international problem. It is always surprising to learn how many read this section, even Members of Congress. Sometimes local citizens believe the letter-to-the-editor section is used only by crackpots, but if enough serious-minded citizens use the column it may turn into a respected and popular part of the newspaper.

Point 4: Give the news a local angle. Often the press will not print news and feature stories about the U. N. because the editors feel such things have no local interest. It is then the job of those who support the U. N. to think up local angles such as: Our school-lunch program and the U. N. Children's Fund; FAO

and Kansas wheat; Mr. Smith from our town goes to Iran on a point 4 mission; results of a poll of our citizen thinking on the U. N.; our (name of your town or State) industries and world trade.

*Case V.*—A campaign to remove teaching of the U. N. and UNESCO from the schools. In some communities where the public schools teach about the U. N. and international understanding, local groups which regard such activity as subversive start a campaign to force the school board to withdraw certain textbooks and pamphlets and to outlaw any teaching on UNESCO and the U. N.

Point 1: If your community doesn't already have one, you might encourage the organization of a local citizens' committee on the schools. These committees, interested in all aspects of public education, represent citizen interests and the members would inform themselves on what is being taught; the committees also act as sounding boards for public opinion. Such committees can help to protect the school board from the abuse of anti-U. N. groups. The citizens' committee also can evaluate material on the U. N. to determine whether it is biased or authoritative.

In stimulating the organization of such a committee, be sure that all leading groups and points of view in the community are included—veteran, business, labor, civic, minorities, local teachers' associations, etc. Often citizens' committees are not made up of representation from groups but citizens are asked to serve as individuals.

Point 2: Find out what is being taught in the schools and what pamphlets are being criticized.

Point 3: Obtain copies of the controversial material and decide whether the criticism is justified. In some cases it might be necessary to hold a public meeting, radio program, or have a newspaper article to give the facts of the situation to the parents.

Point 4: If the citizens' committee, the school board, or another official group is holding hearings on the issue, the League of Women Voters and other groups should testify. In its testimony the league should not pretend to be an authority on school curricula as such, but it can and should argue for the right to have children learn about the U. N., its work, and its affiliated agencies, and make sure that the material in question is fair and accurate.

Point 5: The league and other groups should make an effort to call to the attention of teachers in social studies league material and material of other reliable organizations on international questions.

*Case VI.*—The display of the U. N. flag. Ever since the U. N. amended its code on the display of the U. N. flag so that the flag could be flown publicly and not just at official meetings of the U. N., there has been misunderstanding about flying the U. N. flag.

When you are holding public meetings on international issues or the U. N. or holding U. N. observances and you plan to display the U. N. flag, there may be some individuals and groups in your community who will object. Many of them will say that this is violating the United States flag code which governs the way in which our own flag is displayed. If this situation occurs or if you are not sure of the proper display of both flags, the following points should be of assistance:

Point 1: The United States flag should always have the place of honor at the right of the platform and to the left of the audience. The United States flag must not be flown below the flag of the U. N. or the flag of any country. In a procession the United States flag is always the first flag on the right and is carried slightly forward of the other flags.

Point 2: The U. N. flag, according to its code should be flown at the left of the particular national flag—to the right of the audience. The U. N. flag should not be flown at a height lower than a national flag.

Point 3: The United States and U. N. flag codes, therefore, are not incompatible. A bill which recently passed Congress and was signed by the President, however, might give the impression that the U. N. flag cannot be displayed. This bill, S. 694, prohibits the display of any flag in a position equal, superior to, or in place of the United States flag. (Equal to evidently does not mean equal in height.) President Eisenhower, in signing this bill, the language of which is very vague, issued a statement saying the bill in no way interfered with international customs of displaying the U. N. flag or the flag of other nations. The complete text of the President's letter is attached, page 20. Also attached is a series of three questions asked by Senator Knowland and answered by Senator Martin on the Senate floor the day the bill was passed. If any person

questions your right to display the U. N. flag, you can refer to these two documents (pp. 19 and 20).

*Case VII.*—When controversial material is circulated in your community. When people ask, "How do I know what is true?"

In many communities people are flooded with printed material which comes to them unsolicited. It is handed out at meetings, on street corners, dropped at their door. People are often influenced by what they read. If material is written which pretends to be based on facts, but which distorts the facts or is written in half-truths, or deliberately taken out of context, what can you do?

Point 1: Evaluate the material.

(a) Compare the statements made with facts reported in various source material. Source materials are such documents as reports of international or government agencies; minutes and proceedings of meetings; policy statements; congressional reports, particularly their factual content; studies by reliable research institutions if based on authentic reports. Much source material is available in your libraries.

(b) Evaluate what is written in terms of bias or expressed point of view.

Is it written for a special interest?

Is it against something so bitterly that it distorts the facts to prove its case? Is it slanted?

(c) Have the authors or groups publishing the material earned public respect for reliability? Who financed it? What are the aims of the group?

(d) Does it inspire hatred for a group or class or race?

Does it feed prejudices?

(e) Does what you read tend to destroy concepts which you believe to be basic? In other words, if you believe that international cooperation is essential, is that very belief a guide to you in evaluating what you read and what you hear?

Point 2: Many times it is better to tear up the material and throw it in a wastebasket. Sometimes, however, it must be answered. Your group will have to determine if and how a correction should be made. A printed statement might be helpful, letter to the editor of your newspaper, a radio program, a special pamphlet, or positive and accurate statements ready for distribution at a public meeting to counteract what had been circulated. One has to be careful that the corrections reach the same group that received the original misstatements. Always quote your sources, not your opinions.

Point 3: If the statements are matters of opinion, give the individual or the organization credit for his opinion, then give positive statements based on fact to support your position.

Many people need and want help on how to evaluate what they read at home, and what they hear on the radio—conflicting commentators, for example. This point should be brought out in your training program for leaders.

#### EVALUATION

When your community action is completed, it would be well for the members of your group to have a brief session to judge its effectiveness. Such an evaluation could consider:

1. Whether your analysis of what needed to be done in your community was thorough and adequate.

2. Whether you felt the community action helped furnish you with the arguments and information to promote greater understanding of the principles of international cooperation.

3. Whether the goals you set for action in the community were realized, not met, or more than realized.

4. Whether you were able to elicit the support of a number of other organizations.

5. Whether you feel certain segments of the community have greater understanding and interest in the problems facing the United States in today's world.

6. What you think is needed in the near future.

7. Please make a written report of your efforts and send it to your national office. It is useful to make reports to the U. N., to the United States Citizen's Committee on U. N. Day, to use as a basis for magazine articles, and for future work.

[From the Congressional Record, June 25, 1953, p. 7505]

PROHIBITION OF DISPLAY OF FLAGS OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS OR OTHER NATIONS

The Presiding Officer laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 694) to prohibit the display of flags of international organizations or other nations in equal or superior prominence or honor to the flag of the United States except under specified circumstances, and for other purposes, which was to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

"That section 3 (c) of the joint resolution entitled 'joint resolution to codify and emphasize existing rules and customs pertaining to the display and use of the flag of the United States of America,' approved June 22, 1942, as amended (36 U. S. C., sec. 175 (c)), is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: 'No person shall display the flag of the United Nations or any other national or international flag equal, above, or in a position of superior prominence or honor to, or in place of, the flag of the United States at any place within the United States or any Territory or possession thereof: *Provided*, That nothing in this section shall make unlawful the continuance of the practice heretofore followed of displaying the flag of the United Nations in a position of superior prominence or honor, and other national flags in positions of equal prominence or honor, with that of the flag of the United States at the headquarters of the United Nations.'"

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I have some questions which I should like to ask of the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. Martin).

Would this bill require that the American flag be flown at a higher elevation or be of a larger size than any foreign or international flag?

Mr. MARTIN. No. Senate bill 694 would not require that the American flag be flown higher or be of a larger size. It simply requires that no foreign flag shall be flown in a position of equal or superior prominence or honor to the American flag.

Mr. KNOWLAND. The existing law, the act of June 22, 1942, title 36 of the United States Code, section 175 (c), specifies that "international usage forbids the display of the flag of one nation above that of another nation in time of peace." Would this bill be in conflict with that section?

Mr. MARTIN. No. This bill adds a section to that act which reinforces the provisions of that act by requiring that the American flag be given the customary place of prominence and honor when flown with foreign or international flags on United States soil.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Would this bill require that the American flag be flown in the place of prominence and honor at the United Nations headquarters?

Mr. MARTIN. This bill has a specific provision which authorizes "the continuance of the practice heretofore followed of displaying the flag of the United Nations in a position of superior prominence or honor at the headquarters of the United Nations." This is because of the special agreement we have with the United Nations under the Headquarters Agreement.

I move that the Senate concur in the House amendment.

The motion was agreed to.

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STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

I have today (July 9, 1953) approved S. 694, "To prohibit the display of flags of international organizations or other nations in equal or superior prominence or honor to the flag of the United States except under specified circumstances, and for other purposes."

This measure is intended to prescribe rules of guidance for the display of the flag of the United States when flown with the flag of the United Nations or with any other national or international flag.

Unfortunately, the wording of the bill is so arranged that it is susceptible of interpretations which are not intended and which would breach international usage. Only after reading the debate upon this bill does it become clear that the intent of the Congress is simply and correctly to assure that within the United States and its possessions the American flag is to be given its traditional place of honor and prominence when flown with other flags.

Legislative history cannot be incorporated in the statute books. Even if it could be, the other nations of the world could well question why the language

of these rules of guidance for the display of the flag is not direct, distinct, and free of ambiguity.

At this time, I can do no more than to assure the people of the United States and the governments of other nations that this bill is not intended to conflict with international usage or with the flag codes of any nation or international organization, particularly as they affect display of the flag of the United Nations. I am requesting that the Department of State take whatever steps are necessary to convey this assurance to other governments and to international organizations.

At the same time, I want to express the hope that the Congress will clarify the language of this bill. I believe that such action is essential in the interest of international goodwill and comity. I believe that it is also essential in the interest of maintaining the clearest possible understanding of the importance which the people of the United States attach to the American flag as their national emblem.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

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COUNCIL OF MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS FOR THE UNITED STATES COMMITTEE FOR  
U. N. DAY FOR 1953

Altrusa International  
 American Academy of Political and Social Science  
 \*American Association for the United Nations  
 \*American Association of University Women  
 American Automobile Association  
 American Book Publishers Council  
 American Booksellers Association  
 \*American Civil Liberties Union  
 American Council on Education  
 American Farm Bureau Federation  
 \*American Federation of Labor  
 American Federation of Teachers  
 \*American Friends Service Committee  
 American Home Economics Association  
 \*American Jewish Committee  
 \*American Jewish Congress  
 American Legion  
 American Library Association  
 American Nurses Association  
 American Public Relations Association  
 American Textbook Publishers Institute  
 American Unitarian Association  
 American Veterans Committee  
 American Women in Radio and Television, Inc.  
 \*American Women's Voluntary Services  
 Amvets  
 Associated Women of the American Farm Bureau  
 Association of American Colleges  
 Association of International Relations Clubs  
 Association of Junior Leagues of America, Inc.  
 Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities  
 Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs  
 Big Brothers of America, Inc.  
 \*B'nai B'rith  
 B'nai B'rith Women's Supreme Council  
 \*Boy Scouts of America  
 Boys' Clubs of America  
 Camp Fire Girls  
 \*Carnegie Endowment for International Peace  
 Catholic Association for International Peace  
 Central Conference of American Rabbis  
 \*Church Peace Union  
 Civitan International  
 \*Committee for Economic Development

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\*These organizations also belong to the conference group of United States national organizations on the United Nations.

- \*Common Council for American Unity
- \*Congress of Industrial Organizations
  - Cooperative League of the United States
  - Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches
  - Council of State Governments
- \*Foreign Policy Association
  - Future Farmers of America
  - Future Homemakers of America
- \*General Federation of Women's Clubs
- \*Girl Scouts of the United States of America
- \*Hadassah
  - Institute of International Education
  - International Association of Machinists
  - International Social Service, American Branch
- \*Jewish War Veterans of U. S. A.
- \*League of Women Voters
- \*Lions International
  - Magazine Publishers' Association, Inc.
  - Motion Picture Association of America
  - National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
  - National Association of Colored Women, Inc.
- \*National Association of Manufacturers
  - National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters, Inc.
  - National Association of Women Lawyers
  - National Bar Association
  - National Catholic Educational Association
- \*National Catholic Welfare Conference
- \*National Conference of Christians and Jews
- National Congress of Parents and Teachers
- National Council of American Importers, Inc.
- National Council of Catholic Men
- \*National Council of Catholic Women
- \*National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A.
- \*National Council of Jewish Women, Inc.
- National Council of Negro Women, Inc.
- \*National Council of the Young Men's Christian Association
- \*National Education Association
  - National Farmers Union
- \*National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc.
- National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers
- National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods
- \*National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods
- National Fraternal Council of Churches, USA
- National Grange
- \*National Jewish Welfare Board
  - National Jewish Youth Conference
  - National Lutheran Council
  - National Newspaper Publishers Association
  - National Planning Association
  - National Recreation Association
- \*National Social Welfare Assembly
  - Optimist International
  - Pilot Club International
  - Public Affairs Committee
  - Public Affairs Institute
  - Quota Club International
  - Railway Labor Executives' Association
  - Society of Business Magazine Editors
  - Soroptimist International Association
  - Synagogue Council of America
- \*United Church Women
- \*United Commercial Travelers of America
  - United States Junior Chamber of Commerce
- \*United World Federalists, Inc.
  - Veterans of Foreign Wars
- \*Woman's National Farm & Garden Association, Inc.
- \*Women's International League for Peace and Freedom



- \*Woodrow Wilson Foundation
- \*World Alliance for International Friendship through Religion  
Young Adult Council
- \*Young Women's Christian Association of the USA
- Zonta International

The following groups belong to the conference group and are not among the sponsors for U. N. Day :

- Chamber of Commerce of the USA
- Citizens' Conference for International Economic Union
- Commission of Churches on International Affairs
- Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union of America
- League for Industrial Democracy, Inc.
- National Association of Negro Business and Professional Women's Clubs
- National Council of Women of the USA
- National Women's Conference of the American Ethical Union
- Save the Children Federation
- Town Hall, Inc.
- World Peace Foundation

#### U. N. BROADCASTS AND TELECASTS IN THE UNITED STATES

Local stations can request the following broadcasts from the Radio Division, United Nations, New York, N. Y. :

1. U. N. Today—A comprehensive 15-minute summary of the latest U. N. news, featuring the recorded voices of delegates taking part in U. N. sessions and on-the-scene reports of U. N. activities around the world, is carried 5 times a week over some 250 stations of the Mutual Broadcasting System.

2. U. N. on the Record—A weekly 15-minute program featuring the voices of U. N. leaders in many parts of the world. In the United States, the series is carried by the Columbia Broadcasting System on Saturdays.

3. U. N. Story—A weekly 15-minute transcribed dramatic series is devoted to the humanitarian aspects of the U. N. Programs are carried over 660 stations in the United States.

4. U. N. Is My Beat—Clark Elichelberger, executive director of the American Association for the U. N., comments on U. N. affairs and interviews delegates, National Broadcasting System.

Television : U. N. General Assembly. With the cooperation of the U. N. Radio Division, meetings are televised by NBC, CBS, and ABC.

Check your local newspaper for times of U. N. programs in your area.

For help in preparing your own scripts, write Radio Division, U. N., New York, N. Y., for two free tools :

1. U. N. Guidebook, a series of 5-minute scripts which can be enlarged to make 15-minute programs.

2. U. N. News for Women Broadcasters, a monthly bulletin which includes sample interviews and spot news.

#### OFFICIAL DISTRIBUTORS OF UNITED NATIONS FILMS—FOR SALE OR RENT

##### California :

William M. Dennis Film Libraries, 2506½ West Seventh Street, Los Angeles 5

Association Films, 351 Turk Street, San Francisco 2

District of Columbia : Roy G. Epperley & Co., Suite 632, Woodward Building, Washington 5

Georgia : The Distributor's Group, Inc., 756 West Peachtree Street NW., Atlanta

Illinois : Association Films, 70 East Adams Street, Chicago 3

Louisiana : Delta Visual Service, 815 Poydras Street, New Orleans

Massachusetts : Stanley-Winthrop's, Inc., 20 Shawmut Street, Boston 16

Michigan : Engleman Visual Educational Service, 4754-56 Woodward Avenue, Detroit 1

Missouri : Swank Motion Pictures, Inc., 614 North Skinner Boulevard, St. Louis 5

New York : Association Films, 35 West 45th Street, New York 19

Ohio : Cousino Visual Education Service, Inc., 2325 Madison Avenue, Toledo

##### Texas :

Association Films, 1915 Live Oak Street, Dallas 4

Southwest Soundfilms, 423 South St. Paul Street, Dallas 1

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

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*What the United Nations Means to the United States*, statement of Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., Representative of the U. S. to the United Nations, before members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, July 8, 1953, available from the League of Women Voters of the U. S., 6c.

*Points of View—The United Nations*, a 25-minute recording of discussion by Senator Cooper (R. Ky.); Senator Sparkman (D. Ala.); James Reston, Diplomatic correspondent for the Washington Bureau of the New York Times; and Mrs. John G. Lee, President of the League of Women Voters of the U. S. The 10-inch record plays on a 33 and 1/2 microgroove turntable, available from the League of Women Voters of the U. S., \$1.00.

*Know Your United Nations*, a leaders guide for individual and community action, U. S. Committee for U. N. Day, 816-21st Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C. Includes ideas for popular U. N. programs and lists material available from the Committee, 1 to 10 copies free.

*The United Nations, UNESCO and American Schools*, Educational Policies Commission, National Education Association of the U. S. and the American Association of School Administrators, December 1952, available from the National Education Association, 1201 16th Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C., free.

*The Free World and the United Nations*, by Sir Gladwyn Jebb in Foreign Affairs, April 1953, available in most libraries. A good defense of the principle of collective security.

*Together We Are Strong*, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., Statement of the necessity for trade and combined material strength of free world. 20c.

## B. ANALYZING THE ATTACKS AND THE ARGUMENTS AGAINST INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

*Currents and Cross-Currents*, by Helen D. Bragdon, General Director, American Association of University Women, reprinted from the Journal of the A. A. U. W., October, 1952, 1634 Eye Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. 10c.

*The Assault on the U. N.*, by Alexander Uhl, Public Affairs Institute, 312 Pennsylvania Avenue, S. E., Washington 3, D. C. The pamphlet lists organizations critical of the U. N. and congressional proposals which would disparage the prestige or hamper the work of the U. N., 25c.

*The Hate Campaign Against the U. N.*, by Gordon D. Hall, Beacon Press, 25 Beacon Street, Boston 8, Mass. The pamphlet lists groups opposing the U. N. with some of the reasons they give for their position, 50c.

*Our Enlightened Self-Interest and the United Nations*, by A. A. Berle, Jr., The Reporter Magazine, December 23, 1952; reprints available from The Conference Group of National Organizations on the U. N., 45 East 65th Street, New York 21, New York, single copies free.

*The Current Attacks on the United Nations and UNESCO*, American Friends Service Committee, Inc., Pacific Southwest Region, 825 Herkimer Street, Pasadena 4, California, free.

*Information on "Towards World Understanding", A Series of Pamphlets Published by UNESCO*, available from U. S. National Commission for UNESCO, U. S. Department of State, Washington, D. C., free.

## C. POPULAR MATERIALS ON THE U. N. AND THE INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

*What's the U. N. to Us?* by Beatrice Pitney Lamb, Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, Inc., 461 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y., 10c, quantity rates available.

*The United Nations, Facts and Fallacies*, The Church Peace Union, 170 East 64th Street, New York 21, N. Y., single copies free, quantity lots at cost.

*Don't Be Fooled*, Community Relations Service, American Jewish Committee, 286 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y., single copies, 5c, special prices for quantity orders.

*World Trade Affects You*, League of Women Voters of the U. S., 100 for \$2.75.

## D. MATERIALS CRITICAL OF THE U. N. AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

*The Story of the United Nations*, by former Representative John T. Wood (R. Idaho) before the United States Flag Committee, reprinted in the Congressional Record, October 15, 1951.

Pamphlets issued by the National Economic Council, 350 Fifth Avenue, New York City, New York.

*Behind the Headlines*, Broadcasts of John T. Flynn, America's Future, Inc., 210 East 43rd Street, New York 17, New York, 2c each.

Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., 205 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York. See their newsletter, *Spotlight*.

National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, 1776 D Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

*A Billion Dollar Boondoggle*, Headlines, 342 Madison Avenue, New York 17, New York, issue of January 24, 1953, devoted to the U. N., 30c a copy.

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*Issues Facing the Eighth U. N. General Assembly*, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N. Y., 15c.

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*The U. N.: Its Record and Prospects*, by A. M. Rosenthal, Manhattan Publishing Co., 225 Lafayette Street, New York 12, N. Y., 35c.

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*Tips on Reaching the Public*, League of Women Voters of the U. S., 25c.

*Measuring Public Attitudes*, *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. II, No. II, 1946, may be available in your public library.

Mr. MERROW. Do you have any comments you want to make on those?

Mrs. LEE. I think they are self-explanatory.

Mr. MERROW. You say at the end of April you will have your convention meeting. At that time we would be glad to honor any requests that you make with regard to material developed at the conference.

Mr. Hays—

Mr. HAYS. Mrs. Lee, to what extent does the opinion you express represent the discussion of local groups and the opinion across the country of your membership and what procedures have you followed to head up these conclusions?

Mrs. LEE. We have a very complicated procedure for voting and we think it is a very democratic one.

The sovereign body of the league is meeting in April, and it is made up of local leagues in the membership. They select the delegates to go to the convention. We start about 6 months in advance of the convention to promote discussion of the league program and to promote discussion of what the members would like to do. Not only what they have done and are currently doing, but what they would like to do. The local leagues then form recommendations and send those in to the national office. At that time the national

board meets and we analyze very carefully all of the recommendations of all of the local leagues and individuals that come to the office, and on the basis of that, and our judgment, and the state of affairs in the country at the time, and other contacts with leagues, such as conferences and so on throughout the country, we send out what is called a proposed program. That program is then discussed again by the local organizations and their delegates are informed, though not instructed, of their opinions. When the delegate goes to the convention and has to act upon the program she knows what her membership thinks. During this first process this year we had recommendations from, I think it was 630, of the 900 local leagues who responded very thoughtfully to this whole process and gave their recommendations.

When the national board makes a decision on a measure to support, we do it after trying to determine as conscientiously as I think it can be done, the state of league opinion. We do that by direct personal contact, by many regional contacts, and by much correspondence and by requesting papers, and so on. When we speak for the league I think we speak for what we might term a substantial majority. I think we must realize there is always a minority, and we think that is helpful.

Mr. HAYS. Do you make provision for the expression of this minority opinion so that in your published reports it does appear that there are dissents?

Mrs. LEE. We think the minority has every opportunity to influence decisions. The minority appears on the floor of the convention and they have the opportunity to influence the thinking of what may turn out to be the majority. There is no way by which we actually reflect minority opinion in terms of submitting a report.

Mr. HAYS. Is your organization sensitive enough to changes in public opinion to reflect any withdrawal of sentiment for the United Nations that might develop? I notice that the league units are internationally minded. They believe in world cooperation. If that should change is your mechanism sensitive enough to show the change?

Mrs. LEE. Yes, I think so very definitely, Mr. Hays.

We are perfectly aware at this time of a small number of members who do not believe in the international position of the league. They are not sympathetic to it.

Now, when we have people who wish to join the league we try to make it plain that the purpose of the organization is not to support international cooperation, that is not the purpose. The purpose of the organization is to promote informed and active participation of citizens in Government and they choose their program to carry out that purpose, to show how it is done.

It does happen that since the founding of the league 35 years ago, there has been consistent support of the idea of international cooperation reaffirmed again and again at each convention, really. It is reaffirmed by a very large vote. So that I think we are conscious of a minority who is not sympathetic on this issue but that minority does find other issues where it is sympathetic and in which the league works and we think that is important.

If you are not for the United Nations, if you are in a local league you may be very much for a local project.

Mr. HAYS. Sometimes a local problem appeals to them?

Mrs. LEE. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. You embrace everything of a civic nature from local and world problems?

Mrs. LEE. The league embraces those areas but not everything in those areas. We are very selective. We try to pick out as media, through which citizens learn how to be informed and active in government, one or two things having to do with local governmental matters. One or two things, sometimes more, having to do with State matters, and then whatever we choose on the national level.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Chairman, am I taking more time than I should?

Mr. MERROW. You go right ahead.

Mr. HAYS. I judge, then, that your charter is broad enough to authorize expressions such as this—well, I assume you wouldn't be here unless it were, but I am getting at the question of procedures.

Your policy is that where there is evidently a substantial support for some legislative program, you are authorized to speak in behalf of specific measures?

Mrs. LEE. That is right.

Mr. HAYS. Some participation groups do not have such authority but I judge that yours grants that authority to the officers to speak in behalf of legislation.

Mrs. LEE. The authority is granted at the time of the national convention.

Mr. HAYS. It can be withdrawn at a national convention or extended?

Mrs. LEE. That is right. It cannot be withdrawn in the interim in term of authority to act. On the other hand, there is the necessity for the board to reflect the general opinion in the league and if between the last national convention and now I had become aware or the national board had become aware of a great change in league opinion, I wouldn't be here; but just the reverse has happened. We have a very large, growing sentiment, it seems to me. The organization itself is growing quite rapidly and it seems to me that there is evidence of an increased interest on the part of our members, in the United Nations and its principles and purposes, and an increasing desire to support it and to build understanding in support of it.

Mr. HAYS. You have observed, I am sure, the fact that some organizations with very laudable purposes and high professional standing sometimes make decisions at a high level and spread that throughout the Nation so that there appears to be local sentiment that is actually imposed from above, and that is the reason for my pursuing this question of procedures.

Not long ago, for example, I had a resolution passed by a professional group in my own city with reference to a pending bill and when I wrote back that this didn't conform with my ideas, that I begged respectfully to differ with my good friends in this society, I got a prompt reply saying, "Well, use your own judgment. We were asked to do this by our national officers, we knew nothing about it and we just channeled it up to you."

Now that is not good procedure and that does not help Congress.

Mrs. LEE. I am sure that is true, Mr. Hays, and it is a thing that always worries me in my job. I am sure we have good procedures and they are perfectly operable if one chooses to use them. We do a tre-

mendous amount of informing our members through our monthly bulletin that goes out twice a month to all of our members, and through other media. We keep them informed as to what is being done or what is developing in things in which they have shown concern.

I am always concerned with the fact that individual members do not utilize the channels at their disposal for registering opinion and influence. Some people only seem to react after action has been taken and they don't participate sufficiently to influence that decision. One of the things we do most exhaustively in the league is to get the individual league member to feel responsible for what the organization does and to participate in the formulation of its decisions and policies.

Mr. HAYS. How closely have you followed UNESCO?

Mrs. LEE. We originally supported United States participation in UNESCO and we have once or twice, I think, made statements in which we expressed the opinion that the United States should continue to participate because we believe in the purposes as stated in the UNESCO charter. We were one of the organizations who originally, I think, had a member on the national commission, and at the present time a member of the league, though not a member of our board, is a member of the national commission and represents us. We have followed it moderately closely but not excessively so, except where an issue has risen in a community and there the leagues have gone to town and made a real study of it.

Mr. HAYS. I had the impression that when Dr. Luther Evans became head of it, some of the criticisms would vanish—and this is no reflection upon the predecessors, but the fact that his reputation is so secure as a leader in this field, I had an idea that some of those criticisms would end. No one could question his loyalty or his determination to protect American institutions. If not a typical Texan—I don't suppose there is any such thing as a typical Texan because the State is too big to have a type, but as a product of Texas, he is thoroughly rooted to our national ideals and standards.

One thing that has distressed me about UNESCO is the suggestion that they are penetrating the schools with something that might not be proper.

Now, do you know of any instances in which there has been a suggestion that the schools be required by Federal law to give instruction on specific matters. I assume that whatever has been done has been on the part of those locally in charge of the curriculum. Is that not true?

Mrs. LEE. It is my belief that the local authorities have complete control over the local schools.

Mr. HAYS. Wouldn't you say that any threat to the idea of complete local control of teaching from whatever source, would be an impairment of something that is rather precious in our national life?

Mrs. LEE. I would think so.

Mr. HAYS. Whether it comes from those who want to teach against UNESCO or those who want to teach for it.

The situation would be the same, would it not, if one proposed that we, by congressional act, prohibit a certain thing, would that not be equally threatening from the standpoint of local autonomy?

If UNESCO is proposing, or any friend of UNESCO or any overly enthusiastic supporter of the idea of international cooperation is pro-

posing that there be a Federal statute imposing curricula on local authority, I would like to see that nipped in the bud at once, but I would be equally fearful of any idea that we should prohibit a local school board from teaching UNESCO's purposes and functioning.

Do you share that view?

Mrs. LEE. I would share that idea with you very emphatically, yes.

Mr. HAYS. And you don't know of any suggestions that Congress should require the teaching of anything regarding the United Nations, do you? Have you seen anything?

Mrs. LEE. I have not.

Mr. HAYS. I haven't found it and that is the reason I asked if in your studies you had found anyone advocating a Federal statute to require the instruction as to the United Nations in the schools.

Mrs. LEE. I have heard of no such thing, no.

Mr. HAYS. Have you heard of anybody in the State Department representing, by innuendo, that this should be done to conform to Federal requirements or Federal policy?

Mrs. LEE. In none of my contacts with the State Department have I heard of such a thing.

Mr. HAYS. Thank you.

Mr. MERROW. Mrs. Lee, I note that your convention is going to be held at the end of April. Now, I want to ask, will attention be given at that convention to the specialized agencies of the United Nations? Is that part of the agenda?

Mrs. LEE. I wouldn't say in specific terms, Mr. Merrow, no, because what we do at a convention, usually, is to review through the debating process, pretty much our activities in the U. N. field through the last 2-year period, since the convention last met. We have taken in this 2-year period, I think, no action on any of the specialized agencies, though we have acted on appropriations from the United States to the U. N. on the general U. N. budget. It is almost impossible to talk about the U. N. without including some of the activities of the specialized agencies, and UNESCO may well come up at the convention; I don't know.

Mr. MERROW. May I suggest consideration be given to the possibility of looking into some of the specialized agencies. I think it would be helpful to have the reaction of your organization in reference to them, if you have the time to do that.

Mrs. LEE. I will certainly take that into consideration if I may. Time is of the essence, as you know.

Mr. MERROW. Time is very important. The study mission tried to get the facts on the specialized agencies in this report, and we came to the conclusion that they are a very vital part of the U. N. structure and so much so that we indicated if anything happened to the U. N., the specialized agencies could go on with the work in their fields but it is doubtful that the U. N. could progress without the work of the specialized agencies. We would be interested to have any opinions your organization might have.

Mr. HAYS. Mrs. Lee, the Senate has a subcommittee comparable to ours, limited more specifically to charter revision. I hadn't had an opportunity to tell my chairman about the report I had of a very helpful meeting that they conducted in Akron, Ohio. I understand there were about 1,500 people present and it was a magnificent forum.

It was bipartisan—you would agree, I am sure, that this must be bipartisan?

Mrs. LEE. Oh, yes.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Wiley on the majority side and Mr. Mansfield on the minority side were able to hear not only statements like your own supporting the U. N., generally, but extreme criticisms of it. I understand that it created a very fine atmosphere and that perhaps discussions will tend hereafter to be a bit more constructive and a bit more tolerant.

It seems to me that groups like your own might help us considerably in breaking down these inflexible positions, inviting participation by others than your own members in local forums, to promote local forums where people who are fearful about this might have access to facts that would alter their positions, perhaps.

I know one thing, that in providing the opportunity that we have had here to offer criticisms, we have been helped ourselves, but what I am continuously hoping for is that those who just feel that we must disavow this whole idea of international cooperation can see that at least we should have one thing in common and that is the earnest desire for peace, and if we will hold on to that, we may render great public service.

This is obviously not a question, but I am seizing the opportunity of saying to you as head of an important national organization, that I hope you will promote local activity so that out of the ferment of opinion at the grassroots, we will find it possible to hold our gains and to proceed conservatively.

Mrs. LEE. That is exactly what we were doing in this project, which is called Working Together for International Cooperation. It is a guide for community action. Most of our local leagues, I think, have used it, in conjunction with other groups in the community. It is spread away outside of our own organization. It has brought the community together to discuss these things in a well-tempered and constructive way. It has brought together extremes on both sides and some areas of agreement have been promoted. What you say is exactly what we are trying to do and have been for a long time.

Mr. HAYS. Do you think it would help if our subcommittee found time to conduct some such forums as the Akron forum—I know the Senate committee will not be able to explore the whole field and do the entire job.

Mrs. LEE. I don't like to make a snap judgment on it. We were represented—the local league in Akron appeared at the hearing you speak of, and reported a very interesting job, just as you said, and a very useful one.

I always feel the more people who are willing to talk together, face to face, individually, or on a world level, the more chance we have of working out areas of agreement to make it possible to do the things we all want. It seems to me anything that can be done by any of us to present mutual understanding and willingness to compromise which will enable us to accomplish the end we seek, is very much to be desired. If such hearings would do that, I would think it would be very valuable.

Mr. HAYS. Thank you.

Mr. MURROW. Thank you, Mrs. Lee.



Our subcommittee will continue to hold hearings and there will be other organizations that wish to appear. We are anxious to have all points of view and to get the facts in connection with the U. N. and the specialized agencies. We probably will be having other meetings in the near future. This meeting stands adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 12:30 p. m., the subcommittee recessed to reconvene at the call of the chairman.)

(The following statement has been submitted for inclusion in the record:)

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES,  
*Washington, D. C., Mar 5, 1954.*

HON. CHESTER E. MERROW,  
*House of Representatives,  
Old House Office Building,  
Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. MERROW: I am writing this letter in response to your subcommittee's telephone invitation to the national chamber to testify before the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements.

We already have indicated a desire to submit a statement at this time only with respect to the International Labor Organization.

We understand this suggestion was agreeable.

I am attaching the basic position of the national chamber with respect to the ILO.

Basically we believe that ILO should place more emphasis on the voluntary solution of problems through reliance on private enterprise and less on solution of problems by Government. The reliance on conventions is inherently bad, we believe, because they are a use of the treaty process as a means of effecting reform, often of a domestic nature. We think such a use of treaties is inherently dangerous.

ILO in name is a tripartite organization. Yet our Department of Labor has traditionally dominated our Government delegations to ILO conferences and committee meetings. This situation does not inspire the confidence of United States employer delegations, who have felt all too often that our Government delegates have not taken a neutral position. We have urged accordingly that the Department of Commerce should have an equal voice with the Department of Labor in selection of United States Government delegations to ILO affairs and in the administration of ILO matters.

A great deal of ILO activity is expended on so-called industry committees. There are nine of these committees, as follows: Building and public works, inland transport, coal, iron and steel, metal trades, textiles, chemicals, petroleum, plantations.

Each of these committees meets every 2 years. Their expenses are paid from ILO funds of which the United States contributes 25 percent. We believe that these committees should be abolished. They have not demonstrated any useful purpose. Many of the representatives who attend don't take the assignment seriously, but appear to regard it as a chance for international travel. Since the expense of these committees is borne by ILO, more of it is paid by the United States than by any other country.

If the basic defects in ILO could be cured, however, it might well be used as a constructive forum through which to exchange valuable information and create better international understanding.

We appreciate the opportunity to send you these views about ILO and hope they may be incorporated in the record of proceedings of the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements.

Cordially yours,

CLARENCE R. MILLS,  
*Manager, Legislative Department.*

[From Policy Declarations of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, June 1953, pp. 97-98]

#### THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

The aspirations of the people of the world for a better life, higher living standards and cultures, command the support of all men of good will. We believe that those worthy aims are best achieved through voluntary cooperation by free-men which results in more production of goods and services, and guarantees the preservation of the freedom and dignity of the individual.

These aims are achieved most effectively and with the maximum degree of individual liberty in a competitive economy within a democratic society. Conversely, socialism and communism lead to restricted production, to monopolistic controls and practices, the loss of incentives and individual initiative, which is replaced by State compulsion and the eventual loss of personal liberties.

The International Labor Organization traditionally places major emphasis for improvement of living standards upon increased intervention by governments. This is alien to the basic principles of the American competitive enterprise system in which primary reliance is placed upon voluntary action and cooperative efforts by workers and management, including collective bargaining between organized labor and management where workers freely choose this method.

Participation by the United States in ILO will contribute most effectively to the goals of higher living standards and cultures, while encouraging the development of individual freedom and voluntary action, only if basic changes are made in certain ILO processes. Reliance upon conventions or draft treaties should be abandoned in favor of recommendations and resolutions. Meetings of ILO industrial committees serve no useful purpose and should be discontinued. ILO's so-called tripartite system of participation must be revised in order to ensure that all three groups will share equally in its deliberations and decisions. Technical assistance by ILO to member nations should be directed toward increasing production through greater efficiency of manpower utilization, toward the adoption of voluntary methods as against Government intervention and toward the use of technical assistance from nongovernmental sources.

Unless changes of this character can be accomplished within ILO, there remains a serious question whether continued participation by the United States as a member of the International Labor Organization can be justified. If it is determined that such changes cannot in fact be accomplished, the United States should then consider steps to withdraw from membership in the ILO.

The ILO should be dedicated to the attainment of higher living standards, through the strengthening of the competitive enterprise system to provide effective incentive for low-cost quality production throughout the world.

# INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS

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THURSDAY, MARCH 11, 1954

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL  
ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 2:20 p. m., in room G-3, United States Capitol, Hon. Chester E. Merrow (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. MERROW. The committee will be in order.

This is a continuation of the hearings before the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements which is dealing with the questions relating to the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

In the study mission report on the specialized agencies in Europe that was released the first of February, we stated that during the early part of the session it would be the intention of the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements to continue to have hearings on these specialized agencies in an effort to obtain all the facts in connection with them and to complete the picture in reference to some of the criticisms and the suggestions that have been made for improvement, and so on.

Today the hearings are devoted to the specialized agency of the United Nations, UNESCO, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.

We have with us Dr. George Shuster, who is president of Hunter College and Chairman of the United States National Commission for UNESCO.

Dr. Shuster has been long interested in UNESCO affairs. He was at the convention in London in 1945 which wrote the Constitution for UNESCO and has been closely associated with it ever since.

He was made president of the National Commission last September. We are very happy to have you with us, Dr. Shuster.

## STATEMENT OF DR. GEORGE SHUSTER, PRESIDENT, HUNTER COLLEGE; CHAIRMAN, UNITED STATES NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR UNESCO

Dr. SHUSTER. Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee, may I take this opportunity to thank you on behalf of the Commission and also on my own behalf for your courtesy in inviting us to be here today. Perhaps the real reason why I happen to be speaking is that, by reason of age, I have a long acquaintance with UNESCO and with its background.

Originally I served as a member of the General Advisory Committee to the Division of Cultural Relations in the Department of State, which, as you will probably recall, was appointed as a consequence of the good-neighbor policy in Latin America.

Part of the work of that Committee was to prepare for a conference called during the course of the war by the ministers of education in order to see what could be done for the schools in war-torn lands, once the struggle was over.

During the course of these discussions, the desirability of bringing into being some agency of international educational-intellectual co-operation was discussed, and after several preliminary conferences in London, and after a decision taken at San Francisco to include a reference to education in the Charter of the United Nations, a conference, to consider whether such an institution could be established, was held in London during December 1945. I served as a member of the United States delegation on that occasion.

You will recall, Mr. Chairman, that during the subsequent year, we were both of us privileged to participate in the Paris conference which actually adopted the constitution of the UNESCO.

Now, may I say just a few words about the character of UNESCO, in the light of its history and development. It seems to me that this is frequently misunderstood. All governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed but in the case of UNESCO, there are no governed. It was from the beginning conceived, not as an organization which would have powers over anyone, but rather as an association of nations for their mutual advancement and indeed for the advancement of all of mankind, in these vital areas of culture, science, and education; and from that day until this, UNESCO has issued no orders to anyone, has made no comments on nationality, or the national philosophy of any member state, is not able to interfere in the affairs of a member state unless it is invited by that state so to do. It has rather, through a process of conference and investigation, thrown great light on a number of the most vital issues which confront the peoples of the world.

I sometimes think that we Americans are so accustomed to education, we take it so much for granted that often we do not realize what it really means to the peoples of the world. The differences in well-being, the differences even in the approach to material and physical success, are to a very great extent a consequence of the educational process.

The hope that is enshrined in UNESCO is therefore simply the hope that through an adequate and intelligent pooling of these resources, we can build a family of peoples between whom there can be more fruitful commerce in a spiritual as well as in a material sense.

In order to achieve these ends, UNESCO operates primarily through three bodies. The first is, of necessity, the Secretariat in Paris which is directed, as you know, by a Director General, subject to such authority as is given to him at the General Conferences of the Organization as well as by its Executive Board.

The Executive Board is the second body. The third body is the National Commission in each country. It is this National Commission which really gives to the work of UNESCO its vitality and its far-flung influence.

I wish I could introduce you to the National Commissions of other member countries. Let me, however, talk only about our own. The membership of the National Commission includes all the major religious bodies in this country, the major scholarly bodies, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, the labor groups of the country. In short, it is, from the point of view of all that has to do with science, education, and culture, the most representative group that this country has ever known. It works in unison, and, I am glad to say, in great harmony, with the Department of State.

Now, among the activities of UNESCO there is one which has given rise to a considerable amount of criticism, and it is with this one that I would like to concern myself for a little while.

UNESCO publishes. These publications are of three major kinds. First are those publications coming out of the Secretariat and devoted to some aspect of culture, science, or education.

The second group of publications are those prepared by the national commissions. These publications usually are the outgrowth of the national conferences which the United States National Commission for UNESCO holds biannually. The two most recent ones, last year's at the University of Minnesota, and at my own institution, Hunter College, 2 years before, were given the benefit of a series of work papers which I think historically are really significant.

Now, the third group of publications is one made up of quite informal pamphlets, discussions, documents, prepared by organizations which have no official connection with UNESCO at all. These may be essays written by someone in Chicago, Louisville, Los Angeles, outlining some aspect of the philosophy of the program of UNESCO as that individual sees it.

Now, as far as I know, very little criticism has arisen except in the third group. That is the group of quite informal papers, and there we have a major illustration in the famous Los Angeles row over a pamphlet called *The E in UNESCO*.

I am going to talk about that very frankly against a background of my own educational experience.

*E in UNESCO* was prepared by a group of teachers in the school system of Los Angeles as part of a program of training in civics and in the responsibilities of citizens, which has been a favorite concern of our school system for many years. This part of the program was supposed to deal with those obligations which the citizen must face, in view of the fact that we are gradually becoming, whether we wish to be so or not, an international community much closer knit than was formerly the case, by trade and by educational interests and by military necessity.

Now, I have read the pamphlet *E in UNESCO*. I will say it is not a distinguished educational document. As a matter of fact, there aren't so many distinguished educational documents, and therefore this verdict ought to surprise no one. But why on earth so much fuss was made about this innocuous little thing I shall never be able to understand, except in terms—and this, I think, is a very important point—in terms of a general attack, launched virtually at the same time in many places, on public education in the United States as a whole. This attack was the result of a confluence of motives and points of view. Some people, aroused by a feeling that the United States had produced a great many subversive individuals, felt that

the school system was penetrated with such individuals, and therefore took a very critical view of the teaching profession because of that perspective.

The second major source of criticism arose from a frank disagreement with the objectives which American public school education had set for itself. That is, with the notion that every child in this country is entitled to a good education, regardless of race or creed; that discrimination against any group in the community by reason of racial or other heritage, is totally inconsistent and incompatible with American tradition. I say there were groups of people in our Nation who disliked the public education system for that reason. And, finally, there were those, of course, who felt that any stick with which to beat the dog was useful, provided you could, in that way, advance the cause of private education under whatever auspices this might be given.

Now, had it not been for this attack and assault on American public education, this pamphlet would, in my opinion, have created no disturbance of any kind whatever. There is in it—in the view of the Los Angeles Board of Education, nothing, nothing whatever, which advocates a world government or a world community. There is, in the judgment of all the reputable people who have read it, not one single allusion to any subversive doctrine or motivation. In short, all it really does is to say that the people of the United States should be vitally interested in promoting the health and welfare of their fellow human beings throughout the world.

Formerly, in a less secularistic time, we used to talk about the brotherhood of man and to ask such questions as are asked in the Scripture "Am I my brother's keeper?" Today we ask them in a somewhat different context, realizing the responsibilities of citizens and of governments in this connection.

How this innocuous little pamphlet should have given rise to a barrage of this character can, I think, be accounted for on the grounds that I have stated.

There is something else to be stated and that is a general and prevailing ignorance of the character of the publications which come from UNESCO itself. I want to say a word about those because I have studied the situation very carefully.

Now, these publications are of two general kinds. They are publications which are prepared by individuals and publications prepared by groups. Not all of them are masterpieces, but taken in their totality they represent the greatest contribution which has been made in the history of mankind to all those vital concerns which grow out of international relations.

Now, one of the reasons why it is so difficult to produce understanding of this literature is rather a simple reason. This is scientific literature. It is concerned with such problems as this: "How shall we combat illiteracy throughout the world?" Now, that is a technical, educational question which is very difficult to answer.

The response must be made in terms of psychology, educational philosophy, and, of course, experience, and only through a correlation of what is best in all three of these groups can we possibly hope to approach this major problem of our time with any degree of trust that we shall succeed.

You can talk day in and day out about illiteracy, but doing something about it is just as difficult, perhaps even more difficult, than to do something about one of the major scourges in terms of disease which afflict mankind.

I should say that in all probability we shall succeed in stamping out cancer far earlier than we succeed in making really successful assaults upon the scourge of illiteracy, which is a major reason why we in the United States find it so difficult to build a community of free peoples. Unless we can talk to them, how can we influence them in terms of ideas?

Now that has, of course, all kinds of corollaries.

One of the things we have done in the United States, out of a sense of obligation, is to foster, through such organizations as the Modern Language Association, a wider interest in the learning of foreign languages.

This program, of vital interest to the United States, profits by the sincere, and I may say, profound scholarly investigations and publications of UNESCO.

Now these publications are not produced in isolation. They are the result of very careful coordination. I am going to introduce a passage from one of the letters I received after I became Chairman of the National Commission. This letter is from Dr. Jean Larnaud, who is Secretary General of the International Catholic Coordinating Center for UNESCO in Paris, extending to me a very cordial invitation to attend a conference of Catholic scholars who are collaborating with the organization, with UNESCO, in the writing of an important study. This letter reads in part:

Monsignor Sensi, the Holy See's permanent observer at UNESCO, will participate in our discussions, and it would be very kind of you if you could attend the conference.

Now, no matter what one may think of the Papacy and its endeavors, I submit that it will not participate in schemes to subvert mankind, to improve the chances for communism on this globe, or indeed to take the bottom from out of any healthy concept of patriotism.

If you look at these publications seriously, you will see that they are the result—perhaps, above all, the result—of carefully planned correlation of great religiously motivated quests in the various countries of the world.

Some reference has been made recently to publications which have been gotten out under the auspices of UNESCO on the subject of race. Now the three best of these studies are three authoritative ones from three religious points of view: A Protestant point of view, a Jewish point of view, and a Catholic point of view. They are, I think I may say, written by the three foremost anthropologists in these three groups. And they are magnificent statements of Judeo-Christian tradition in this area, making clear in ringing terms, but in scientific language, which is beyond contention, that such a thing as race ought to be removed from our consciousness, except in terms of a need for understanding among men. The consciousness that each and every one of us is at best a very feeble and negligible creature and that only through a recognition of our common dignity and common objectives can we hope to solve any problem on this earth. The titles and

authors of these booklets are as follows: The Ecumenical Movement and the Racial Problem, by W. A. Visser't Hooft; The Catholic Church and the Race Question, by Rev. Father Yves, M. J. Congar, O. P.; and Jewish Thought as a Factor in Civilization, by Prof. Léon Roth.

That, then, completes what I want to say on the subject of the source of most of the criticisms of UNESCO which have arisen.

I want to say a word too about one or two other ones and, if I may, introduce a document or two in the record. I should particularly like to submit for the record the official report of a committee of the Los Angeles, Calif., Board of Education, concerning teaching about the United Nations and its specialized agencies, including UNESCO, in the schools. This report is dated January 15, 1953. It tells what the program was, what materials were used, and how the materials were prepared. The report makes quite clear that the materials used were those prepared in Los Angeles itself by Los Angeles teachers, and not by UNESCO. This report also makes certain recommendations.

Secondly, I should like to submit a copy of the action finally taken by the Los Angeles Board of Education in the matter of teaching about the United Nations and the specialized agencies in the Los Angeles public schools. This action is contained in two resolutions considered by the board on January 19, 1953, and finally adopted by the board on January 27, 1953.

Mr. MERROW. They will be included in the record.

Dr. SHUSTER. Thank you, sir.

(The documents referred to follow:)

#### UNESCO IN THE LOS ANGELES CITY SCHOOLS—REPORT OF COMMITTEE, BOARD OF EDUCATION, CITY OF LOS ANGELES

##### INTRODUCTION

By resolution adopted on August 28, 1952, the Board of Education of the City of Los Angeles directed the president of the board to appoint a committee of 3 " \* \* \* to ascertain the extent to which, and the manner in which, the curriculum of the Los Angeles city schools was affected by the UNESCO program during the school year 1951-52; \* \* \* "

The president subsequently appointed as the special committee authorized by this resolution, Members Arthur F. Gardner, Harry H. Hillman, and H. C. Willett, chairman, to make the study and prepare this disquisition.

Part I presents the findings of the committee in respect to the assignment explicitly set forth in the resolution.

Part II is related to the assignment by implication, and presents to the board recommendations on which the members of the committee unanimously agree.

##### PART I

It was obvious to the committee that its first task was to determine what school activities constituted the so-called UNESCO program of the Los Angeles schools. At the outset doubt was expressed whether there actually was or had been such a program. There was evidenced considerable uncertainty concerning the extent to which a UNESCO program "projected on paper" in 1946 had subsequently been activated in the Los Angeles schools.

##### *Existence of the program*

*A program.*—As to the existence of a UNESCO program in the Los Angeles schools, the committee concluded that there had been during the years from 1946 to 1952 well-defined school activities which were properly regarded by teachers and school administrators as an approved UNESCO program.



In the opinion of the committee, the term "program" is a valid description of this group of activities because of the—

1. Planning by a central staff committee;
2. Publishing of related documents by the curriculum division;
3. Promotion of plans and distribution of documents in the schools by school personnel.

*Program permissive.*—Participation in the UNESCO program was permissive and not required. The principals appear to have felt no obligation to activate the UNESCO program in their schools.

#### *Elements of the program*

*Personnel interviewed.*—The committee studied various documents and interviewed teachers, principals, and other school personnel, in preparing a list of maximum UNESCO program activities.

This list comprises the total program elements reported by the schools of Los Angeles. Participation or nonparticipation was a proper exercise of the right of autonomy in the area of permissive activities engaged in during the years 1946–52.

#### *The list*

*Program elements.*—1. There was a central advisory and coordinating committee operating within the curriculum division of the Los Angeles city school system.

2. A UNESCO chairman was appointed by the principal of each school.

3. Basic information bulletins and periodic information bulletins were prepared under the direction of the curriculum division and distributed to teachers through the UNESCO chairmen.

4. There were in-service study groups, workshops, and institute sessions devoted to the study or presentation of matters related directly to the United Nations and UNESCO.

5. Curriculum publications were designed as instructional aids for teachers. These included the S in UNESCO, the E in UNESCO, and part II of Developing Human Relations in the Elementary Schools.

6. Instructional materials, including audio-visual aids, were developed and distributed.

7. Classroom instruction and study included subject content related to the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

8. Special events, such as United Nations Week, Brotherhood Week, World Trade Week, Pan-American Day, Good Will Day, etc., were observed.

9. Assembly and radio programs were staged.

10. There were bulletin-board postings; library exhibits; articles in school papers, etc.

11. Some schools formed clubs and committees, including World Friendship Clubs, UNESCO Clubs, and joint teacher-pupil UNESCO committees.

12. Numerous essay and oratorical contests, including the United Nations examination were engaged in.

13. Relations with children and schools in other countries through school affiliations, reconstruction projects, Junior Red Cross activities, etc., were encouraged.

14. School and community relationships on matters touching United Nations and the special interests of UNESCO, were developed.

It is not the function of this committee either to defend or to criticize these 14 program elements; nor is it deemed necessary to describe each element in detail. They are here listed to indicate to the board with what is believed to be reasonable accuracy, the entire range of school activities associated with the UNESCO program, and to serve as a reference list for use in later portions of this report.

#### *Extent of school participation*

*Modus operandi.*—The second task of the committee was to determine the extent to which the above-defined UNESCO program penetrated the life and activities of our Los Angeles schools.

Two approaches to this task were considered:

(1) A comprehensive questionnaire to all school principals in the three Los Angeles school districts.

(2) A conference with a group of elementary school, secondary school, and junior college principals selected on a random sampling basis.

The first approach had the apparent advantages of greater objectivity and possibly greater statistical validity. The questionnaire appeared to be an expensive, time-consuming and laborious approach.

The second had the advantages of the person-to-person exchange of information and opinions. It was economical in the expenditure of time and money, and although lacking theoretical statistical validity it developed sufficient information regarding the extent of participation in the UNESCO program to meet the purposes of this report.

The committee chose the second of these two approaches.

*The conference.*—On November 12, 1952, the committee met in conference with 40 of the school personnel, including representatives from the administrative staff, and elementary school, secondary school, and junior college principals from all the major geographic areas in the Los Angeles school system. The principals were selected from each area on a random sampling basis. A complete stenographic record of this conference was made. (This is attached to original copy of this report.)

In retrospect, the committee finds that the conference accomplished a number of useful purposes.

1. It confirmed and added to the information the committee had already obtained regarding the UNESCO program, its origin and development, and its constituent elements.

2. It established a basis on which the committee could estimate with some degree of assurance the extent to which schools participated in the various elements of the UNESCO program, and hence the extent to which the program itself affected the normal school program.

3. The conference helped the committee to differentiate between the program elements which were introduced into the schools by the UNESCO program and those school activities which antedate the United Nations and UNESCO.

4. It elicited responses to questions as to whether there had been advocacy of one-world government either in the program itself or by school personnel responsible for its administration. The conference also assisted in determining whether the UNESCO program had been substituted for, or had been otherwise detrimental to, the established obligation of the schools to advocate patriotism and love of country.

5. Finally, the conference convinced the committee that there was urgent need for the board of education to clarify its own position with reference to the various school activities which have become associated with the UNESCO program. Such clarification would assist the superintendent in dispelling the doubt and uncertainty of many principals and teachers regarding the present and future status of those activities included under the UNESCO program.

#### *Findings of the committee*

1. The committee finds that:

- (a) The total UNESCO program of the Los Angeles schools consisted substantially of the 14 program elements listed earlier in this report.

- (b) The program had its beginning in 1945 in response to widespread public interest in, and enthusiasm for, the newly organized United Nations.

- (c) Responding to demands for materials, the curriculum division and the superintendent's staff began the preparation of instructional materials. These materials dealt with the organization and functions of the United Nations, information about which was not at that time readily available from other sources.

- (d) In 1946, with the establishment of UNESCO—one of the specialized agencies of the United Nations—a UNESCO program for the Los Angeles schools was initiated. This program resulted in the organizing of a central advisory committee on UNESCO. In cooperation with the curriculum division, the central advisory committee began to develop teacher guides and instructional materials, and to coordinate many school activities around a central UNESCO program.

- (e) Under the leadership of the central advisory committee and UNESCO chairmen, the program flourished in many of the Los Angeles schools until January 1952.

- (f) Since January 1952, when the publication *The E* in UNESCO was inactivated by the superintendent, there has been almost complete suspension of the program while principals and teachers await clarification of its status.

2. The committee finds that:

- (a) It was not possible to determine with exactness the frequency with which schools participated in the various activities embraced in the 14 elements of the UNESCO program.

- (b) It was not feasible for the committee, in its attempts to measure and evaluate such participation, to restrict its study to the year 1951-52 as contemplated by the resolution of the board.

(c) On the basis of information furnished by the principals present at the conference on November 12, there was a conscientious effort on the part of principals and teachers in a very substantial number of schools in all areas of the Los Angeles school districts, to participate in, and to carry on, the UNESCO program. This participation was predicated upon the suggestions presented to the principals by the superintendent and the central advisory committee.

3. The committee finds that:

(a) At least two of the elements of the UNESCO program and certain aspects of a number of other elements were engaged in by pupils and teachers before UNESCO came into existence.

(b) For years in the study of current events teachers have dealt with—

(1) The problems of intercultural and interracial relationships.

(2) Fostering of world friendship.

(3) Inculcation of respect for and love of our own country and its traditions.

(Particulars regarding this finding are attached to the original copy of this report.)

4. The committee finds that there is no evidence available to it to substantiate charges of advocacy of a one-world government by any of the teachers or other school personnel engaged in carrying on the UNESCO program in the schools.

The committee inquired specifically regarding this matter at the conference on November 12, 1952. The principals present on that occasion unanimously declared that there had not been to their knowledge or belief any such advocacy, nor had there been any apparent attempt to develop among the Los Angeles school children a desire or willingness to accept the idea of a one-world government.

(NOTE.—At this point and in this connection the committee wishes to interpolate reference to an incident which came to its attention after the November 12 conference, and which was therefore not a subject for inquiry on that occasion. From a source as yet unknown to the committee there was introduced into at least one elementary school and used in assembly exercises at that school a "Pledge to the United Nations," which paraphrased our own "Pledge of allegiance to the flag," and in which reference was made to "One government of all people, by all people, and for all people." So far as the committee has been able to ascertain, this pledge did not originate in, nor was it distributed by the staff responsible for the formulation and guidance of the UNESCO program. Its use was immediately stopped by the superintendent as soon as he learned of this.)

5. Closely related to the committee's finding regarding the possible advocacy of one-world government is its finding regarding the allegations that the UNESCO program had been substituted for or was at least detrimental to the established program of promoting patriotism and love for our own country. Again the committee relies on the unanimous declaration of the principals present at the November 12 conference, and who spoke not only from knowledge of the programs of their own schools, but also of other schools. The committee finds that there is no evidence to support the allegations of such substitution or detrimental effects.

6. Finally, the committee finds that there is general uncertainty among principals and teachers regarding elements of the UNESCO program which may be observed without running counter to the policies and wishes of the board of education.

This concludes part I of your committee's report. In it the committee has attempted to present certain facts, and findings based on those facts. The committee feels, however, that its report would not be complete if it did not make known to the board the position of the committee with reference to the future of the UNESCO program in the Los Angeles schools. This position is set forth in the following statements and suggestions, which the committee recommends to the board for possible inclusion in a comprehensive statement of board policy respecting the subject of this report.

#### PART II

##### *Recommendations*

1. The United Nations and its specialized agencies are contemporary facts of significance to our own Nation and to the entire world and therefore should not be ignored by the pupils and teachers of the Los Angeles schools.

2. There should be provided in the regularly established instructional programs of the Los Angeles schools, and in proper relationship to pupil age and grade

levels, opportunities for the factual study and impartial discussion of the history, organization, purposes, and activities of the United Nations and its agencies. Such study and discussion should be similar to that devoted to other historical facts and current events.

3. If the curriculum division or any other agency of the Los Angeles schools issues publications or instructional materials relating to the United Nations, it should do so only when there is a demonstrated need for such publications or materials, and then only under conditions which prompt and govern the publication of similar documents for other phases of the established instructional program.

4. Training classes, study groups, and institute sessions for the factual and impartial study or discussion of the United Nations and its agencies should be approved, provided they are organized and conducted under conditions which normally apply to such instructional aids for teachers.

5. The value of school participation in certain noncurricular activities is recognized. These activities include, among others, the observance of special events, assembly programs, clubs, reconstruction projects, school affiliations, etc., designed to further the ideals of peace on earth, and good will among nations. It is recognized, however, that from time to time efforts may be made to divert such noncurricular activities from this approved purpose, and to make them the instruments for advocating or opposing certain social, economic, political, or governmental philosophies on which the opinions of the mature citizens of the community may be seriously divided. Under such circumstances, the relationship of teachers, principals, and staff to these activities must be in strict accord with the board's policy of factual and impartial treatment of controversial matters.

6. It is in the interests of a well-balanced school program that the staff should not give undue emphasis to any particular contemporary social, economic, or political movement. Furthermore, the staff should avoid undue emphasis on labels for special activities (e. g. the UNESCO program) which might create the false impression that certain ideas or activities are being given emphasis out of proportion to their significance in the entire educational program.

7. If the board should adopt the foregoing suggestions, there would be no further need for the presently inactivated central advisory committee and UNESCO chairmanships.

Respectfully submitted.

ARTHUR F. GARDNER,  
HARRY H. HILLMAN,  
H. C. WILLETT, *Chairman*.

ADOPTED BY THE BOARD OF EDUCATION ON JANUARY 19, 1953, PERTAINING TO THE  
SUBJECT OF UNESCO

#### RESOLUTION NO. I

Whereas the Board of Education of the City of Los Angeles unequivocally believes that no materials, methods, or techniques of teaching should be used in these Los Angeles school districts which shall advocate, or teach with the intent to indoctrinate any pupil with, or inculcate a preference in the mind of any pupil for, any governmental, social, economic, or cultural systems, international agencies of cooperation, ideologies or philosophies which are at variance with, or opposed to, the governmental, social, economic, and cultural system of the United States of America; and

Whereas the board, in prohibiting the advocacy or teaching of any subjects foreign to the American way of life with the intent to indoctrinate any pupil with, or inculcate a preference in the mind of any pupil for, such doctrine, does not intend to prevent the teaching of the facts of the above subjects, but intends to prevent the advocacy of, and inculcation and indoctrination into, these ideologies for the purposes of undermining the patriotism for, and the belief in, the Government of the United States of America: Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the following policies and directives be established for the guidance of the school administration:

1. The United Nations and its specialized agencies are contemporary facts of significance to our own Nation and to the entire world and, therefore, should not be ignored by the pupils and teachers of the Los Angeles schools.

2. There should be provided in the regularly established instructional programs of the Los Angeles schools, and in proper relationship to pupil age and grade levels, opportunities for the factual study and impartial discussion of the history, organization, purposes, activities, achievements, and weaknesses of the United Nations and its agencies. Such study and discussion should be similar to that devoted to other historical facts and current events.

3. If the curriculum division or any other agency of the Los Angeles schools issues publications or instructional materials relating to the United Nations, it should do so only when there is a demonstrated need for such publications or materials, and then only under conditions which prompt and govern the publication of similar documents for other phases of the established instructional program.

4. Training classes, study groups, and institute sessions for the factual and impartial study or discussion of the United Nations and its agencies will be approved, provided they are organized and conducted under conditions which normally apply to such instructional aids for teachers.

5. The value of school participation in certain noncurricular activities is recognized. These activities include, among others, the observance of special events, assembly programs, clubs, reconstruction projects, school affiliations, etc., designed to further the ideals of peace on earth and good will among nations. It is recognized, however, that from time to time efforts may be made to divert such noncurricular activities from this approved purpose, and to make them the instruments for advocating or opposing certain social, economic, political, or governmental philosophies on which the opinions of the mature citizens of the community may be seriously divided. Under such circumstances, the relationship of teachers, principals, and staff to these activities must be in strict accord with the board's policy of factual and impartial treatment of controversial matters.

6. It is in the interests of a well-balanced school program that the staff should not give undue emphasis to any particular contemporary social, economic, or political movement. Furthermore, the staff should avoid undue emphasis on labels for special activities which might create the false impression that certain ideas or activities are being given emphasis out of proportion to their significance in the entire educational program.

There shall be no official or unofficial UNESCO program in the Los Angeles city schools; and the presently inactivated central advisory committee and UNESCO chairmanships are hereby permanently discontinued.

The Los Angeles schools shall continue to teach the subjects of human relations and moral and spiritual values. The American public schools have traditionally taught these subjects. Between 1946 and January 1952 they were assimilated into the UNESCO program in the Los Angeles city schools. Henceforth these subjects should be returned to the status they had in the school system prior to 1946.

#### RESOLUTION NO. II

Within the framework of, and in strict conformity with the board policy established by the foregoing resolution, by board resolutions A and B passed on August 28, 1952, and administrative policy as set forth in curriculum division bulletin Policy on Study of Current Public Problems, dated November 14, 1951, the board directs the superintendent as follows:

1. To implement and activate the above-mentioned policies—with particular, but not exclusive, reference to the manner in which the study of the United Nations and its agencies will be handled in the future—through the issuance of a communication to all school personnel. This communication is to be approved by the board of education.

2. To review thoroughly by procedures and methods approved by the board, all materials, methods, and techniques of teaching used or present in these school districts which might not be in strict conformity with board and administrative policies, and to reevaluate any such materials, methods, and techniques as to their strict conformity with board and administrative policies.

Dr. SHUSTER. One of the things we find hardest to do is to persuade people that the program of UNESCO really accomplishes anything.

Now, the reason why that is so is that, unfortunately, education is not an enterprise about which you can write in very glamorous language. I spend most of my days, when I am not engaged in missions of this kind, trying to educate 13,000 young people in New York and

I can only say that sometimes I wonder whether we are really succeeding in doing that or not, despite all our efforts. You can't diagnose and blueprint an educational battle, a battle for the minds of men, a battle for literacy and a battle for insight, a battle for better understanding among the children of men, as you can outline a battle on a gridiron, or even a battle, grim as it may be, which takes place on a field of carnage. Nevertheless, these educational battles go on, and I want to mention just one that seems to me to be dramatic and significant, and that is the battle that is being fought in the six Arab States, particularly for the refugee youth there, in terms of an educational program which will prepare them for some means of escaping from the misery that is now their lot. That program has aroused the interest of virtually the whole of Europe and has been the subject of extensive comment—for example in the major Swiss newspapers, in the major German ones, in the major English ones—but so far, no American newspaper has found it sensational enough to spend any time on it.

That is one of the major reasons why people do not feel that the UNESCO program is getting anywhere.

There is another. There are criticisms to be made of this organization in terms of its management and its development, which I share. These are criticisms which, for the most part, the United States National Commission for UNESCO has devoted itself to for a period of time.

Now, the other criticism—and I want to say a word about this—is the criticism which arises out of the fact that people think that an international association is of necessity one which sells a given nation down the river. In short, if we become international, we become less American. May I say at this point that I spent a year and a half, 1950 and 1951, in Germany with Mr. McCloy, dealing with the problem of our relationships with the German people. I think I may say without any hesitation that one of the reasons, and perhaps a major one, why we established so much genuine rapport with the German people, on basic issues of defense and of understanding, is that we took the trouble to talk to them as fellow human beings, in their own language when we could, without sacrificing anything of the interests of the United States.

I may say the same thing happened in the Philippines, and one of the reasons we are doing so well there is because of the vital interest we took in the cultural development of those islands when we were in a position to do much for them.

Now, what vital interest can this Nation have that transcends its interest in making those people who, perforce, in this hour of tragic destiny, must be associated with us, aware of the fact that they too have something to contribute, something to give us, something to win from choosing to throw in their lot with us.

Nothing I could recommend to this committee as being vital in the defense of the free world at the present time would transcend my conviction that here you have an opportunity which must be developed. If I may say so, I am a member of the board of directors of the Committee for a Free Europe, which operates Radio Free Europe which, as you know, broadcasts to the unfortunate peoples behind the Iron Curtain. I would say that, even if I looked at our international program from the point of view of the board members or the board of

directors of Radio Free Europe, I could think of nothing that ought to go forward more effectively than scientific application of basic principles resolving the major educational and cultural problems of mankind.

Thank you very much.

Mr. MERROW. Thank you, Dr. Shuster. You have made a very lucid statement. We appreciate your coming here and talking to us about UNESCO.

The members of the committee will have some questions, I am sure.

I would like to ask this: In the report of the study mission we referred to those pamphlets and said:

With respect to the criticism on the series of pamphlets issued by UNESCO entitled "Toward World Understanding," and reporting discussions at UNESCO-sponsored seminars, it should in all fairness be pointed out that UNESCO is not responsible for the substance of all of these pamphlets. This was made clear in the foreword to most of these pamphlets printed by UNESCO.

However, since the pamphlets have created such an unfavorable reaction, it is questionable whether UNESCO should seemingly endorse and actively publicize such literature in the future.

These have caused a great deal of criticism, and I wonder if you would care to make a statement about these pamphlets.

Dr. SHUSTER. Those pamphlets are pamphlets based on discussions between persons interested in education from many countries on this topic, "How can we best promote better understanding of each other and our cultures."

Now, at the time that this activity was begun a great many people throughout the world felt that if education had been effective nobody like Adolf Hitler could ever have succeeded in winning his people to a program such as he did. It was in the spirit of these considerations that groups were formed to discuss questions such as these. Some of the people who came to those groups were naive, and in my personal, humble opinion, very poorly prepared for the part they took in it. The digest of the discussion reflects those weaknesses.

Now, the remedy is not, it seems to me, to choke off international discussion. The remedy is to see to it that the people you invite to participate in the discussions are as able as they should be. That is what we are trying to do now. We think that, in concert with the national commissions in all the countries of the world, we will succeed in getting—and are getting—a much better quality of participants in these discussions.

I would, myself, say of these pamphlets that it is probably too bad that they were published. But I would qualify that by saying that I think the public throughout the world has a right to see what goes on in UNESCO discussions. I think to exercise any censorship would be a mistake. What we should learn from this, and what we have learned, is that the value of the products is only as good as the value of the constituent products you put into it.

Mr. MERROW. You said that there should be no censorship exercised. Should the national commission try to control what is published and spread throughout the United States under the aegis of UNESCO? Should it do that, or, if it doesn't, increase its function to do that?

Dr. SHUSTER. The United States National Commission deals with publications in the following way: We receive a certain limited number of them. If it is a big publication there may be only five copies.

These are distributed to members of the Commission or to other persons who have a professional interest in them. The rest of the distribution is undertaken by Columbia University Press, which is the agent for UNESCO publications in this country. Columbia offers the publications for sale.

What we are trying to do and what we are now doing is to see to it that these publications get severe criticism from authorities in the field. That is, we want to run these publications right through the same mill that you have run American publications through in the New York Times, Herald Tribune, or any one of our book reviews. If we turn the pitiless light of scholarly, objective comment on everything that UNESCO is doing, you can be certain that nobody over there is going to publish anything unless he knows it will stand up under examination. That is the kind of censorship in which I believe because, in the first place, the situation as you know, is very delicate. If a member of the French delegation thinks that something is good and we say, "Well, you may think so, but you can't circulate that in the United States," we get a reputation once more, as book suppressors, and whatnot, but I think I can assure you that we have already gone a long way toward correcting serious mistakes in publications. We have minced no words. I wish I could show you a commentary which one of our most distinguished anthropologists wrote on a pamphlet gotten out by UNESCO earlier in its career. They have not done anything like that since, because I have never seen a flash which really tore the top of the roof off more effectively than that did.

I think our approach to this problem is an approach through criticism. One of the things we may say about the National Commission in all fairness is that probably it hasn't taken its critical role seriously enough to date. Now, it is beginning to do it.

We have reports from 27 members of the National Commission on recent UNESCO publications in fields in which they have expert knowledge. The outcome of that report is that these 27 people have found nothing subversive. These pamphlets contain nothing which teaches world government. But the reviewers have plenty of other things to say. If I showed you a comment I made on one in my field, you would see that we are not barring any holds. I think that is the approach to the problem. And I still say that other national commissions are waking up also to the facts of life. I think in a relatively short time we are going to have that situation pretty well under control.

Mr. MERROW. Mrs. Bolton.

Mrs. BOLTON. I have been exceedingly interested in your remarks because I have been interested in UNESCO. Like a number of people, it seemed to me in the beginning it got off on the wrong foot pretty badly and had some rather bad problematical leadership, shall we call it, which perhaps has led to some of the things that have come down today.

Let me ask you this: How in the world did that pamphlet get into the schools in California, if the schools didn't want it?

Dr. SHUSTER. You see, that pamphlet was prepared by the school system, itself. It was not the product of UNESCO.

Mrs. BOLTON. Then, what in the world are they talking about?



Dr. SHUSTER. Here is the situation. A school system which has a modern program of civic education wishes to get out teaching materials. For example, you might get out a little pamphlet entitled, "How To Improve Your Community."

This would be designed to be a study aid in civic classes. And so they in Los Angeles thought it would be a good idea to impress upon young people their obligations in terms of international activities.

Mrs. BOLTON. How did it get tied up with UNESCO?

Dr. SHUSTER. Because the title of the pamphlet prepared in Los Angeles is "The E in UNESCO." I am sure no one ever asked any of us about it.

Mrs. BOLTON. I wonder if you will permit me just a remark, if I might intrude the idea, that our wholesale education, as we call it, is very much in the nature of instruction rather than of education, and I have wondered a great deal when we were going to get down to the business of teaching how to live, when that, after all, is what education is supposed to be. Does that go counter to your thinking?

Dr. SHUSTER. No. I should be very happy to send you copies of a couple of recent addresses which I have delivered. I think American education has done some very fine things.

Mrs. BOLTON. Yes; I agree with you.

Dr. SHUSTER. And there are some things which have been neglected. One of the most obvious ones is that we don't seem to be able to encourage young people to take a reputable attitude toward their immediate environment.

Mrs. BOLTON. Yes, and we also, of course, have gone a long way away from giving them a consuming curiosity for knowledge. That seems to be taught out of them from the moment they go to school.

Dr. SHUSTER. Most of them have none whatever. Often the only curiosity they have is about things you wish they didn't have in mind.

Mrs. BOLTON. Thank you. I would like to speak longer with you some time.

Dr. SHUSTER. I should be very happy to speak with you.

Mr. HAYS. Doctor, I remember meeting you in Munich in 1951.

Dr. SHUSTER. I recall that with great pleasure.

Mr. HAYS. Thank you, sir.

I would like to ask your comment on a criticism of UNESCO by Howard E. Wilson appearing in a publication of the George Peabody School for Teachers.

Dr. SHUSTER. I asked one of its professors to come to my college.

Mr. HAYS. It is regarded as an outstanding teacher-training college.

In his article, Mr. Wilson makes this comment :

As one reviews UNESCO's brief turbulent history he is impressed with a basic fact: UNESCO has increasingly been involved in questions of international politics. This involvement is to a certain degree inevitable, but the mistake in UNESCO is that no clear line of demarcation has been found between political and nonpolitical matters.

The same confusion exists in UNESCO as existed in our own national program of cultural relations where we have mixed up education and propaganda, political and nonpolitical activity. While any governmental agency is inevitably political in its controls, its program becomes most effective only when a clear distinction between political and nonpolitical matters is stalwartly, steadily maintained.

I wonder if you could help us in an understanding of that phase of the problem.

Dr. SHUSTER. I shall try, Mr. Hays.

Knowing Howard Wilson very well, I think I would like to preface my remarks by saying that I have the very highest regard for him.

The problem to which he alludes was one which was bothersome even in the old days of the General Advisory Committee to the Department of State on Cultural Affairs. It was then our feeling that what is done in the realm of cultural relations should never have anything to do with indoctrination; that is, with what you would call a public information program.

Now, since the war, the Department of State has undoubtedly been compelled by circumstances to bring about a much closer relationship between cultural relations and information programs than is altogether desirable. Mr. Wilson's point is that he would like to see things so arranged that the relationship between UNESCO and the Department of State is totally divorced from any relationship with the information program. That is what he is really driving at.

Now, that is a highly complex issue. There are many different points of view about it. What we of the National Commission are attempting to do is to hew to Mr. Wilson's philosophy as closely as the interests of the United States will permit at the present. Do I make myself clear?

Mr. HAYS. Yes. To some extent it is a good deal as if my Democrats down in Arkansas might say, because they don't like something the Republican Congress does, "We'll just pull out of it, we won't have anything to do with it," it is just a matter of reconciling oneself to the fact that people with some other point of view are being heard too and that we'll accept it and continue to struggle for the good of all, as we Democrats are struggling for the good of Republicans.

Dr. SHUSTER. Some people feel that the State Department in representing the foreign interests of the United States, is bringing too much pressure to bear on UNESCO, which ought to be a cultural institution.

Now, I myself do not share that view. I think there has always been a danger of doing that but I think that, personally, I probably stand in the middle between those who would like to use it more for American foreign policy purposes, and those who don't want any such affiliation. I think that the second is a bit unrealistic in this day and age because we are not living in the kind of world which is so nice and quiet and temperate that you can forget that a few bears are walking about just inside the cage.

Mr. HAYS. Well, to pursue my analogy further—I am sure this doesn't offend my friends on the Republican side—the better strategy on our part is to say down in Arkansas to the Democrats who don't like some decisions, "Well, now, we'll talk these Republicans around to our position on some things, so don't despair." Isn't that the way to do?

Dr. SHUSTER. That is right.

Mr. HAYS. Rather than destroying the Republicans. I don't want to destroy them. I am just pursuing an analogy because when you become a part of a group devoted to goals we can all believe in, such as the elimination of illiteracy, the attack on ignorance and cultural

deficiency, then we can put up with some differences as to methods. Is that pretty generally it?

Dr. SHUSTER. I agree with that wholeheartedly.

I have sometimes said that the delegates to the UNESCO conference are exactly like the members of the House of Representatives, save that they represent many countries, rather than many States. Now, I happen to be an independent voter so I am very much interested in the preservation of the Democrats and Republicans in this country, which gives me a chance to be independent.

I think we of the National Commission do attempt to maintain an independent status, more or less akin to the position which would be taken by an independent voter.

Mr. HAYS. Dr. Shuster, Mr. Wilson said this, and it is not meant to reflect upon Dr. Luther Evans; I am sure you admire him as we all do. He is a man of great stature. Mr. Wilson said:

I think the transfer of the UNESCO unit to a less political and controversial agency would help reduce the political controversies which now revolve about UNESCO. The transfer might have helped make Luther Evans' election unanimous and reduced the fears of us—not of Evans—which are felt by the 17 nations that voted against him. And by such relatively nonpolitical connections with UNESCO, UNESCO might become an even stronger power against Communist dictatorship, and a more fundamental ally of democracy in the cultural, educational and scientific areas it was designed to serve.

Dr. SHUSTER. That is the same point of view. That point of view comes from a belief that the United States throws too much weight around. If we were less prone to express our opinions, other people might like us a little better. There is something no doubt to be said for that point of view, but I don't think you can support that wholeheartedly. I think you do have to defend and advocate the basic foreign policy positions of the United States Government.

Mr. HAYS. And the problem is to balance these two considerations; isn't it?

Dr. SHUSTER. That is right.

Mr. HAYS. That of being unyielding where our national interest is involved, but at the same time developing that flexibility that international leaders have to develop in a world that is as full of conflicts as ours. We are trying to get all the help we can in this matter of American contributions to cultural advancement in the world, and at the same time preserve the values which we all have a stake in.

Dr. SHUSTER. I think you have a good illustration of that in what was done in Germany under Mr. McCloy, who, I think, never sacrificed any interest of the United States. On the other hand, he took a genuine interest in helping the German people, who realized their own problem, and provided a feeling that we were sincerely interested in their progress away from the devastation that followed the war.

I am also inclined to think that the prestige we enjoyed would not have been as great as it was if it hadn't been always clear that Mr. McCloy wouldn't sacrifice any vital interest of the United States. So that is the position which I personally adopt and I think it reflects by and large the sentiment of the National Commission.

Mr. HAYS. Generally, the picture is improving, isn't it?

Dr. SHUSTER. The improvement has started.

Mr. HAYS. Thank you, sir.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Carnahan, a member of the full committee, has been interested in these subjects. I believe he has had information in the record on UNESCO.

Mr. CARNAHAN. This series of UNESCO publications for teachers, are there other series of publications other than this series particularly designed for teachers?

Dr. SHUSTER. I know of none, excepting those that are designed to be bibliographical aids, but may I ask whether Mr. McCullough, who is here, has any additional information about that.

**STATEMENT OF MAX McCULLOUGH, UNESCO RELATIONS STAFF,  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE**

Mr. McCULLOUGH. Was the question whether there are other series of publications designed particularly for teachers?

Mr. CARNAHAN. No, for other groups than teachers. This one says, "A series of publications for teachers," and here is a list showing you are up to number 12 now.

Mr. McCULLOUGH. There is not a comparable series, sir, directed toward another profession. There are a number of individual publications directed toward specialists in several fields: Scientists, social scientists, museum and library directors, and so forth, but there isn't a series similar to this one.

Dr. SHUSTER. If I may add one word, there are pamphlets based on seminars, or discussion groups. You have some based on seminars conducted in the area of foreign language teaching. For example, we had a rather successful conference in Ceylon, the purpose of which basically was to explore ways in which you would more successfully teach Western languages in the Orient and more successfully teach Oriental languages in the United States and in Western countries generally. Then, you have a series of publications on the arid-zone problems, which is one of the major scientific contributions of UNESCO, on what can be done to make the arid zones more productive and more habitable. That is one example.

This kind of project, I think, represents the earlier stage of UNESCO's development, about which Mr. Hays made some comments and Mr. Merrow has said something. I think we probably have outgrown some of this.

Mr. CARNAHAN. This series is then to be extended?

Dr. SHUSTER. If the series is taken up again it will be a totally different kind of series and much more effectively done.

Mr. CARNAHAN. This series going up to No. 12, has been arrived at through more or less of a fixed pattern?

Dr. SHUSTER. This was a pattern of conferences or seminars which were organized for the purpose of getting from educators a consensus of opinion as to how you might improve international cultural understanding. That is, as you know, one of the most difficult of all human problems, and one about which well-meaning people can talk, unfortunately a great deal, and yet make precious little sense. I still think it was a good idea to have the seminars in the beginning, try the thing out and see what happens. It is like our educational conferences in the United States. Somebody told me, coming back from one of them recently, that he had listened to 982 speeches, all of which were on the same subject and not one of which said anything about it.

Mr. CARNAHAN. What particular effort, if any, was made on the part of UNESCO to place these publications in the schools of the United States?

Dr. SHUSTER. None whatever. As a matter of fact, I think we would have to confess that the amount of effort we have made to place UNESCO publications anywhere is, really, practically indiscernable.

Mr. CARNAHAN. In 1952, I believe it was, there was a series of extensions of remarks in the Congressional Record which attacked these publications, and they were supposed to have been prepared by a group known as the American Flag Committee.

Dr. SHUSTER. That is correct.

Mr. CARNAHAN. What is that group, if you would care to comment on it?

Dr. SHUSTER. The American Flag Committee, as far as I can tell from correspondence which I have occasionally received, is a presently defunct organization which existed in order to extract contributions from people who thought that anybody who wanted to wave the flag particularly vigorously, was entitled to some help. I think that is about the way in which I would care to characterize that group.

Mr. CARNAHAN. Is the group responsible in any way for the attack made on these publications?

Dr. SHUSTER. The whole attack, as far as we are able to tell, originated with the American Flag Committee, and then became important in the context of Los Angeles, for the reasons which I have tried to outline in my statement. Apparently the first person who showed up waving a copy of "The E in UNESCO" and a couple of these, was a lady whose name I can't remember right now. Do you remember it, Mr. McCullough?

Mr. McCULLOUGH. Florence Fowler Lyons.

Dr. SHUSTER. It so happened that the climate in Los Angeles was receptive and when the major Hearst newspaper there took it up and presented it every morning for the edification of those who were otherwise enjoying toast and eggs, a little section extracted here, there, and yonder from some UNESCO pamphlet, the thing really got going. But it was fundamentally a part of a broad attack on public education.

Mrs. BOLTON. Could I interject this as a closing little word: You will recall we had some testimony the other day relative to the same Los Angeles episode. I have tried to pursue that a little bit and this is what the lady said, and I just wanted to have it clear in the record:

Question. These books you refer to are the UNESCO textbooks?

Answer. Yes, they are some of the books that are gotten out.

Question. Are they textbooks in the schools?

Answer. They are UNESCO booklets distributed to the schools.

Question. In what way?

Answer. In teaching just this. World government.

You will remember in the State of California, and so on, women had them taken out of the schools.

In pursuing the matter I suggested that it seemed unfortunate that the parents had not prevented the use of the pamphlets.

Thank you, Dr. Shuster. There is no need to follow the matter further at this time.

Dr. SHUSTER. The record will indicate that the board of education in Los Angeles, after having carefully studied all these pamphlets,

found nothing in them advocating world government, nothing which takes children away from their allegiance to the United States, and nothing subversive.

Mr. CARNAHAN. I tried to give some answer to this charge in the Congressional Record. I had many requests for this material and a good percentage of those requests came from California. They were asking for this defense of these publications. I have here pamphlet No. 12: Around the World With the Postage Stamp. I am wondering if this publication is going to be very detrimental to the schools of any country, by giving knowledge about the Universal Postal Union? This is one of the publications. It is the publication No. 12.

Dr. SHUSTER. I am certain that although the quality of these publications is not that which I would like personally to see, that any child in the United States could read every one of these publications without suffering any damage, spiritually, intellectually, or patriotically, of any kind whatever.

Mr. CARNAHAN. That is all.

Mr. MERROW. One thing more with reference to these publications. If they were used by the schools, they were brought in by the local boards of education and paid for by them, I suppose?

Dr. SHUSTER. That is right, and distribution would be like the distribution of any such literature, largely the result of some particular person's interest in it. Some members of teaching faculties are alert to new things; some of them are not.

Mr. CARNAHAN. If you will permit one other question, these publications are not distributed free?

Dr. SHUSTER. No.

Mr. CARNAHAN. They must be bought?

Dr. SHUSTER. We distribute nothing free except occasional harmless speeches by such individuals as myself.

Mr. MERROW. We concluded in the study mission that UNESCO could do much more to publicize and emphasize the ideals and the ideas of the free world and denounce the ideology of communism. Do you agree with that general conclusion?

Dr. SHUSTER. Yes. May I make a little statement on that subject.

Mr. MERROW. I think that is very important.

Dr. SHUSTER. I think you have to bear in mind that the major purpose of UNESCO is to be a scholarly and scientific organization, in certain basic areas, such as illiteracy, the improvement of conditions in such areas of the world as the arid zone, things that are related to scholarship, science, and culture.

Now, one of the proposals the National Commission has made to UNESCO is one that we consider to be completely within its realm, and one which we hope will be carried out, is an investigation of the situation in which the universities in Eastern Germany find themselves. The data are available. A publication on that subject seems to me to be eminently compatible with the purposes of UNESCO. The effect would be startling: startling because of the value of the discussion and also because it would tend to give UNESCO an opportunity to enter into this realm. I wouldn't like to see it become another propaganda agency. I think we can do a much better job of propaganda through the Committee for a Free Europe, than we could ever do through UNESCO, but such things as I have outlined, I think, you could do very effectively.

Mr. MERROW. Thank you, Dr. Shuster. We are very glad to have you appear. We will be pleased to have your insertions placed in the record and if there is anything else you would like to supply for the record, we will be very happy to have that.

Dr. SHUSTER. I would like to submit for the record the resolutions adopted at the last general conference which make it clear that UNESCO scrupulously avoids any kind of dictation. It requests member states to consider whether they wish things of this kind to be done. I think this is another way of meeting the frequently introduced charge that UNESCO is trying to interfere in the internal education and cultural business of this country.

(The information referred to is as follows:)

[Reprinted from the records of the General Conference, Seventh Session, Paris, 1952]

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC, AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION  
PROGRAM FOR 1953 AND 1954

EDUCATION

*Exchange of information for the improvement of education*

*Assistance to international educational organizations.*—The Director General is authorized to associate international organizations and institutions with UNESCO, when their work will further its program in the field of education, and to assist them by subventions and services.

*Studies.*—The Director General is authorized to undertake, in collaboration with the appropriate national bodies, comparative studies of a general or specialized nature, having an essential bearing on questions included in the Education Program of UNESCO, or submitted to UNESCO by the United Nations.

*Documentation and publication.*—The Director General is authorized to ensure, in collaboration with Member States and the appropriate international organizations, the service of a documentation centre whose task it will be to collect and analyse all information of use in dealing with questions included in the Education Program of UNESCO, and also to disseminate this information through the appropriate channels, including publication where necessary.

*The extension of education*

*Fundamental education.*—Member States are invited to extend and improve fundamental education in their territories and in non-self-governing territories under their administration, and in particular:

To set up national committees for fundamental education, including where possible representatives of interested government departments and organizations as well as individual experts; to undertake and carry out activities in fundamental education, some of which might be included in the system of UNESCO Associated Projects; and, in cooperation with UNESCO, to develop appropriate methods and materials for use in fundamental education;

To request technical aid from UNESCO in planning and carrying out these activities;

To seek the cooperation of UNESCO in the establishment of fundamental education centres serving one or more countries, to assume the responsibilities incumbent upon a host government or to participate in the activities of such centres, particularly by sending teams of students to these centres and ensuring the employment of these teams on their return as a nucleus for the training of teachers and leaders and for the carrying out of fundamental education campaigns.

The Director General is authorized to assist Member States to extend and improve fundamental education in their territories and in non-self-governing territories under their administration, in association with the United Nations, the other Specialized Agencies and appropriate international organizations, and to seek and accept funds from sources outside the budget of the Organization for this purpose, and in particular:

To undertake studies and experiments to determine the most suitable content, methods and materials for fundamental education in various geographic and cultural conditions and to distribute information resulting from these activities;

To give technical aid to projects of fundamental education at the request of Member States ;

To continue the development of a worldwide network of fundamental education centres, pursuant to agreements entered into with the governments concerned, and, for this purpose, to train specialists for international service.

*Adult education.*—Member States are invited :

To develop activities in adult education according to the needs of their populations, concentrating particularly on the exercise of citizenship with due regard to both national and international responsibilities and on the education of working people of both sexes ;

To utilize, for that purpose, UNESCO's publications concerning education for living in a world community and the work of the International Centre of Workers' Education established by UNESCO ;

To contribute to the preparation of seminars and courses to be organized at the headquarters of this centre, and to have them followed up by national or regional meetings on the same subjects.

The Director General is authorized to give technical aid to Member States and appropriate international organizations with a view to the development of adult, especially workers, education, particularly in the exercise of citizenship with due regard to international responsibilities.

*Extension of school education.*—Member States are invited to take measures for the progressive development of their systems of schooling, both in their metropolitan territories and in the non-self-governing territories under their jurisdiction, in accordance with the principles of Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

With a view to assisting Member States in the progressive development of their system of education, including technical and vocational education, both in their metropolitan territories and in the non-self-governing territories under their jurisdiction, in accordance with the principles of Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Director General is authorized, in particular :

To organize, in collaboration with Member States concerned, regional conferences to study the problems of such a development of their systems of education and to recommend practical measures within the scope of national legislation and, where appropriate, of bilateral or multilateral agreements, and to assist in the follow-up, on a regional or national basis, of the decisions and conclusions of such regional conferences ;

To organize, jointly with the International Bureau of Education, the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Conferences on Public Education, which, respectively, will study the training of primary and secondary school teachers ;

To send to Member States, upon their request and with their financial participation, technical advisers to help them to carry out national schemes for the extension of schooling, and in particular to assist them to make the fullest possible use of missions sent for this purpose ;

To establish, in collaboration with interested Member States, regional training centres for primary school teachers, and to assist Member States in the establishment of national schemes of teacher training, with national centres for this purpose ;

To assist Member States to apply in a limited area a complete scheme of primary, secondary and vocational education and of teacher training, so as to discover from this experiment the implications of such an extension of education and to utilize it as a model for wider national educational development ;

To give assistance, in collaboration with the United Nations, the International Labor Organization, the Organization of American States, and other appropriate international organizations, to a seminar on the relation between general secondary education and vocational education, convened by the Organization of American States.

Member States concerned are invited :

To make by 1954 financial plans for the introduction of free and compulsory education in suitable stages. These plans should indicate what each government itself would be prepared to contribute financially, how the continuing running costs would be met, and what part of the programme would call for external financing. These plans would be available for consideration if and when the United Nations proposals, at present being discussed by that organization, for assisting underdeveloped countries and for



financing non-self-liquidating projects of economic development take shape, as justification for possible applications for financial assistance;

To pay particular attention, in connection with the United Nations proposals, to school buildings; school equipment, school meals, health services and teacher training.

The Director-General is authorized:

To extend any expert assistance which the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council may require of UNESCO in the study of the proposal mentioned in 1.2331;

To assist Member States, at their request, in the preparation of financial plans for free and compulsory education, including the provision of technical assistance missions.

*Education of women.*—The Director-General is authorized to assist Member States, in collaboration with the United Nations, the appropriate Specialized Agencies and international women's organizations, to extend the opportunities of girls and women for education, with particular reference to education for responsible citizenship, and to technical, vocational and professional education.

*Emergency educational assistance.*—The Director-General is authorized:

To continue, in collaboration with the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, to provide assistance for Palestinian refugees in the Middle East;

To continue to collaborate with the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency in a programme of educational assistance to Korea.

#### *Education for living in a world community*

*International Advisory Committee.*—Member States are invited, through their National Commissions or otherwise, to set up national committees on education for living in a world community and to stimulate the interest in this subject of appropriate non-governmental organizations with a view to advising UNESCO on principles and methods in this field.

The Director-General is authorized to conduct an enquiry into the principles and methods of education for living in a world community, and to this end, to organize or to arrange by contract for the organization of regional consultative conferences.

*The child and the world community.*—The Director-General is authorized to continue and extend, in collaboration with the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies, the execution of a long-term programme of activities for children aimed at assisting Member States so to improve education that it promotes harmonious development from early childhood and fosters in children a respect for human rights and dignity.

*Curricula, methods and textbooks.*—The Director-General is authorized to assist Member States in improving curricula, methods, textbooks, teaching materials, and general school activities, in elementary and secondary schools as well as in teacher training institutions, with a view to promoting their contribution to education for living in a world community:

(a) By organizing international seminars on the teaching of modern languages; civics and current affairs;

(b) By assisting regional and national seminars and experimental activities bearing on subjects already considered by UNESCO; and

(c) By assisting national and international committees for the improvement of textbooks and other teaching materials.

*Teaching about the United Nations and human rights.*—In order to encourage the development of education in the aims and activities of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies, and in the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Director-General is authorized:

To assist Member States to carry out educational experiments within the framework of an international plan;

To assist teachers and educational agencies by means of publications specially designed for their use.

*Work with youth.*—Member States are invited to associate national youth movements and organizations with the work of UNESCO, and to this end to encourage the establishment and support the activities of subcommittees on youth of the National Commissions.

In order to help young people to carry out activities which associate them with the work of UNESCO, prepare them for the responsibilities of citizenship, promote the observance of Human Rights, and exemplify the spirit of international co-operation, the Director-General is authorized:

To maintain a service of consultation, liaison, and information for youth associations;

To promote the establishment and operation of youth institutes and centres;  
To organize study and information seminars for leaders of youth movements in close cooperation with the latter;

To give technical and financial help to national and international youth groups for such of their activities as are consistent with the aims of UNESCO;

To organize a conference of representatives of the Youth Committee of National Commissions, in 1954 or in 1955 for the purpose of comparing the experience gained by these committees and providing for a study of the methods and activities most conducive to the association of youth with UNESCO's work.

The Director-General is authorized to conduct an enquiry among Member States and appropriate international organizations with a view to submitting to the General Conferences as part of the Draft Programme for 1955-56, detailed proposals for action to be taken by UNESCO to assist in the development and improvement of athletic sports for educational purposes.

#### *The exchange of persons program*

*Information and research.*—The Director-General is authorized, in co-operation with Member States and appropriate international organizations, to maintain a centre for the collection and dissemination of information on programmes for the international exchange of persons for educational, scientific and cultural purposes and concerning needs and facilities for study abroad; and to undertake studies for the improvement of standards and criteria in the planning and administration of exchange of persons programmes.

*Promotion and special projects.*—The Director-General is authorized to take practical measures to promote the international exchange of persons for educational, specific and cultural purposes with special reference to the exchange of teachers from primary to university levels, young people, manual and nonmanual workers.

*Fellowship administration.*—The Director-General is authorized to plan and administer, in co-operation with Member States, the United Nations, the Specialized Agencies and other competent international organizations, fellowships, scholarships and travel grants, financed entirely or in part or sponsored by UNESCO in fields directly related to the program of the Organization.

### NATURAL SCIENCES

#### *Development of international scientific co-operation*

The Director-General is authorized:

To assist, by means of subventions and services, the international organizations dealing with scientific co-operation and to associate them with the work of UNESCO.

To advise and encourage international organizations concerned with the development and improvement of scientific documentation; with the standardization of terminology; with the compilation of multilingual dictionaries and with the improvement of scientific translations.

#### *Contribution to research, particularly for the improvement of the living conditions of mankind*

In order to contribute to scientific research, particularly for the improvement of the living conditions of mankind, the Director-General is authorized, in co-operation with Member States, the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies and appropriate international organizations:

To continue the survey of research institutes in the field of the natural sciences, studying the contributions which these institutes can bring to the solution of the most important scientific problems of our time, and to propose, in the light of this enquiry, measures to assist existing national and international institutes or to set up bodies to encourage and co-ordinate the work of these institutes, or to create new regional or international research centres;

To assist regional, international and United Nations research institutes in accordance with agreements concluded or to be concluded between them and UNESCO;

To promote the co-ordination of research on scientific problems concerning the arid zone and the humid tropical zone, by collecting and disseminating information on current research and assisting the implementation of projects that form part of a systematic program of basic research;

To establish an International Advisory Committee on Scientific Research with a view to promoting international co-operation between the national councils and centres of scientific and technical research in fields of common interest.

#### *Teaching and dissemination of science*

The Director-General is authorized:

To stimulate and facilitate the improvement of natural science teaching, with particular reference to methods, manuals, teaching equipment and audio-visual aids;

To contribute to the spreading of a knowledge among the public of the methods, discoveries and applicants of the natural sciences, particularly by the organization of traveling exhibitions and by promoting the activities of science clubs for young people or for adults interested in science, of associations of scientific writers and of organizations for the advancement and dissemination of science.

To help to spread among the public a better knowledge of the relationship between science and society: by arranging for the publication of the review *Impact*; by encouraging examination of these questions at the international level through associations for the advancement of science; by helping lecturers to travel from one country to another; by promoting international discussions of themes selected by UNESCO.

#### *Science co-operation offices*

The Director-General is authorized to develop the activities of the Science Co-operation Offices in Latin America, South Asia, South-East Asia and the Middle East, in order to facilitate, among the scientists and technologists of the various regions of the world, the exchange of information, personnel and material, as well as the co-ordination of research.

### SOCIAL SCIENCES

#### *Aid to international scientific co-operation*

*Assistance to international organizations.*—The Director-General is authorized to assist, by means of subvention and services, the International Social Science Council and the international organizations dealing with scientific co-operation and to associate them with the work of UNESCO.

*Exchange of information.*—The Director-General is authorized to arrange for the exchange of scientific information on the social science problems included in UNESCO's program.

*Scientific documentation.*—In order to contribute towards the improvement of scientific documentation, the Director-General is authorized:

To publish information yearbooks, lists, catalogues, abstracts and multilingual lists of scientific and technical terminology, or to facilitate their publication;

To encourage the appropriate organizations to standardize scientific and technical terminology in the principal languages of the world.

*Social science teaching.*—The Director-General is authorized to encourage social science teaching in universities and secondary schools, emphasizing the contribution that such teaching can make to human progress and to education for living in a world community.

*Social science research.*—The Director-General is authorized to continue consideration of the contribution which social science research institutes can make to the solution of the most important problems of the present age, and to continue to ensure UNESCO's co-operation with these institutes.

*Science co-operation offices.*—The Director-General is authorized to continue to promote and assist the development of the social sciences in the Middle East and in South Asia through the Science Co-operation Offices in Cairo and Delhi.

#### *Applied Social Sciences*

*Tensions and the prevention of conflicts.*—The Director-General is authorized:

To make a general survey of research undertaken on tensions between groups, with a view to assessing results and defining methods which might be employed in a scientific study of international tensions and of their removal by peaceful means;

To assist, at the request of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations and with the approval of the Executive Board, by means of studies, enquiries or advice of experts in the social sciences, the action of the United

Nations, either to maintain peace in areas where conflicts are liable to arise, or, after the cessation of hostilities, to restore the normal life of national communities in areas where conflicts have taken place.

*Adaptation of national legal and administrative systems to current developments in the international community.*—The Director-General is authorized:

To undertake a study of the various ways in which States interpret the legal administrative and social responsibilities incumbent upon them by reason of their membership in the international community, and, more particularly, in the United Nations Organization and Specialized Agencies;

To continue to help and encourage Member States that have recently obtained their independence to study administrative, legal and sociological problems of internal organization resulting from their participation in the system of co-operation of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies.

*Social impact of industrialization.*—Member States are invited to encourage studies of the impact of technological changes upon the social and economic structure of communities, and to take account of the results of these studies in the training of technicians.

The Director-General is authorized to encourage studies undertaken from an international standpoint of the social impact of industrialization, particularly by facilitating the establishment of a research office.

*Land reform.*—Member States are invited to undertake surveys of the conditions governing the land reforms which they have already carried out or are contemplating, together with the effects of such reforms.

The Director-General is authorized, in co-operation with the United Nations and the other Specialized Agencies, to encourage scientific studies of the legal and administrative procedures of land reform and of the social effect of such reform upon the rural population, particularly as regards the establishing of conditions favorable to the implementation of economic and social rights.

*Cultural aspects of population problems.*—Member States are invited to pay increasing attention to the economic and social problems created by the demographic developments of the world as compared with the development of resources, and to facilitate scientific studies which contribute to an international examination of these problems.

The Director-General is authorized to continue studies of and activities relative to the social and cultural aspects of population and migration problems, and to co-operate for this purpose with the United Nations, the International Labor Organization, the other Specialized Agencies concerned, and appropriate international organizations.

*Campaign against discriminations of race and sex.*—Member States are invited to promote studies relating to the application of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to publicize the results of these studies and, in particular, by the dissemination of information and by teaching, to combat racial prejudice and discrimination.

The Director-General is authorized:

To continue to assemble and disseminate available knowledge likely to combat racial prejudice and to gather scientific information about the progress achieved, through education, by members of ethnic groups in the process of integration into modern society;

To undertake, in co-operation with the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies, studies of the social conditions which favor or hinder women's access to education and their effective exercise of the rights and duties of citizenship.

*Evaluation of international co-operation programs.*—Member States are invited to employ the methods and services of social scientists in an attempt to evaluate objectively the results achieved through action undertaken in co-operation with international organizations, and to report on the experiences gained.

The Director-General is authorized to collaborate with the United Nations, the Specialized Agencies, and other appropriate international organizations in order to improve methods for obtaining a scientific evaluation of international action in the social field; and to study such methods by means of experiments in the evaluation of certain types of international programs concerning fundamental education, exchange of persons, and the dissemination of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

*Statistics*

Member States are invited to collect, in a regular and systematic manner, statistical information on their educational, scientific and cultural life and institutions and to forward such statistics periodically to the Director-General.

The Director-General is authorized:

To collect, analyse and publish, in collaboration with Member States, the United Nations, the Specialized Agencies, and other appropriate international organizations, statistical information on illiteracy; education at all levels; libraries, museums and theatres; production and foreign trade in books, newspapers and periodicals; production and exhibition of films;

To study such standards and criteria as may be proposed to Member States to improve the international comparability of their statistics in the fields of education, culture and mass communication media;

To continue, in collaboration with the International Statistical Institute, the furtherance of the teaching of statistics on an international scale.

## CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

*Development of international cooperation*

The Director-General is authorized:

To assist, by subventions and services, those international organizations which, within the field of cultural activities, are engaged in the development of cooperation between specialists, of documentation services and of the diffusion and exchange of information, and to associate them with the work of UNESCO;

To secure the cooperation of National Commissions, appropriate organizations and qualified experts to carry out a program of international discussions, joint studies, and enquiries and publications, dealing with the cultural relation between peoples, with special reference to relations between the Old World and the New;

To make the necessary arrangements, by contract with the International Commission set up for the purpose, for the preparation of a Scientific and Cultural History of Mankind;

To pursue, with the assistance of the National Commissions, appropriate organizations and qualified persons, a program, *including studies and publications*, of a philosophical, historical and cultural nature likely to promote the understanding and implementation of Human Rights in different regions of the world.

Member States are invited to devote special attention, in the periodic reports they communicate to the Director-General, to the right to take part in the cultural life of the community, and to include in such reports information on the action taken or planned in their respective countries for giving effect to that right, as set forth in Article 27, paragraph 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The information should relate particularly to the following points: current legislative provisions in that field (including recent amendments); action taken to give effect to that right; participation in the work of international organizations; results achieved; obstacles to be overcome and international action likely to assist governments in overcoming such obstacles.

The Director-General is authorized:

To forward the report of the Committee of Experts on the Right to Participate in Cultural Life to the Secretary-General of the United Nations Organization with a request that he bring to the notice of the competent organs of the United Nations those parts of the report relating more particularly to the implementation of the Covenant on the Social and Cultural Rights of Man;

To submit the report of the Committee of Experts to Member States and their National Commissions with a request for their comments and remarks;

To take the suggestions made to him by the Committee of Experts and the observations which may be formulated by Member States as a basis for proposals to be submitted to the Executive Board with a view to future draft programs for the Organization.

The Director-General is authorized to communicate to Member States the international petition in favor of Esperanto, which has been submitted to the United Nations and forwarded by that Organization to UNESCO, and to undertake, in the light of comments received, the necessary preparatory work to enable the General Conference to decide, at its Eighth Session, upon the action to be taken on this petition.

*Preservation and best utilization of the cultural heritage of mankind*

The General Conference;

Having considered and discussed the draft International Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict and the draft Regulations for its Execution, drawn up by the Committee of Governmental Experts convened in accordance with resolution 4.241 adopted at its Sixth Session (7C/PGR/7);

Noting with satisfaction the substantial progress that has been made towards the early preparation of a final text to be submitted for the acceptance of the different States concerned;

Desirous of seeing the entry into force, within the shortest possible time, of an International Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict;

Considering, nevertheless, that certain governments have declared that they have not yet had sufficient time to give due consideration to the draft Convention submitted to them;

Authorizes the Director-General to circulate as speedily as possible the text of the draft, as amended by the working party set up for its consideration, to all States which were invited to attend the meeting of the Committee of Governmental Experts convened in accordance with resolution 4.241 adopted at its Sixth Session (7C/PRG/38/and Annex) :

Invites the States to transmit to the Director-General as speedily as possible any observations and amendments they may wish to put forward in connection with the said text;

Authorizes the Executive Board to convene, during 1953, an International Conference to which all the States will be invited and whose task will be to draw up and adopt the final text of the aforementioned Convention;

Instructs the Executive Board to fix the date and place of the conference, should it be convened, with due regard to any offers made by Member States, concerning the special facilities they would be prepared to extend to UNESCO to enable the conference to be held on their territory;

Instructs the Executive Board, if it is found impossible to convene such a conference, to include the adoption of the draft Convention on the Protection of Cultural Property in the event of Armed Conflict in the Provisional Agenda of the Eighth Session of the General Conference;

Invites it, in that event, to convene within a reasonable time prior to the opening of the Eighth Session of the General Conference, a meeting of governmental experts from all the States concerned, for the purpose of preparing the final text of the draft to be submitted to the General Conference.

Member States are invited to introduce technical or legal measures for the protection and preservation of works of arts, monuments and other cultural property, taking into account the experiments carried out in various countries.

The Director-General is authorized to encourage and help Member States to improve their methods and techniques of preserving museum collections and exhibits, monuments, and historic and archaeological sites.

Member States are invited to encourage museums to co-operate in the education of young people and adults.

The Director-General is authorized to help Member States to this end, by ensuring the exchange of information, organizing study groups and missions, and arranging for pilot projects.

*Protection of writers, artists and scientists*

The Director-General is authorized :

To assist States concerned in the implementation of the Universal Copyright Convention, to carry out the tasks for which he becomes responsible as a result of this Convention and accompanying Protocols, and particularly, to provide the Secretariat for the Inter-Government Copyright Committee;

To seek, on the international level, a solution to certain practical problems connected with the protection of scientists' rights; with the exchange of broadcasting and television programs; and with the double taxation of authors and artists, etc.

*Dissemination of culture*

*Promotion of the practice, knowledge and appreciation of art and literature.*—

Member States are invited to give effect to Article 27 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which lays down that everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community and enjoy the arts, by encouraging the

creative work of artists, by developing and improving art education for young people and adults and by giving the general public opportunities to see works of art, whether in the original or as reproductions.

In order to assist Member States to this end, the Director-General is authorized :

To encourage the creative work of artists and writers, by endeavoring to bring them into closer touch with the public and helping them to adapt themselves to present-day conditions ;

To undertake studies and enquiries, to provide for publications and to organize meetings designed to improve art teaching and the popularization of the arts among adults ;

To prepare and disseminate in Member States material that will enable the general public to develop its knowledge and appreciation of classical and contemporary masterpieces.

*Translations.*—Member States are invited to transmit to the Director-General documentation on recently translated works and, if they so desire, on those which they consider should be translated. The Director-General is authorized to encourage in Member States the translation of representative works of all countries, by circulating pertinent information and concluding arrangements for the translation of selected classical and contemporary works with such Member States as are directly interested, or in agreement with them, as well as with qualified organizations, institutions or publishers.

*Availability of books and publications.*—In order to make books and publications required for educational, scientific and cultural purposes more readily available, Member States are invited to develop and improve their public library system, their bibliographical, documentation and archives services, and their centres for the international exchange, loan and distribution of publications.

In order to assist Member States to this end, the Director-General is authorized to circulate information, to undertake or to continue pilot projects, in collaboration with Member States concerned, and to organize meetings of specialists, with a view to encouraging the development of public libraries.

*Development and co-ordination of bibliographical services, research libraries and archives.*—The Director-General is authorized, with the co-operation of Member States and the appropriate international organizations, and with the advice of the International Advisory Committee on Bibliography, to arrange for the circulation of information, and the organization of projects and meetings, calculated to promote the development and co-ordination of bibliographical services and research libraries, and the specialized training of librarians.

*Centre for the exchange of publications and the reproduction of documents.*—The Director-General is authorized to continue providing information and exchange services and, with the collaboration of Member States and the appropriate international organizations, to organize studies and meetings calculated to improve the circulation, exchange, loan and donation of publications as between different countries, and to make the techniques of reproducing documents more widely known.

#### MASS COMMUNICATION

##### *Improvement of means and techniques of communication*

The Director-General is authorized :

To maintain, in co-operation with Member States and appropriate national and international organizations, a clearing house for the collection, analysis and dissemination of information on, and the conducting or promotion of research into, questions pertaining to the improvement of the means and techniques of communication and to the use of these means in order to promote international understanding ;

To study the possibility of establishing for the use of Member States a documentation centre on school broadcasts.

The Director-General is authorized, in order to promote the use of press, film, radio and allied media for educational, scientific and cultural purposes, to organize a seminar on the use of audio-visual aids in fundamental education, to provide Member States with the advice of experts and facilities for training of staff, and to stimulate and undertake pilot experiments in this field.

Member States are invited to develop the use of television for educational and cultural purposes.

The Director-General is authorized to obtain the advice of experts, undertake studies, and initiate pilot projects in collaboration with Member States, in order to furnish advice, information and aid to countries setting up or expanding television services, with a view to encouraging the best possible development of the use of this medium for educational, scientific and cultural purposes.

The Director-General is authorized to support a World Braille Council, whose task will be to promote the adoption of a uniform system of Braille notation throughout the world to maintain the unity achieved, to advise on the adaptation of Braille to further languages and to act as international information centre on matters concerning the utilization of Braille.

#### *Removal of obstacles to the free flow of information*

Member States are invited to take measures to reduce obstacles to the free flow of information and, to this end, to establish consultative committees, preferably under the sponsorship of National Commissions, for the study of national legislation and practices in relation to the objectives of UNESCO in this field.

The Director-General is authorized:

To carry out the measures incumbent upon the Organization in applying, and securing the widest possible adherence to, the agreements and recommendations adopted by the General Conference to reduce tariff, trade and other legal and administrative obstacles to the free flow of information;

To study the possibility of securing an international instrument to reduce obstacles to the free movement of persons engaged in educational, scientific or cultural activities and, if the Executive Board considers it practicable, to submit such an instrument to the Eighth Session of the General Conference for approval;

In co-operation with the United Nations and its appropriate organs, the specialized Agencies and other competent international organizations, to formulate practical measures to promote the free flow of information—particularly with a view to reducing postal, trade, telecommunication and other obstacles—and to provide information which will enlist support for such measures.

#### *Use of the means of communication*

Member States are invited to facilitate and encourage, within the framework of their national institutions and practices, the use of the means of communications for spreading knowledge and understanding of the aims and major activities of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies, especially UNESCO, and for stimulating broad popular support for them.

The Director-General is authorized to use press, film, radio broadcasting, television and other means of communication to create understanding of the aims and major activities of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies, especially UNESCO, and to promote broad popular support for them, by undertaking and stimulating the production and distribution of suitable printed, visual and sound materials.

#### *Voluntary international assistance*

The Director-General is authorized to operate and develop the Gift Coupon Program in order to collect voluntary contributions for the benefit of assistance projects approved by the Executive Board, and as a means of associating organized groups in the work of UNESCO.

The Director-General is authorized:

To continue to operate the UNESCO Coupon Scheme as a means of removing currency barriers to the free flow of educational, cultural and scientific materials;

To request all firms supplying publications, films and other materials purchased with UNESCO Coupons to grant UNESCO appropriate discounts at time of presenting coupons for redemption, and to make such arrangements as may be necessary to limit the benefits of the Coupon Scheme to firms which agree to co-operate in this way.

The Director-General is authorized to introduce a Travel Coupon Scheme in order to facilitate the exchange of students, teachers and research workers and their participation in international meetings of educational, scientific or cultural importance.



## GENERAL RESOLUTIONS

*Development of national commissions*

Member States are invited:

To take the necessary steps, if they have no National Commissions, to implement Article VII of the UNESCO Constitution at the earliest possible date;

To review, periodically, the composition of their National Commissions in the light of their program responsibilities imposed upon them, and, in particular, to take all appropriate steps to associate, in their work, the national branches of international non-governmental organizations approved for consultative status with UNESCO, as well as representatives of public and private institutions and organizations whose co-operation appears necessary if the influence of UNESCO is to have full effect;

To associate young people in the work of their National Commissions, either by forming committees of representatives of young people who are members of the National Commission, or by setting up a Youth Advisory Commission with the National Commission, or by regular consultations with a representative committee already in existence;

To provide their National Commissions with staff and resources to enable them to fulfil their tasks of liaison and co-ordination;

To encourage, under the auspices of their National Commissions, the establishment of clubs of friends of UNESCO to spread knowledge of the work of UNESCO, the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies, and to study their problems;

To take steps to ensure the closest possible collaboration on a regional basis of National Commissions of those Member States having a similar cultural background so as to further the implementation of UNESCO's program with due regard to special regional conditions.

The Director-General is authorized:

To invite the secretaries of National Commissions to visit the Organization's headquarters and to study the work being done there, to state the needs of their countries, and to study with the Secretariat the program and work plan of their commissions;

To organize in 1953 a regional conference of National Commissions in the Middle East.

*Regional office in the Western Hemisphere*

The Director-General is authorized to develop the activities of the Regional Office in the Western Hemisphere with a view to promoting UNESCO's program of education, science and culture more effectively in that region.

*UNESCO's institutes in Germany*

The General Conference;

Having examined the report of the Committee of the Executive Board of UNESCO's Institutes in Germany (PRG/2, Annex I):

Having noted the approval of the Executive Board of the committee's recommendations;

Noting the fact that the finances now available assure the existence of the institutes only until 31 March 1954;

Recognizing the likelihood that the main portion of the funds required to maintain the institutes will have to come from sources outside the regular budget of UNESCO;

Recognizing the need for UNESCO to give effective expression of its continuing interest in the institutes by offering to contribute financially in order to ensure their existence while possibilities for their further financing are being investigated;

Recognizing the desirability of UNESCO continuing to sponsor the three institutes in Germany and eventually to include institutes of this nature as an integral part of UNESCO's program;

Instructs the Director-General:

To assist UNESCO's Institutes in Germany in the development and integration of their activities and in the maintenance of their international purpose and character;

To aid the institutes in the development of close working relations with appropriate institutions and organizations;

To aid the institutes in obtaining financial assistance in the form of subventions or contracts;

To explore all possibilities of securing the additional financial resources necessary for the continuation of the institutes including contributions from Member States, contracts and donations from non-governmental sources and to study the possibility of concluding a convention between the institutes and a group of Member States;

To engage in discussions with the appropriate bodies in countries outside Europe with a view to ascertaining the degree of interest in the creation of similar institutes in other regions of the world and to submit to the Executive Board proposals resulting from such discussions in order that in the event of a favorable response preparatory work might be undertaken;

To advance, if necessary, from the Working Capital Fund in 1954 sums not to exceed \$20,000 for use by the three institutes;

To make provision in the Budget for 1953 and 1954 for staff in the Secretariat of UNESCO to carry out the work in relation to the institutes and for necessary travel.

### *Human Rights*

The General Conference;

After examining the Director-General's report (7C/PRG/17) on the articles relating to education and culture contained in the Draft Covenant on the Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of Man;

Approves the directives issued to the Director-General by the Executive Board at its Twenty-ninth Session, concerning the observations to be submitted, on UNESCO's behalf, to the competent organs of the United Nations;

Requests the Executive Board to formulate such additional directives as it may deem necessary in the light of progress made in the drawing up of the aforesaid Covenants, and after consulting Member States, so far as the time available allows;

Instructs the Director-General to report progress to the General Conference, at its Eighth Session, and to submit proposals to enable UNESCO to play a full part in the implementation of educational and cultural rights as defined in the Covenant.

The General Conference;

Having taken note of the Convention, Protocols, resolutions and recommendations adopted by the Inter-Governmental Conference on Copyright at Geneva, and of the report by the Director-General on that conference (7C/PRG/8);

Notes with satisfaction that the Geneva Conference convened by the Director-General of UNESCO jointly with the Swiss Government, resulted in the conclusion of a Universal Copyright Convention;

Expresses its gratitude to the Swiss authorities;

Accepts the responsibilities devolving upon the Organization in virtue of the Convention and the Protocols annexed thereto;<sup>1</sup>

Invites all States to become parties to the Convention.

### *Cultural agreements*

Member States are invited:

To continue to deposit with the Director-General the texts of any cultural agreements they have concluded and of any special arrangements for co-operation made directly between cultural organizations and institutions in their territory and similar foreign institutions;

To communicate all useful information on the ways in which such agreements and arrangements have been applied, as well as on the results obtained.

The Director-General is authorized:

To continue the collection and publication of cultural agreements at present in force between States, whether members of UNESCO or not, and between the principal cultural institutions;

To submit to the General Conference at its Eighth Session, after consultation with Member States, National Commissions and the international organizations concerned, a general report on the possibility of organizing and intensifying cultural relations between the various countries by means of cultural agreements; of co-ordinating with UNESCO's activities the efforts made by Member States and cultural institutions in implementation of their agreements or arrangements; and of promoting the adoption of certain

<sup>1</sup> See resolution 4.311.

international rules concerning questions already dealt with in many bilateral or multilateral conventions.

*Collaboration with international organizations*

**High Commissioner for Refugees.**—The Director-General is authorized to supply the High Commissioner for Refugees, at the latter's request, with technical advice on the selection and preparation of such educational and cultural projects as the High Commissioner might wish to carry out on behalf of the various categories of refugees under his protection.

**International non-governmental organizations.**—The General Conference; Having noted the report submitted to the Director-General by the Third Conference of Non-Governmental Organizations having consultative status with UNESCO (7C/PRG/29);

Congratulates the organizations which took part in this conference upon their work to facilitate the attainment of UNESCO's aims;

Requests the Executive Board to take into consideration this report in connection with any action which might be deemed necessary for the development of co-operation between UNESCO and the non-governmental organizations;

Authorizes the Director-General to provide the international non-governmental organizations approved for consultative arrangements with UNESCO with the technical services required for convening a conference of their representatives at UNESCO's headquarters, in 1953, to study the most suitable methods to increase the participation of these organizations in UNESCO's program.

*Distribution of publications*

The General Conference;

Considering the important role of UNESCO's publications in the Organization's program;

Reaffirms the need for the widest distribution of these publications as far as possible through commercial channels;

Recognizes, however, that some publications cannot yet obtain a sufficiently large circulation by this means alone;

Notes the division of all UNESCO publications into three categories, those distributed exclusively through commercial channels; both gratis and through commercial channels; entirely gratis;

Requests Member States to give full co-operation, through their National Commissions, in achieving adequate distribution of UNESCO publications and, for this purpose, to secure the co-operation of official and professional bodies;

Instructs the Director-General;

In the light of information so collected, to draw up plans for the distribution of publications in each of the three categories;

Strictly to control free distribution;

To arrange contracts through National Commissions for the translation and adaptation into languages other than English, French, and Spanish of those UNESCO publications, reports and documents which such commissions wish to publish.

The General Conference;

Considering the importance attached to fundamental education in UNESCO's program;

Considering the establishment of the Arab States Fundamental Education Centre by UNESCO in collaboration with the Government of Egypt, the United Nations and the other Specialized Agencies;

Considering the significance of an interest in fundamental education throughout the Arab world as shown in the national and field projects now in operation;

Considering that Arabic is the mother tongue of more than 70 million people spread over a wide geographic area, who cannot read either English or French, or Spanish;

Considering the usefulness of UNESCO publications in the exchange of views, experience and technical information between Member States, organizations and individuals engaged or interested in fundamental education;

Requests the Director-General:

To re-examine after consultations with the Arab Member States the present publications plans of the Organization with a view to translating and printing in Arabic significant publications in fundamental education;

To report progress to the General Conference at its Eighth Session.

*Possibility of financing certain projects in 1953-54*

The General Conference;

Considering the recommendation unanimously adopted by the Joint Working Party on the Exchange of Persons Program, appearing on page 2 of document 7C/PRG/37, and stating that the "UNESCO University Courses are in themselves a highly valuable project that should be restored to the UNESCO Program as soon as the situation permits";

Authorizes the Director-General, in consultation with the Executive Board, to allocate any actual balance of the appropriation for the 1952 fiscal year remaining unobligated at 31 December 1952, to finance exceptionally and notwithstanding the provisions of Article 4.3 of the Financial Regulations, certain priority A.1 activities of the Proposed Program and Budget Estimates for 1953 and 1954 (7C/5), and to give the above recommendation of the working party on the Exchange of Persons Program a special priority.

*Directives for the future program*

The General Conference;

Having received the report of the Working Party on Future Program and Development (7C/PRG/39);

Instructs the Director-General to communicate the report to all Member States and National Commissions with the request to transmit their comments thereon to the Director-General not later than 1 May 1953;

Transmits the report to the Director-General and the Executive Board to serve together with the comments received from governments and National Commissions as a guide in the preparation and discussion of the Draft Program for 1955-56.

## EXPANDED PROGRAM OF TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

The General Conference;

Having considered the report on UNESCO's technical assistance activities submitted by the Director-General, in pursuance to resolution 10.15 of the Sixth Session of the General Conference;

Approving UNESCO's continued participation in the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance for Economic Development of the United Nations, as set forth in Economic and Social Council resolution 222(IX) in conformity with the "observations and guiding principles" laid down by the Council and resolution 400(XIII) and with any subsequent directives it may issue;

Noting UNESCO's proposed program of technical assistance activities together with the estimates of expenditure for the third financial period;

Authorizes the Director-General:

To receive monies and other resources from the Special Account, for the exclusive purpose of financing UNESCO's participation in the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance, subject to such financial and administrative rules and regulations, including systems of salaries and allowances, as may be determined by the Technical Assistance Board, which rules and regulations shall be followed in lieu of the regulations applicable to the normal activities of UNESCO's Administration and Secretariat in regard to the normal program and budget;

To undertake technical assistance activities within the framework of UNESCO'S Technical Assistance Program for the third and fourth financial periods in accordance with the decisions of the Technical Assistance Board and directives of the Technical Assistance Committee of the Economic and Social Council;

To conform to the directives of the Economic and Social Council and the decisions of the Technical Assistance Board for the effective and continuing operation of the program with the object at all times of achieving well-balanced and integrated country programs in which each organization contributes its special skill for the economic development of underdeveloped countries, paying due attention to questions of a social nature which directly condition economic development;

To submit to the Executive Board, at appropriate intervals, a report on progress and implementation and disbursement of funds under this program;

To submit to the General Conference at its Eighth Session a report on UNESCO's technical assistance activities and an audited statement of the

contributions and expenditures under this program for the third financial period.

The General Conference;

Noting the arrangements within the Secretariat and in the field made by the Director-General for facilitating UNESCO's participation in the Technical Assistance Program;

Authorizes the Director-General:

To continue to recruit staff required to meet approved requests for technical assistance;

To continue to invite governments of Member States and their National Commissions to provide the Secretariat on request with information on technical personnel whose services are sought for the program;

To expend monies and resources received from the Special Account in such other ways as may be necessary and required by the Technical Assistance Board, for the implementation of the Technical Assistance Program.

The General Conference;

Noting the continued and increasing demand from underdeveloped countries for experts and specialists in UNESCO's fields of interest to advise and assist the countries on their economic development;

Noting the limited number of such available personnel, and the difficulties encountered by the Director-General in obtaining their services;

Noting that the success and the continuation of the Technical Assistance Program depend on the availability of international experts and specialists;

Invites the attention of governments of Member States and their National Commissions and international non-governmental organizations, to this important problem, requesting them to take such steps as may be necessary to increase the supply of available technical personnel for the program;

Invites government of Member States:

To take all steps necessary with governmental and non-governmental agencies, organizations and institutions within the country to facilitate the release, secondment or loan, without prejudice to their employment rights and privileges, of technical experts and specialists in their employ for participation in the Technical Assistance Program;

To forward without delay to the Director-General at his request names of suitable and qualified candidates for the increasing number of technical assistance specialist posts and to make such arrangements as may be necessary to publish the information on such posts in their countries, to provide information relating to candidates and to send it to the Director-General.

The General Conference;

Noting the importance of fellowships, scholarships and study grants, awarded as part of national development projects, in increasing the number of trained personnel in underdeveloped areas;

Invites governments of Member States to make full use of the training opportunities offered through the Technical Assistance Program;

Invites co-operating governments to take appropriate steps for the speedy acceptance of fellowship and scholarship holders in training institutes in their countries.

The General Conference;

Having examined and approved the audited report relating to the expenditure of technical assistance funds allocated to UNESCO from the Special Account for the first financial period;

Authorizes the Director-General to transmit to the General Assembly of the United Nations the said report as required by resolution 519 (VI) of the General Assembly at its Sixth Session.

The General Conference;

Having decided that future sessions will be held biennially:

Authorizes the Director-General to transmit, with the approval of the Executive Board, to the Technical Assistance Board the proposed programs and estimates of expenditure for UNESCO's participation in the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance for the further financial periods;

Authorizes the Executive Board to approve the audited reports relating to the expenditure of technical assistance funds allocated to UNESCO from the Special Account for the second financial period and to transmit through the Director-General these reports, on behalf of the General Conference of UNESCO, as required by resolution 519 (VI) of the Sixth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Mr. MERROW. Our next witness this afternoon is Dr. John A. Perkins, United States member of the Executive Board of UNESCO and president of the University of Delaware. He served with Mr. Irving Saloman and Mrs. Heffelfinger in making the now widely distributed Saloman report on UNESCO, which was released at the time of the last meeting of the National Commission for UNESCO, in Minneapolis.

Dr. Perkins.

**STATEMENT OF DR. JOHN A. PERKINS, PRESIDENT, UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE; UNITED STATES MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD OF UNESCO**

Dr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, after having heard Dr. Shuster and his very fine statement on UNESCO, and knowing of his very long acquaintance with UNESCO, a relative newcomer to the organization and its endeavors is rather hesitant to add anything to it.

I can, however, tell you something of my own relationship with UNESCO and my own observations. I am very happy to do so and consider it a real privilege to come before your subcommittee and give you these reflections.

I am, as you have said, a member of the Executive Board of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. And acting under the authority of the General Conference of UNESCO, which is the real governing body, the Executive Board is responsible for the execution of the program adopted by the Conference. The conferences, of course, are held every 2 years. This Board, the Executive Board, consists of 20 members, each drawn from a different country.

Now, the Board is elected by the General Conference from the delegates sent to that General Conference by the various member nations. Thus, the persons elected to the Executive Board have had, in advance, the approval of their respective governments, although those members, once on the Executive Board, do not act for their government, but, rather, act upon their individual responsibilities as citizens.

It was at the Conference last July that I was elected to the Executive Board. I had attended that Conference as a United States delegate to the extraordinary session held to elect a new Director General. Mr. Luther Evans, when he became Director General, left the vacancy on the Executive Board to which I succeeded.

Since that time, of course, I have endeavored to keep in very close touch with what is happening at UNESCO, what the viewpoints of the other members of the Executive Board happen to be on various important questions concerning UNESCO, and also, I have endeavored to keep very closely in touch with the United States National Commission, which is very representative, as Dr. Shuster has said, and whose members are people I respect greatly. They have all been of help to me in formulating my own thinking as to what my position should be in various matters brought before the Executive Board.

Now, when I was called upon for this service as a member of the United States delegation to the General Conference of UNESCO, I brought to the situation, I am sure, a very fresh point of view, and indeed one might say a green point of view. I didn't know much about UNESCO. Every educator in the United States who tries to be alert to important educational developments is acquainted with UNESCO in a general way. I had not been a member of the United States National Commission; I had never been a delegate before, to a General Conference. I had only attended the United States National Commission's meeting at Hunter College in January 1952.

That was my first acquaintance with the program of UNESCO in any official capacity.

There has been a great deal to learn, and to acquaint myself with, relative to the work of UNESCO.

But I must say, in all my endeavors to find out and learn more and participate in UNESCO, I have not been disappointed, but rather inspired by what UNESCO is trying to do. Of course, there are things that I might do differently if it was simply something that I ran as an individual. If the United States were running UNESCO as a domestic institution, it might be conducted completely to our liking. But, in this situation, we are a member of an international organization with, indeed, a full voice in all its deliberations, and we never hesitate, as Americans never do, to express our attitudes and points of view, but we don't have everything our own way.

I have found that the United States is a much-respected Nation in the affairs of UNESCO. In its General Conference and on its Executive Board our point of view is considered and every endeavor is made to accommodate it if it is a reasonable point of view.

It has been heartening, in other words, for me to find the respect with which this country's point of view was held in UNESCO's deliberations.

When I attended the General Conference of UNESCO last July, our delegation, I found, was requested by the Department of State to make a special study of UNESCO, to find out what was going on in UNESCO, and to look specifically into the validity of certain criticisms. After the General Conference, Mr. Irving Saloman, of California, who was chairman of the delegation, and Mrs. Elizabeth B. Heffelfinger, of Minnesota, and I stayed some time after the General Conference and talked with other delegates from other nations.

We talked with innumerable members of the Secretariat. We looked at hundreds of publications and did all we could in the limited time available to acquaint ourselves with UNESCO and to weigh the validity of the criticisms that had been so specifically leveled against it.

As I say, I approached the task with an open mind and I believe with a fresh point of view, as did my colleagues, for they had not had any great experience with UNESCO, although I think Mr. Saloman had a much greater knowledge of UNESCO's operations than I did. Owing to the environment in this country—a somewhat hostile attitude had been taken toward UNESCO—we approached this evaluation of UNESCO with a good deal of skepticism. We had to be shown.

Briefly, Mr. Chairman, we did not find these criticisms to be valid. None of the things, certainly, that had been charged against UNESCO

seemed to hold up under investigation. We didn't find things just as we would like them, as mentioned earlier.

We found no real basis for the allegations that UNESCO is trying to promote one-world government or trying to promote world citizenship, or citizenship in a political world government.

Neither is there any foundation for the allegation that UNESCO is trying to destroy patriotism or in any way affect the loyalty of our children or adults in this country of ours.

Now, we found no evidence whatever to support the allegation that UNESCO is trying to put textbooks into the public schools in the United States, or trying to influence teachers to advocate one-world government. I would say it was rather significant that the people who have made these charges against UNESCO have to go back more than 4 or 5 years to old reports, that UNESCO printed, containing summaries of these discussions that Dr. Shuster and you people have just been discussing—discussions that took place in seminars sponsored by UNESCO. To claim that these seminar reports were the official policy of UNESCO would be like saying that reports of speeches in the Congressional Record, no matter what was said, were "the policy of the United States Government."

Actually, you know that out of those discussions policy is formulated many times, but we would all hesitate to say that what any individual Member of Congress might have said was the policy of the Government. These people who took part in the UNESCO meetings are even less related to UNESCO—certainly much less related, than any Member of Congress is, in a responsible way, to the Government of the United States. These people were just drawn in as you might draw into your committee room people in order that you might hear what they have to say about an important problem. And then a verbatim record, as is being made here, was made of these discussions and a summary or brief report prepared, and these reports are peddled about in this country, apparently by people who don't like UNESCO, as representing the official views of UNESCO, itself, which is not, of course, true.

Now, I was most disturbed, as I dug into this thing, with the help of more experienced people like Dr. Shuster, to find actually that the American Flag Committee, and other such groups, had not even taken consecutive statements or paragraphs out of these pamphlets, but rather, had perverted the truth, I would say, by stringing together statements out of context to make some new and fabricated representation of the views of people who were at these seminars who, as I have already said, are in no way official policymakers of UNESCO.

Now, that is very unfortunate, of course, and it has caused misunderstanding and, I think, quite an unfortunate situation for UNESCO and the United States. Essentially, it seems to me, as I get into it, UNESCO is really trying to do what the American people, through their educational system and through their Government, have been trying to do all down through their history; that is, to raise the level of our thinking to give a firmer foundation to our liberties and our economic progress. We believe so firmly in this thing called education in our own country that it is only natural that the United States was one of the innovators of the whole idea of UNESCO.

It is the most natural thing in the world that some of the people who stimulated the development of UNESCO should have been



Americans, for it is that thoroughgoing American approach that UNESCO has, fundamentally.

That UNESCO should be receiving criticism in the United States, beyond, I think, anything it has received in the way of criticism in other countries, is indeed disappointing. But we are a vigilant people, and we should be, about things we feel are not in accord with our national interest, and I think that may account for the alarm that arose in many quarters of the United States when these fabricated and distorted statements concerning UNESCO's publications came out.

In the meetings of UNESCO's executive board, we do go into the details about UNESCO's program and its operations. Sometimes, it seems to me we go into these details to an unusual extent.

None of us are ever completely satisfied with what the organization does or the progress it is making. We would have it make more progress and do more things and one of its great handicaps is that it is already trying to do so much with so little money.

One thing is quite clear, as a result of these investigations that I have been a part of; that is, that both through the executive board and through the Secretariat, UNESCO is endeavoring to do the right kind of job, and a job in keeping with its charter, which charter certainly is much like the objectives to which this Nation has committed itself in every major directive it had had, such as the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution, itself.

At the executive board meeting last November, we went over the preliminary plans for the program to be adopted for the organization at the forthcoming General Conference in Montevideo, which will adopt the program for 1955 and 1956.

There was nothing in the discussions that had anything to do with advocating one-world government, or one-world citizenship. Since that time, I have received a copy of the detailed program that has been formulated by the Secretariat for 1955 and 1956. These proposals will be considered during the current meetings of the executive board in Paris, which I plan shortly to attend. Mrs. Heffelfinger is now there as my alternate, taking my place in the first few days of the meeting until I arrive.

These proposals, some 600 pages of program and program description, have been gone over very thoroughly by several groups in this country. The State Department, itself, has given great detailed examination to these plans and proposals. The United States National Commission's Program Committee spent 2 days in Washington within the last fortnight, and I was mightily impressed with the extent to which these citizens of ours have looked into the details of these programs. People from the National Research Council, particularly qualified in the field of science, were represented there, and they had thoroughly gone over the scientific program of UNESCO. Other people, museum directors, who were particularly acquainted with the cultural activities program that is to be undertaken by UNESCO, had devoted no end of time exploring this aspect of UNESCO's program to see how effective it was in terms of the responsibilities that UNESCO should be undertaking in the cultural activities area. There were other people who are particularly well versed in education who had reviewed UNESCO's educational plans.

Mr. Willard Givens, of the NEA, is chairman of the subcommittee in the area of education. His group had culled over the educational program and suggested that this or that thing should be emphasized, particularly fundamental education, and elementary education, and their recommendations, it seems to me, are very sound. I think most American educators would agree with their recommendations.

The emphasis that UNESCO is making on fundamental education seems to me to be the basic emphasis to be made in such an organization, for we cannot hope to have the world come to any mutuality of understanding until the people can, at least, read and write and communicate with one another with something like the understanding that we have premised our own domestic governmental institutions upon. So it is right, then, that we make this emphasis in UNESCO upon fundamental education.

Mrs. BOLTON. May I interrupt you a moment?

Dr. PERKINS. Yes.

Mrs. BOLTON. Was that the result of Dr. Bodet's work?

Dr. PERKINS. He had a lot to do with the emphasis on fundamental education, and that emphasis has been very much backed by the United States delegations to the conferences and on the executive board. We feel it is exceedingly important. I think all the countries feel it is important, but all have their relative points of emphasis on the executive board. Some are more concerned, perhaps, with the promotion of more sophisticated aspects of science and culture, and would put less emphasis on the fundamental education program than we in the United States would like to see.

In all this, I have noted no attitude of subversion, either. There are differing points of view, some shading more to the left and some more to the right. Like Dr. Shuster, I am more or less of an independent, but I have found nothing that raised my suspicions that we were being subverted by anyone in UNESCO.

I think the group involved in UNESCO, as I have watched them now through two sessions of the executive board, are indeed all people much preoccupied with the preservation of freedom and with concern for it. They realize its essentiality to any undertakings in science or in education. Certainly we cannot get ahead in these fields of education, science, and the arts unless we do have understanding and agreement on free thought, free speech, free discussion and free press.

UNESCO is a mighty organ for the United States own domestic interests, as against the interests of the not-so-free world, for UNESCO is premised upon the very concepts that we premise our whole approach to world problems upon, and the way our interests and the interests of UNESCO could coalesce, in this respect, is quite remarkable. UNESCO is such a good place in which to voice our concepts that I suspect that is one reason why the Iron Curtain countries have decided against joining UNESCO. If restrictions imposed by the Communists on discussions and scientific investigation were to be brought up in a UNESCO executive board meeting or on the floor of the general conferences of UNESCO, there wouldn't be a very warm reception, to say the least, for such restrictions.

I think there has been a failure in our country to appreciate that fact. As you know, there is great concern, sometimes about the extent to which people assert their right to free expression in universities

and educational endeavors. Well, UNESCO is very much in that tradition. It would not be a healthy place for the Iron Curtain countries who do not truly respect freedom.

I wish that the American people would get behind UNESCO and appreciate some of these things about it that I have been trying to say. If they did understand UNESCO and its endeavors, I think we would have in the United States, perhaps, the greatest enthusiasm for this particular international organization. It is so in keeping with our point of view.

Mr. Chairman, I do want to thank you for the opportunity to express these views. If you have any questions that you would like to ask me about UNESCO and my experience in it, I would be very happy to try to answer.

Mr. MERROW. Thank you, Dr. Perkins. We appreciate your coming here. You have had wide experience in this field.

Mrs. Bolton, have you any questions?

Mrs. BOLTON. I was just going to bring up what you pointed out to me.

Mr. MERROW. All right, go ahead.

Mrs. BOLTON. We had some testimony the other day from the American Coalition, and in it it says that this pamphlet [indicating] entitled "Race and Psychology," is by Dr. Klinberg. Dr. Klinberg has a long record of Communist-front affiliations in congressional reports and is listed in appendix 9 as defending the Communist Party in the Daily Worker, and so forth.

Of course, those are the things which make it very difficult for those of us who feel that UNESCO has a job to do in the world and must do it rightly, so that it can really accomplish something.

I haven't checked the possible inaccuracy of this. The Roots of Prejudice is another one that is spoken of as being very much involved in the same kind of things.

Do you know of these?

Dr. PERKINS. Yes, I know of these pamphlets. This one by Otto Klinberg I haven't yet had an opportunity to read, although it is on my reading table directly in back of my desk to be looked at as soon as I have the opportunity.

I think that the men who participated in these studies of race are all of them very respectable academicians, and that a good deal of confidence can be placed in their views upon this controversial subject.

Otto Klinberg is a professor of psychology at Columbia University, which is a very much respected institution of this, our own, country.

Mrs. BOLTON. But often accused of having leftists very much involved in it.

Dr. PERKINS. As is so often the case with institutions and people whose views we don't agree with.

Mrs. BOLTON. If it is true that he is listed in these various organizations—

Dr. PERKINS. I can't say as to that. I don't know Mr. Klinberg, personally.

Mrs. BOLTON. I would like to feel that your committee would look further into it.

Dr. PERKINS. We have had this point of view on these publications. We have been insisting that people who are asked to make investiga-

tions which lead to publication, be considered by the executive board. Where they are from a particular country, some reference should be made to the appropriate national commission; to the United States National Commission, for example, in this country, or the national commission of Britain if the man is from Britain. Then some confidence can be expressed in the individuals before they are employed. I think that is the policy, at the present time.

Now, on the other hand, there can be no question about Mr. Kleinberg, as far as his being a competent psychologist is concerned. I can't speak about his activities, political or the like.

Mrs. BOLTON. Shouldn't UNESCO do that? Shouldn't the National Commission have some responsibility, if they ask these people to write these pamphlets?

Dr. PERKINS. I think in a measure, yes, but it is much like a university, I suspect. If we hire a man who comes well recommended, and a man in whom we have every reason to have confidence as to his professional attainments and he is assigned a task in his own field the head of an institution is very slow to criticize his work.

Mrs. BOLTON. Yes, but why hire him if he has a record?

If he has a record do we want to have the slant given by a man who is defending communism?

Dr. PERKINS. I quite agree with you that if you know those things beforehand, you do not hire him.

Mrs. BOLTON. Shouldn't you find out?

Dr. PERKINS. Yes, I think every endeavor should be made to find out about the man, as much about him as you can find out.

Mrs. BOLTON. If the American Coalition can find out about him, that he is listed, and so on—

Dr. PERKINS. I don't know about the American Coalition. I would like to know much more about them before I would have too much confidence in their evaluation of a citizen. I would have much more confidence in Dean Chamberlain of Columbia University, whom I know personally and have every respect for, and the kind of person he would hire, than I would in an offhand comment by any group that might wrap itself in the flag and quickly condemn someone.

Mrs. BOLTON. "He has a long record of Communist-front affiliations in congressional reports." Now, that is a very simple thing to look up.

Mr. McCULLOUGH. Mrs. Bolton, Mr. Kleinberg is at the present time an employee of UNESCO. He was employed after he had prepared this piece of material, but before the Executive order of January 1953, went into effect. However, he is, like other employees—American employees in the organization—subject to the procedures under the Executive order, and as you know, those procedures will certainly determine the facts about affiliation of the kind referred to in this testimony. At some early time, the matter with respect to Mr. Kleinberg will be before the board which the President has established, to consider these matters.

Mrs. BOLTON. Thank you very much.

I just wanted to bring this out, because we hear a good deal of these things and it makes our problem most difficult.

Dr. PERKINS. It is very difficult.

Mr. HAYS. You made reference to the fact that the Iron Curtain countries are not members of UNESCO. I believe there was previous testimony that at one time, one of the satellite nations participated. What is the present condition? Was that membership withdrawn?

Dr. PERKINS. The other satellites have withdrawn. Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland.

Mrs. BOLTON. We don't consider Yugoslavia a satellite, do we?

Dr. PERKINS. Not in the present situation.

Mr. HAYS. So Yugoslavia is the only Iron Curtain country—

Dr. PERKINS. Yugoslavia does belong. It is a Communist country and that is the reason for mentioning it. Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary, the satellites, have all withdrawn. They have been inactive for several years.

Mr. HAYS. Then, strictly speaking, there are no Iron Curtain countries who are members at the present time, and there is only one Communist country?

Dr. PERKINS. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. Thank you.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Carnahan—

Mr. CARNAHAN. I don't have any particular questions to ask, but I would like to read a paragraph or two from my extension of remarks in the Congressional Record on Tuesday, April 1, 1952. This refers to the attack on these pamphlets:

Taking one paragraph which it attributes as a direct quotation from pamphlet No. V, a line-by-line examination shows that sentences have been so juggled that within one pair of quotation marks are sentences from page 58, followed by phrases from page 60, a retreat to words on page 58, then more material from page 59, and the inventor finishes his direct quote with material from page 60.

And it is given as a direct quote from one of the pamphlets.

Another paragraph attributed to UNESCO by the American Flag Committee is that—and this is supposed to be a quote:

The teacher is to begin by eliminating any and all words, phrases, descriptions, pictures, images, classroom material, or teaching methods of a sort causing his pupils to feel or express a particular love for, or loyalty to, the United States of America.

And, of course, that is just a pure invention. It isn't found in any of the bulletins.

Mr. Chairman, I ask if you think it would be helpful, Mr. Chairman, that this extension of remarks be printed in the hearings?

Mr. MERROW. We will include that in the record.

(The information referred to is as follows:)

[From the Congressional Record, April 1, 1952]

#### THE FACTS ON UNESCO PAMPHLETS—CHARGES AGAINST "TOWARD WORLD UNDERSTANDING" SERIES ANSWERED

Extension of remarks of Hon. A. S. J. Carnahan, of Missouri, in the House of Representatives, Tuesday, April 1, 1952

Mr. CARNAHAN. Mr. Speaker, it is my purpose at this time to present to my colleagues some of the facts in regard to a series of pamphlets published by UNESCO. These pamphlets are a group under the general theme "Toward World Understanding."

#### WHAT ARE THE PAMPHLETS?

The series of pamphlets published by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization under the general title "Toward World Under-

standing," are reports of a number of international seminars arranged by UNESCO during recent years.

These meetings have become one of UNESCO's important educational activities. To them, from many countries, come educators qualified to make an intensive study of specific educational problems. To quote directly from pamphlet No. V:

"During their daily meetings, the members, working together in complete freedom of thought and speech, attempted first of all to find answers to questions which they thought would inevitably face their colleagues in schools all over the world. The discussions brought into view differences of opinion, which are reflected in this book, but each participant was much more concerned with placing his knowledge and experience at the disposal of the entire group than with defending any particular doctrine or method.

"The views expressed are not, of course, the official views of UNESCO, nor are they necessarily acceptable to all members of the group."

Freedom of expression is a fundamental UNESCO concept. It will not attempt to set itself up as a censor. Therefore, the pamphlets in this series are exactly what they purport to be—reports of individual or group ideas of educators from many countries, familiar with and qualified to discuss the subject matter of the seminars.

These pamphlets are published in several languages and are distributed in all UNESCO member states. They are in no way directed toward any member state. There is no expectation, as each pamphlet clearly states, that UNESCO itself or that educators in the United States, or elsewhere, will agree with all of the ideas and conclusions set forth.

They are published so that those who have an interest in the subject matter may have access to full information on the seminars and in the hope that "they will arouse interest and stimulate discussion among teachers in many countries."

The International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, New York City, is the official sales agency of all such material within the United States.

#### WHAT ARE THE CHARGES AGAINST THE SERIES?

An attack on the series "Toward World Understanding," and on UNESCO itself, was launched by an organization which calls itself the American Flag Committee, 876 Granite Street, Philadelphia, Pa., in its Newsletter No. 13 issued in October 1951. This 4-page multilithed bulletin was titled "A Report to the American People on UNESCO." The report characterized UNESCO as a subversive association.

The entire statement is a willful distortion. It bases its case on false interpretation. It twists quotations out of context in attempting to support its claims.

Taking 1 paragraph which it attributes as a direct quotation from pamphlet No. V, a line-by-line examination shows that sentences have been so juggled that within 1 pair of quotation marks are sentences from page 58, followed by phrases from page 60, a retreat to words on page 58, then more material from page 59, and the inventor finishes his direct quote with material from page 60.

Another paragraph attributed to UNESCO by the American Flag Committee is that—"The teacher is to begin by eliminating any and all words, phrases, descriptions, pictures, images, classroom material, or teaching methods of a sort causing his pupils to feel or express a particular love for, or loyalty to, the United States of America."

This statement is a complete fabrication. It cannot be found in any one of the pamphlet series.

One of the charges is that UNESCO is "advancing the totally un-American doctrine that the prime function of public education in the United States must be that of capturing the minds of our children, at the earliest possible age, for the cause of political world government."

This too is a willful distortion. The fact is that the reports of the seminars discuss neither education in the United States nor world government. What is advocated is international cooperation, international understanding and loyalty to mankind as a whole. They do advise against the kind of selfish nationalism which leads to the rise of dictators. They do not discuss political world government.

These are the charges of the American Flag Committee, which were included in the Congressional Record as an "extension of remarks" on October 18, 1951.

Reprints from the Congressional Record, bearing the seal of the United States of America, have had wide distribution throughout the Nation. This is the allegedly factual material which has been the basis of the attack against UNESCO.

#### WHAT DO THE PAMPHLETS SAY?

An examination of pamphlet V, *In the Classroom With Children Under 13 Years of Age*, which is the center of the current campaign to destroy international cooperation will show that the educators participating in the seminar recognize the necessity and desirability of training the child in loyalty and respect for his family group, for his community, for his religious group, for his State, and for his country. Once this has been accomplished, they emphasize the need for the child to have the same respect toward his neighbors in other lands as he has toward the neighbors in his home community.

Here are some direct quotations from pamphlet V:

"In our time, we need to dedicate education to the service of the human community as a whole. The ideal to be pursued is that, whether in the home, the social environment, or the school, our children should be educated to live with others and to prepare themselves for citizenship in a world society. \* \* \*

"So far as the school's part in this process is concerned, we may summarize its object as being to secure in the child a sense of community, first in the class, then in the successively larger groups comprised by the school, the neighborhood, and the Nation, in a progression of loyalties which will enable him later to reach the climax of membership in the world community. \* \* \*

"But we must find ways and means to develop a moral approach as well—that is to say, we must cultivate among pupils such attributes as justice, tolerance, and a sense of service. \* \* \*

"All we may expect to do is to teach the child to consider the history of humanity as a great adventure in which he himself has a part to play. The task of the teacher is to awake in the child a sympathetic interest for the men of former times, an admiration for their achievements, and a sense of what we owe to their courage, their sacrifices, their perseverance, and their intelligence. \* \* \*

"To feel toward mankind in general as one does toward one's family, comrades, and country is what may be called the feeling of belonging to humanity. \* \* \*

"Faith in a divinity who is the principle and end of human growth is probably the best foundation for a real understanding among men."

And, finally, commenting on the need for religious instruction:

"It will make them aware of the same fundamental realities—that all creatures and all races have their places in the universal plan, and that social institutions are valid only insofar as they enable the individual to do justice to his spiritual vocation. It will often happen, then, that the children, in talking about their religious classes, will be struck by the essential similarity of what they have been taught."

#### WHAT IS UNESCO?

The constitution of UNESCO cites as its purpose: "To contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science, and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law, and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language, or religion, by the Charter of the United Nations."

Article I, section 3, of the constitution further states:

"With a view to preserving the independence, integrity, and fruitful diversity of the cultures and educational systems of the states members of this Organization, the Organization is prohibited from intervening in matters which are essentially within their domestic jurisdiction."

UNESCO, the United States Government, and the United States National Commission for UNESCO have never supported any program which is in opposition to this basic principle.

#### WHAT IS THE UNITED STATES NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR UNESCO?

The United States National Commission for UNESCO was established by act of Congress under Public Law 565, 79th Congress, 2d session.

It consists of 100 American citizens, 60 of whom are nominated by national voluntary organizations interested in educational, scientific, and cultural matters. Of the remaining 40 members, 15 are representatives of the educational,

scientific, and cultural interests of State and local governments, 15 are chosen at large, and not more than 10 can be officers or employees of the United States Government.

#### WHAT THE NATIONAL COMMISSION HAS SAID ABOUT SUCH CHARGES

The following statement was authorized by the United States National Commission for UNESCO and adopted by the Executive Committee at its 19th meeting on November 14, 1951:

"It is well known that UNESCO seeks to impress on youth the importance of international understanding and cooperation as a path to peace. We resent the attacks on our educators who teach about UNESCO and the United Nations. Those attacks often emanate from groups which hide their identity under titles deceptively like those of honorable organizations. The attacks distort the purpose of UNESCO, and sometimes they are directed toward control of courses of study and of contents of textbooks, the end in view being to diminish opportunities to learn the true aims of UNESCO and the United Nations.

"Such offenders are in many cases the notorious supporters of totalitarianism and of rowdy attacks on racial and religious groups. They carry on falsely in the name of patriotism.

"The United States National Commission for UNESCO warns against this device of hiding behind the flag while at the same time seeking to destroy freedom. The Commission calls on public groups and the press to continue to expose those who assail the integrity of teachers because of their interest in the United Nations."

#### PAMPHLETS PUBLISHED IN "TOWARD WORLD UNDERSTANDING" SERIES

Pamphlet I: *Some Suggestions on Teaching About the United Nations and Its Specialized Agencies* was first presented as a working paper for discussion at the 11th international conference on public education called jointly by UNESCO and the International Bureau of Education in July 1948. Later it was considered in detail in the UNESCO Seminar on Teaching About the United Nations and Specialized Agencies held in collaboration with the United Nations at Adelphi College in New York, during July and August 1948. The draft was then revised in the light of the comments made.

Pamphlet II: *The Education and Training of Teachers* contains the reports of three groups which were formed at the UNESCO Seminar on the Education and Training of Teachers held at Ashbridge, England, from July 15 to August 25, 1948.

Pamphlet III: *A Selected Bibliography* is the first bibliography published by UNESCO on education for international understanding. It was not intended to be exhaustive but was drawn up to give teachers and leaders in adult education suggestions for useful books, pamphlets, and articles.

Pamphlet IV: *The United Nations and World Citizenship* was prepared by a group of six teachers from Afghanistan, Chile, France, the Lebanon, Thailand, and the United States of America, who met together at Adelphi College, in New York, for 6 weeks in 1948. They were members of the UNESCO seminar which worked on pamphlet I.

Pamphlet V: *In the Classroom With Children Under 13 Years of Age* was the result of another international seminar held at Pödebrady, Czechoslovakia, from July 21 to August 25, 1948. It was attended by 44 participants from 16 countries who had been selected by their governments to make an intensive study of childhood education from 3 to 13 years of age. The director of this seminar was Mrs. Aase G. Skard, professor of psychology at Oslo University, Norway. One group, consisting of 14 members from 10 different countries, met under the chairmanship of Mr. Louis Meylan, professor of education at the University of Lausanne. After the seminar Professor Meylan drew up a report which was submitted for comments to a number of the participants. This report was subsequently revised by Professor Meylan in the light of the suggestions made. The pamphlet is an abridgment of the original report.

Pamphlet VI: *The influence of home and community*, was also a result of the seminar held at Pödebrady, Czechoslovakia. This pamphlet contains the text of two speeches made during the seminar, the report of the study group on *Abnormal Influences on the Psychology of the Child*, and a memorandum regarding the collection of data on children. One speech was by the late Dr. Ruth Benedict, who at that time was professor of anthropology, Teachers College, Columbia University.



Pamphlet VII: Some suggestions on the teaching of geography, is an adaptation in English of a document prepared at UNESCO's request by a group of French geographers to assist geography teachers in primary and secondary schools. This pamphlet was submitted to various international associations of educators for examination. One such examination took place at the Twelfth International Conference on Public Education, held in Geneva, in July 1949.

Pamphlets VIII and IX are still in preparation.

Pamphlet X: A handbook of suggestions on the teaching of geography, is the report of a 6 weeks' seminar on the teaching of geography at Montreal, Canada, during the summer of 1950. Twenty-three different nations were represented. The report was written by Mr. N. V. Scarfe, head of the geography department of the Institute of Education, London University.

The pamphlets may be purchased from the International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, New York City.

Mr. MERROW. In your study of UNESCO, as a member of the Saloman committee, did you have an opportunity to evaluate the competence of the Secretariat? Do you have anything along this line that you would like to express?

Dr. PERKINS. Yes, we did try to evaluate the individual members of the Secretariat, at least on the top levels. We didn't see people far down the line. There were some we felt to be considerably stronger than others, and who were certainly worthy of the posts they held. There were other cases where we didn't have the confidence we would like to have felt, but we found no one who was doing such a wretched job that we just couldn't condone in any way their presence in those positions. In an international secretariat, of course, you have to get international representation which means that you don't have people always with the same educational background, or indeed with as rich an educational background as perhaps you would like to find. I think the Secretariat is growing stronger all the time, attracting more competent people. The people who apply are being more carefully screened than in years past. Many times the organization is confronted with getting underway with a program quickly and hires such people as are available and also representative of the various member countries. Sometimes they are not all that is to be desired.

I have a steadily increasing sense of confidence, as I come to know the Secretariat better, too. Often times we are too ready to make a quick estimate of people, and do not appreciate the difficulties under which they work and their own peculiar backgrounds. The new Director General, Mr. Luther Evans, having a background similar to the rest of us in the States, will perhaps evaluate people more as we would.

He may be criticized for that very thing by other countries as time goes on, for having too much of the point of view of an American. I am sure he will try to keep as good a balance as one can keep in making his selections.

Mr. MERROW. Do you think the Secretariat is too large?

Dr. PERKINS. Well, for the tremendous job they have to do, I would say not. UNESCO has committed itself by its charter to a very broad program and a very great endeavor. I wouldn't say that it is too large in any sense that there is padding of the payroll, in the sense that we sometimes use the word "padding." There is a big job and UNESCO ought to have more help, probably, rather than less.

Mr. MERROW. It seems to me UNESCO is paralyzed to some extent by the neutralism which exists there. Do you find that so? The constitution states "that since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed" and

that is probably the most quoted part of that constitution—I wonder if you would care to comment on that.

Dr. PERKINS. You and I discussed that one time earlier, and I have given it a lot of thought. At the time you first brought it up, I felt that the charge of neutralism against UNESCO would be quite unjust and in a sense I still think it would be a little unfair. I suppose UNESCO seems neutral due to the fact that the Iron Curtain countries, or satellites, or the mother country of the satellites are not members. Therefore, UNESCO tends to carry on its discussions like a group of people all having commonly accepted premises. With common premises the debate doesn't consist of our point of view against the Russian point of view. Executive Board members will debate questions as much as they would be debated in the United States Congress, perhaps some people being of a more liberal point of view and others of more conservative point of view.

When you understand that and put it in the context of this great world debate that is going on, it doesn't seem that UNESCO is entering into that debate. But I am sure that to a person on the Executive Board, if the questions that are confronting the free world as against the nonfree world were to come up, every member of the Executive Board would be resolutely on the side of the free world and speak very forcibly and forthrightly in behalf of the free world. It might be of great help to UNESCO, and to the side of the free world, if the satellites were to be drawn back into UNESCO and if Russia itself were to become a member. Then the air of neutralism would soon become electric with concern for freedom and the basic issues that exist between ourselves and some other countries would be brought to the forefront.

Mr. MERROW. Do you feel that the United States delegation to conferences, which is advised by the National Commission, should develop a strong program in an attempt to get the countries of UNESCO who are in the free world to take a more positive attitude in setting forth the ideas and the ideals of a free world?

Dr. PERKINS. I am inclined to think that that is an approach that can be made.

For example, we are concerned in UNESCO with a limitation upon the rights of man for reasons of race or religious differences or inequalities between sex and so on. We are greatly concerned about that.

I think UNESCO should become more concerned than it has been—and I am sure it has not been a deliberate policy that has kept it from being concerned—with the limitations that exist in many countries upon the rights of men as freemen than there has been. I should hope that UNESCO would become greatly concerned with these limitations upon freedoms in other countries. It opens up a field for the United States delegation to national conferences and for me as a member of the Executive Board to be concerned about and to work for a change in the policy. In working toward this change, however, we have to make sure we don't ourselves violate the principles of freedom that we are concerned to push forward.

If we take too aggressive a policy and appear to be propagandizing in the international conferences or on the Executive Board, then we would destroy the respect of others for us. We might in turn be accused of doing the very type of thing that Russia herself would do

if she were a member. It is something that has to be approached with care. I think we are always trying to do somewhat as you desire through a reasonable approach but not as a propagandistic approach.

Mr. MERROW. UNESCO cannot build peace in the minds of men unless it takes a positive attitude.

Mrs. BOLTON. I'm sorry I must leave, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MERROW. Just before you go, Mrs. Bolton, we have one more witness, Mr. McCullough. The hour is getting late, and I asked if he would be willing to return some time later. If it is all right, we will have him next week.

Mrs. BOLTON. Very well.

Mr. MERROW. On page 2 of the Saloman report, you have listed the criticisms of UNESCO that have been made and you have discussed them in the report. The first one is that—

UNESCO is under Communist control and is influenced by Communists in the direction inconsistent with the interests of the United States.

I know you made a statement on that, but I just wanted to ask you about it. You found no foundation for the statement?

Dr. PERKINS. That's correct.

Mr. MERROW. Also that UNESCO is atheistic or antireligious. You have answered that also, here.

Dr. PERKINS. I have had no experience in UNESCO to lead me to believe that it is atheistic or antireligious. As a matter of fact, there are many religions, people of many beliefs, involved in UNESCO's work, so it necessarily does not take any position that is going to be offensive to any of the member countries. But, I don't think you could get together a group of people who would have any more respect for things of the spirit than those who are involved in UNESCO. The greatest respect, I have noticed at all times, particularly in the Executive Board where I am most active is accorded things divine and things spiritual.

Mr. MERROW. You were speaking of propagandizing, or you discussed that subject. If UNESCO took a more positive position in supporting the principles outlined in the charter, itself, it couldn't be said that we are propagandizing, could it?

Dr. PERKINS. No, it certainly couldn't. Let me see if I can think of a violation of the situation. If issues come up in UNESCO, in the normal course of the affairs of UNESCO, which make freedom an issue, or the subversion of rights of the individual an issue, then the United States could take a very forthright vigorous position in line with our national policy and the viewpoints generally held in this country that respect individual rights and freedoms.

On the other hand, if we come at the questions of freedom out of context and without anything in the way of program before us, it seems to me then we are just admonishing the organization to a point of view and seemingly pushing a national point of view that might make some people suspicious of whether or not we really respected that general point of departure that we were advocating. I wish that I could think of some way to illustrate that, but I don't call one to mind at the moment.

Mr. MERROW. If attention is given to developing a more positive program to bring UNESCO into a position where it takes a more active part in this cold war so that more is done in defense of the free

world, and gets away from neutralism and from what seems to me to be a paralysis of action, if thought is given to all this, I am sure the subcommittee would like to see what the Program Committee could come up with. The Program Committee will have to develop a program acceptable to the National Commission, and then the Commission can advise the delegation to the next conference.

You have given assurance that attention will be devoted to that. We will be interested to see what comes out of this.

Dr. PERKINS. I shall be alert for opportunities to bring that up when we are discussing the forthcoming Montevideo Conference.

Mr. MERROW. Is there anything else?

Mr. HAYS. I would like to recall Dr. Shuster for just a moment.

Mr. MERROW. Thank you very much, Dr. Perkins.

Mr. HAYS. Dr. Shuster, I will ask you if you have seen the editorial that appeared in the Los Angeles Times on March 6 entitled "How the World Gets Its News?"

Dr. SHUSTER. Yes, sir, I have read it.

Mr. HAY. This makes a summary, apparently, of some findings by UNESCO, with reference to international news agencies. I wonder if it wouldn't be helpful for you to give us the background of that study.

Dr. SHUSTER. The study is entitled "News Agencies, Their Structure and Operation."

Fundamentally speaking—and in this respect, the editorial will bear out what I'm going to say—it is a very fair editorial—the study is an excellent description of existing news agencies and the service they render. It points out the alarming fact that, of course, Tass, being the sole news gathering and news distributing agency of the captive world, has enormous influence.

Then it goes on to observe that in the Western World—that is in the free world—there are many countries which have no news-gathering agencies of their own. In short, countries that have no national source of news supply. The author then goes on to make two comments. He says, first, that there is no use talking about a world news agency. In the first place, everybody would protest against it and he gives the impression that it couldn't work anyway. What he suggests is—and this is the part of his report which has been criticized—it is a part of a 3-page summary of conclusions he derives from his study, and this part is 1 paragraph in length where he suggests that "Sometime an international agency might be created by bringing about a cooperative relationship between all the currently existing national agencies." In short, he projected an international agency of which the newspapers now currently associated with AP and similar American news-gathering agencies would be associated with the papers currently associated with Reuter and other foreign news-gathering agencies, and similarly through the world.

Our news agencies object to that inclusion rather vigorously. They look upon it as a criticism of what they are doing.

I would like to point out that anybody who knows public opinion in the countries solely dependent for news upon the British, French, and the United States news-gathering agencies, know that this news is not very popular, in large areas, for example in Latin America, where people feel that after all their news is supplied to them by news-

gathering agencies in which they themselves have no share. So, I think that while we might legitimately object to the conclusions which this man has drawn—which don't represent UNESCO—it represents only himself—we would nevertheless be constrained, I think, to pay attention to the point of view which is prevalent in many countries. I think that is the comment I would like to make on it.

Mr. HAYS. As I understand it, then, UNESCO has not adopted that and is not driving toward the establishment of any central world news-gathering agency.

Dr. SHUSTER. No, but may I say by way of comment on this, that the Mass Communications Division of UNESCO, was the creation of the United States. It was the thing that we insisted upon at the beginning. Why? Because we believed that setting up a worldwide radio network would give the free countries of the world an opportunity to speak their peace, day and night.

And over the opposition of all the small countries, we set up this department which was going to do just the very thing that this man is now suggesting. UNESCO has, I think, gracefully retreated from that position with such rapidity as it could, bearing in mind all the time that this was initially something that the big brother in the outfit wanted. Isn't that right, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. MERROW. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. Thank you.

Mr. MERROW. With reference to various publications, perhaps this would clear it up. The study mission asked UNESCO to present a report giving the accomplishments of UNESCO in establishing world peace. On page 81 of the report are these words:

The report which the study mission had earlier requested of UNESCO as illustrating the concrete and tangible accomplishments of UNESCO toward an international understanding and peace follows.

We printed the report and UNESCO in this report states:

UNESCO has also published a series of booklets, designed for the cultured public and for secondary schools and universities and written by distinguished authors of international repute.

The titles of the books are found on page 82, some of them have been mentioned here this afternoon. As has already been brought out, the authors of some of these have been challenged.

I am wondering if the National Commission or perhaps the Department of State could give the committee a summary with reference to these authors and perhaps an evaluation of them.

Dr. SHUSTER. I think Mr. McCullough will shortly be in a position to do that. We have insisted on getting a good review of these things and I think we are just about ready to give them to you.

Mr. McCULLOUGH. I might just make one comment. Hereafter—that is effective with the issuance of Executive Order 10422, if UNESCO employs an individual as it has done in these cases to do some research and prepare a publication, if that individual is an American, it will have to comply with the Executive order and the investigating processes that are provided in that order so that we will have in advance of any future preparation of material of this kind by Americans, some examination of his background.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. McCullough was to testify this afternoon, but the hour is late and some of us must leave. He has said that he would be glad to return at some other time when it will be possible to have a longer hearing. If that is satisfactory with everybody, we will so proceed.

We thank you, Dr. Shuster and Dr. Perkins, for coming here this afternoon and giving us these enlightening statements to help clarify some of the points in relation to UNESCO.

With that, the subcommittee stands adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 4:20 p. m., the subcommittee adjourned to reconvene at the call of the chairman.)

# INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS

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WEDNESDAY, MARCH 17, 1954

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL  
ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:40 a. m., Hon. Chester E. Merrow (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. MERROW. The committee will be in order.

This is a meeting of the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. We have been holding hearings on the specialized agencies of the U. N.

This morning, we have several witnesses. Our first one is Mr. Max McCullough, UNESCO relations staff of the Department of State. We have the chairman of the full committee with us.

Mr. McCullough, you may proceed in your own way. Perhaps you have a statement you would like to make to the subcommittee.

## STATEMENT OF MAX McCULLOUGH, UNESCO RELATIONS STAFF, DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Mr. McCULLOUGH. When the subcommittee held hearings last summer, a number of members of the United States National Commission for UNESCO presented testimony to the subcommittee, and they did a rather thorough job of covering a description of what UNESCO is and what UNESCO does. I won't attempt to go back over that ground.

I would simply like to fill in briefly some of the gaps in the testimony of some of those witnesses and to supplement some of the things that Dr. George Shuster and Dr. John Perkins said to the subcommittee last Thursday. Is that agreeable?

Mr. MERROW. That is agreeable. Go ahead, Mr. McCullough.

Mr. McCULLOUGH. The Secretary of States does three things to carry out the terms of the legislation which established the United States National Commission for UNESCO, and which provided for the participation of the United States in the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.

First, the Secretary appoints a National Commission for UNESCO, as required by Public Law 565 of the 2d session of the 79th Congress. This is a group of 100 distinguished citizens, 60 of whom represent national volunteer organizations and 40 of whom represent State and local governments, the Federal Government, and the public at large.

This National Commission, as Dr. Shuster has pointed out, is very representative of the American people. It is a cross section of American life.

The Secretary, secondly, has appointed a staff in the Department of State called the UNESCO relations staff, which has the responsibility for keeping up with the activities of the international organization, for keeping in communication with the international organization, and for serving as the Secretariat of the National Commission.

The Secretary also appoints delegations to the General Conference of UNESCO which, as you know, is the governing body. On the first delegation appointed to the General Conference in 1946, the chairman of this subcommittee was one of the members along with another Member of the Congress, Senator James Murray, representing the second political party.

This system of having a National Commission for UNESCO and having a unit in the Department of State which maintains communication with UNESCO has permitted this Government and the citizens who are interested in following UNESCO affairs to keep in fairly close touch with what is going on in the organization.

We have attached to the Embassy in Paris a counselor for UNESCO affairs, who is in daily touch with the members of the Secretariat in Paris, which is the headquarters of UNESCO. He sends back to this Government the requests that are made to the member states, for some kind of action, such as requests which the Director General of UNESCO makes for reports of various kinds, requests he makes for suggestions on American personnel to serve on missions which the organization sends out, and that kind of thing.

Mr. Charles Thomson who is our present counselor on UNESCO affairs in Paris, also communicates the viewpoint of this Government to the Director General of UNESCO, and through him, to the Secretariat, so that we do have this two-way channel of communication with the international organization.

I mention these matters as background for some of the other comments I would like to make, Mr. Chairman. Particularly, I would like to comment at this point on some of the criticisms that have been made of UNESCO, and chiefly, I would like to comment on the criticism or the charge that UNESCO advocates world government and that it advocates citizenship in such a world government and that as a corollary to these activities, it tends to divert American school-children from national loyalties and from the love of their own country.

The General Conference of UNESCO, as I have said, is the policymaking body. Dr. George Shuster, last Thursday, left with the subcommittee a set of resolutions of the General Conference which were adopted a year ago at the seventh session. There is nothing to be found in the declarations and policies of the General Conference in its first 7 sessions and in its 2 special sessions that would give any support to the charge that UNESCO advocates world government or world citizenship. There is nothing to be found in the resolutions which are adopted by the Conference, or any of the policy statements which would give any credence to such charge.

Further, there is an executive board elected by the General Conference which has the responsibility for executing the program of



UNESCO, and it guides the Director General and the Secretariat in the execution of the program. We have been unable to find anything in any of the minutes or resolutions of the Executive Board that would give any support to the charge that UNESCO advocates world government or world citizenship, in a political sense.

And we have not been able to find any declarations of any of the persons who have served as Directors General that would give support to these charges. I would add, Mr. Chairman, that the experience of the United States delegation to the General Conference—an experience which you have shared—would indicate that other people who come to the Conference representing other areas of the world are just as concerned as the American delegation about the preservation of the sovereignty of their own governments.

As Dr. Shuster said last Thursday, UNESCO is not a government, nor any kind of super-government. It is simply an organization in which a number of sovereign states have agreed to cooperate for their mutual benefit.

We find in these sessions of the General Conference, in talking with people of other countries, that none of them would be willing to surrender any of their sovereignty to an organization like UNESCO any more than we would, but it is interesting to note that we seem to be the only country that has expressed any concern about this matter.

Other member states, and the people who represent them, at least at the General Conference, seem quite clear in their understanding that UNESCO is not going to interfere in their internal affairs and is not going to do anything within their boundaries unless they call upon UNESCO to do something.

Mr. HAYS. When you say we are the only ones who have shown any concern, I take it you mean any anxiety about UNESCO forwarding that national citizenship.

Mr. McCULLOUGH. That is correct. So far as I have been able to find, no one else is afraid that UNESCO is going to deprive them of any of their sovereignty or interfere with their internal affairs in any way.

A good deal of misunderstanding has arisen in this country because a great many people have gained the impression that UNESCO is in the business of issuing textbooks and that it is in the business, also, of trying to get those textbooks used in the public schools of this country, for the purpose of advocating world government and world citizenship.

Now, Mr. Chairman, it is a fact that UNESCO just does not produce textbooks for its member states. It will, upon request, send a team of educational experts to a member state to assist in any educational problems that the member states may have. If that is to help develop a curriculum, or help develop a stronger fiscal administrative system for the public schools, or help in the preparation of textbooks, UNESCO may supply some assistance, or some expects for these purposes.

Further, UNESCO is engaged in its regional fundamental education centers in producing some teaching materials which you might describe as textbooks, pamphlets of a dozen pages or so, very elementary in character, which are for use with newly literate adults and for people who are just learning to read and write. But UNESCO has

not produced for use in this country, or in the United Kingdom, or in France, or in any of the other countries that have no need for such assistance, any textbooks for their use and have not attempted to place any textbooks in the schools of such countries.

I would like to say just a word, Mr. Chairman, about what UNESCO does produce, if it doesn't produce textbooks. It produces three kinds of publications primarily. First are reports of the meetings which UNESCO sponsors. These may be seminars, conferences, or other kinds of meetings. While I do not wish to introduce these for the record, since they are too voluminous, I would like to indicate the character of some of these publications.

Now, a great deal of misunderstanding has arisen in this country because of a series of seminars that UNESCO reported. A similar publication is this one, here, which is the report of symposium held in Ankara, Turkey, on arid zone hydrology.

This symposium was for the purpose of considering how water can be conserved and utilized in the arid zones of the world, and this is a problem in which the people of this country, and particularly the people of the southwestern part of the country, have a great interest. Some experts from this country participated in this meeting and read papers.

Without going into the scientific content of this, Mr. Chairman, I exhibit this simply to show that UNESCO reports on many kinds of meetings that it holds, as it is obligated to do. This is a report that is similar to the reports that have raised so much criticism in this country, except that it is in the field of science, instead of in the field of education. This is not a policy expression of UNESCO's. It is a report of what a lot of experts said about how to conserve and utilize underground water in desert areas.

Mr. MERROW. And they requested the seminar, did they not?

Mr. McCULLOUGH. Yes, sir. The Government of Turkey invited UNESCO to set up a seminar in that area, and the General Conference of UNESCO authorized the seminar to be set up and a report published about it.

Mr. MERROW. And UNESCO doesn't go anywhere unless it is requested?

Mr. McCULLOUGH. Yes, sir.

The second type of publication is a series of periodicals which have as their purpose the exchange of information among the people of the member states. To cite only one of those, I would show this International Social Science Bulletin, which publishes social science information, articles, and papers written by people in all parts of the world for the purpose of exchanging information in this specialized field. It isn't a publication primarily for the expression of UNESCO's views. It is a publication in which a lot of people express views. They are the views of the authors, just as the publication, Foreign Affairs, publishes material written by a great many people. The magazine Foreign Affairs, or its publishers, The Council on Foreign Relations, doesn't take responsibility for what their authors state.

The third kind of publication is a series of manuals and technical reports. The manuals are for the purpose of supplying information that will be helpful to the member states in carrying out programs that are related to education, science, the arts, and mass communications.

Here is a volume called *Study Abroad*. This is published in this single volume in French, Spanish, and English. That is why the volume is so large. This lists 45,000 fellowships and scholarships in more than 100 countries and territories around the globe, and it has proved to be the most authoritative and comprehensive listing of opportunities for study in all parts of the world that has been published.

Mr. MERROW. How was this made available? Did UNESCO sell it?

Mr. McCULLOUGH. Yes, sir. UNESCO sends this to its sales agents. I believe they are listed, perhaps, in the back part of the book. They are in about fifty-odd countries. These are then offered for sale at \$2 each. I have forgotten what the cost of this publication is, \$2.75 or something of that kind. Even these books are not distributed in quantity, free, by UNESCO. They are for sale.

Mr. MERROW. Is this the first time a thing like this has been done?

Mr. McCULLOUGH. This is the first time that an international directory of opportunities for fellowships and scholarships has been published, so far as I know.

American universities find this of great use. Our own Government's exchange-of-persons programs under the Fulbright and the Smith-Mundt Acts make great use of this.

It is especially helpful for those countries which don't have as much access to fellowships and scholarships as our own people might have.

Another example is this one, *A Manual of Traveling Exhibitions*. You might say, "Why did UNESCO get into that field?" The setting up of exhibitions of works of art and of scientific materials is an important function in exchange of knowledge across national boundaries. What we have here is simply a step-by-step spelling out of how you protect such materials, how you assemble, package, and ship in order to avoid damage and to secure the shipping at minimum cost and minimum insurance rates.

This is written by an American, Mrs. Elodie Courter Osborn, who was formerly associated with the Museum of Modern Art in New York.

This has one value, perhaps, Mr. Chairman, other than the technical information that it presents. Nine countries, or the institutions and people in nine countries, contributed to this work. There are 33 contributions in it; 19 of the contributors are from the United States; 13 are from the 8 other countries.

This is one of the ways in which American influence abroad is usefully expressed, and this kind of influence is generally appreciated.

I have mentioned still another kind of publication, Mr. Chairman; that is technical reports. Now, this is not the manual, but a study of a particular set of problems which is published by technicians who are concerned with the problems. I have here a volume called *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change*. This was prepared by the World Federation for Mental Health, in cooperation with UNESCO, and edited by Margaret Mead.

This book is for the purpose of providing some information to people going to other countries in the world to engage in any kind of technical assistance program, or to engage in business ventures that require contact with the culture and with the people of other countries. This volume has been the most popular thing UNESCO has published. Although it was published only in the fall of last year, the edition

is already sold out and a reprint is in process, with a great many demands for it.

For example, the Foreign Operations Administration has bought a substantial number of copies, as have the Department of Agriculture and some of the foundations, such as the Rockefeller Foundation, which has programs in a number of areas in the world.

Mr. Chairman, I don't want to dwell on this unless there are some questions. I merely wanted to indicate what UNESCO is doing in the field of publications.

I would add one other comment, Mr. Chairman. That is, that the delegation to the general conference which was held last July did file a report and, as you know, that report was introduced into the Congressional Record on January 7 by Senator Thye of Minnesota. That report does substantiate what I have been saying to the subcommittee, that is, that the delegation appointed by the President to look into UNESCO matters last July did not find any support for the charge that UNESCO advocates world government or world citizenship.

Mr. MERROW. That is the Salomon report; is it not?

Mr. McCULLOUGH. That is the Salomon report.

Secretary Dulles did comment on this report when it was filed last summer, Mr. Chairman, and here are his comments, expressed in a message to the Fourth National Conference which was held out in Minneapolis. I would like to submit that for the record, if I may.

Mr. MERROW. That will be included in the record.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

MESSAGE TO THE FOURTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE UNITED STATES NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR UNESCO FROM JOHN FOSTER DULLES, SECRETARY OF STATE

SEPTEMBER 15, 1953.

I wish that I could be at your meetings because the United States National Commission for UNESCO, and its Fourth National Conference—both examples of the high degree of citizen responsibility in a free republic—are working for peace and advancement.

The Department of State appreciates the contribution being made by the officers, members, "alumni," and organizations of the National Commission in improving our understanding of and participation in world affairs.

You and your Government have supported the principles of UNESCO and constantly work to strengthen and improve the UNESCO program. With this in mind, the President asked his delegates to the recent special session of the UNESCO General Conference to explore and consult in Paris with the representatives of other governments, the individual members of UNESCO's Executive Board, and the international Secretariat.

I want to share with you—as an example of our continuous study in international collaboration—the conclusions transmitted in July by this distinguished delegation—Irving Salomon of California, chairman; Mrs. Elizabeth Heffelfinger of Minnesota, and President John A. Perkins of the University of Delaware. The delegation reported that:

1. The top officers in the Secretariat, both Americans and non-Americans, who are responsible for administration and program execution, are doing so with fidelity to UNESCO's aims and purposes.

2. The influences which predominate in the Organization derive from a full regard for the human rights and fundamental freedoms affirmed in the charter of the United Nations.

3. UNESCO does not advocate world government, or world citizenship in the political sense. The United States delegation found no official expression of the General Conference, the Executive Board, the Director General, or the Secretariat that gives the slightest support to this charge. They found no fear on

this point among the representatives of other governments who, on the contrary, find it difficult to comprehend the American fear on this matter.

4. The delegation reported that UNESCO does not attempt, directly or indirectly, to undermine national loyalties or to encourage the substitution of loyalty to and love for a supranational authority for loyalty to and love for one's own country, as has been alleged in some quarters.

5. The delegates reaffirmed that the official bodies and the personnel of UNESCO observe the provision of the UNESCO constitution which prohibits UNESCO from interfering in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of member states. UNESCO does not attempt to interfere in the American school system.

6. The delegation could find no evidence of atheism or antireligious bias in any of UNESCO's work. I am happy to report to you these observations of the delegation.

The people of the United States do gain or can gain many valuable benefits from their participation in UNESCO. The advancement by UNESCO of human welfare through education, science, and culture promotes international understanding which contributes to peace.

Mr. McCULLOUGH. With these facts about the publications of UNESCO, you might wonder why the controversy such as that which arose in California could occur. I have searched the record, Mr. Chairman, without finding an account of what actually happened in California, and if you would wish to take the time, I would like to tell briefly what the steps were which led to the California controversy, and what happened out there.

Mr. MERROW. Yes, go ahead.

Mr. McCULLOUGH. Shortly after the creation of the United Nations, the city school system of Los Angeles, Calif., began using in its schools materials about the United Nations and the specialized agencies as a part of its regular teaching program, as a part of its regular curriculum. The curriculum division of the Los Angeles schools said, in 1952:

Information about the United Nations and its specialized agencies, of which UNESCO is only one, and their activities, as determined by the member nations, constitutes an integral part of the study of history, geography, and government, along with other related topics.

It was this concept which caused the school system of Los Angeles to engage in teaching about the U. N., and UNESCO, along with its teaching about other governmental and civic matters.

As far back as 1946, in Los Angeles, there were school activities which were regarded by the teachers and the school administrators as what they called an approved UNESCO program. Now, that language has led to some misunderstanding, because someone reading that would think that UNESCO had approved this program. What they meant, as indicated by their reports, was a program of teaching about the work of this organization and of the U. N., that the school officials themselves had approved.

Mr. MERROW. Do you mean the school authorities who approved that?

Mr. McCULLOUGH. Yes, sir. The school authorities approved the so-called UNESCO program.

In October 1951 there was a public attack on UNESCO which began with a publication put out by the American Flag Committee. In a news letter, No. 13, entitled "A Report to the American People on UNESCO" this group characterized UNESCO as a subversive organization.

For the record, it should be noted that the founder and executive chairman of the American Flag Committee is W. Henry MacFarland, Jr. The files and records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities indicate that W. Henry MacFarland, Jr., was director of the Nationalist Action League of 876 Granite Street, Philadelphia, Pa. This is the same address as was carried on the letterhead of the American Flag Committee.

The Nationalist Action League was cited by the Attorney General as a Fascist organization in a list furnished to the Loyalty Review Board which was released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission on April 27, 1949.

Now the article of the American Flag Committee on UNESCO was inserted in the Congressional Record on October 18, 1951, by former Congressman John T. Wood, of Idaho, in a rebuttal inserted in the Congressional Record in April 1952 Congressman A. S. J. Carnahan of Missouri, a member of this committee, characterized the American Flag Committee document as a willful distortion. Mr. Carnahan submitted a copy of his statement to this subcommittee on the 11th of March.

Soon after the American Flag Committee attack, a citizen of Los Angeles began a series of public addresses in Los Angeles attacking the school system and UNESCO. On October 24, 1951, she made a speech on Subversion in the Los Angeles Public Schools, in which the American Flag Committee charges against UNESCO were directed at the school system. As an example of this so-called subversion, she exhibited a pamphlet entitled "The 'E' in UNESCO." This is the publication mentioned by Dr. Shuster last Thursday, a publication prepared by teachers in the Los Angeles schools.

The American Flag Committee attack was based on quotations taken from a series of reports of international seminars that UNESCO had sponsored. However, the quotations included in the bulletin published by the American Flag Committee were taken out of context and did not factually represent the content of those reports. However, the seminar reports, which were published by UNESCO, were not textbooks as was alleged, and they were not being used in the Los Angeles public schools. What was being used in the Los Angeles public schools was a publication which the curriculum division of those schools had prepared itself. This is called The E in UNESCO, and it was by linking The E in UNESCO, which was an official publication of the Los Angeles schools and which was in use, with a publication which had been criticized by the American Flag Committee, which was not in use, that the confusion was created in the Los Angeles community that led to a substantial amount of controversy.

The curriculum division of the Los Angeles schools has this to say about The E in UNESCO, which was its publication:

In 1949 the preparation of a teachers manual entitled "The 'E' in UNESCO" was initiated and subsequently developed in the usual manner and through the usual procedure employed in the production of curriculum materials for use in the Los Angeles city schools. As is generally known such materials are developed by committees of teachers, principals, and supervisors. This manual contains suggestions and reference materials that might be helpful to teachers in teaching about world affairs. The teachers could take, or not take, use, or not use, the materials in the manual.

Now, the nature of these accusations against the city schools immediately stirred up the Los Angeles community. As the accusations were picked up and repeated, more people joined in a campaign to do what they described as taking UNESCO out of the school system.

This demand to take UNESCO out of the school system, where UNESCO had never been, of course, added to the heat generated by the controversy.

During this period, there was little or no attempt, unfortunately, by the people who knew the facts to correct this misinformation and misinterpretation, which was being spread by a group of citizens opposed generally to international cooperation. Even today, there is a great part of the public in Los Angeles, unfortunately, that still has the impression that The E in UNESCO was, in fact, a UNESCO publication rather than of the Los Angeles schools.

Mr. MERROW. Was this published under the aegis of UNESCO? Was UNESCO's seal on it, or was it entirely separate?

Mr. McCULLOUGH. UNESCO never saw it, had nothing to do with it, didn't sanction it, didn't know about it. This is simply one effort in one community to relate some of the teaching to an international organization, or several international organizations.

Mr. MERROW. I see.

Mr. McCULLOUGH. The controversy came before the board of education in Los Angeles in a matter of a few days after it began, and on October 26, 1951, the board was asked to withdraw teaching about U. N. and UNESCO, from the schools. That is, the board was requested to cease using any material that referred to the U. N., or UNESCO, and to withdraw the so-called UNESCO program from their schools. As a result of this controversy, the teachers' manual The E in UNESCO was withdrawn for review by a school committee on January 9, 1952. The curriculum division of the school system decided that the book—

should be subjected to review in the usual manner by professional committees to determine whether: (a) The manual should be withdrawn permanently, or (b) continue to be used after any modifications had been made in accordance with recommendations by the reviewing committee.

During the period of review, the campaign of criticism in the schools intensified a good deal. In April and July 1952, individuals and groups appeared before the board of education to speak both for and against teaching about the United Nations and UNESCO in the schools.

In April it was announced that the city school system would no longer participate in a national essay contest on the United Nations which is sponsored annually by the American Association for the United Nations, and participated in by schools, generally, over the country.

On July 24, 1952, the curriculum division reported to the school board on the study of world affairs in the schools, including information about the United Nations and its specialized agencies, which this division had been requested to undertake.

After a complete analysis of The E in UNESCO the report of the curriculum division recommended that—

The book should continue to be available to the teachers in the Los Angeles city schools, after certain revisions. These are the revisions which normally come after any curriculum guide has been introduced for a period of time, due to teacher reactions or changing world developments.

The curriculum division then made the following summary at the conclusion of its report:

We recommend that the city school system of Los Angeles continue their program in reference to the study of world affairs, including information about the United Nations and its specialized agencies as explained in this memorandum. Because: (1) The American people, young and old, must be informed about the world and concerned about its problems, in order to be intelligent participants in modern life, and (2) because our Government is a member of the U. N. and UNESCO and we are vitally interested in knowing what our Government does at home and abroad, and (3) because informed citizens constitute our strongest bastions of defense of our priceless freedoms in our cherished country.

I have this report, Mr. Chairman, which taken together with the documents Dr. Shuster submitted, would, I think, complete the record of the actions taken by the officials of the schools (out there) in Los Angeles. I will submit that for the record, if it is agreeable.

Mr. Morrow. It will be included in the record.

(The information referred to follows:)

MEMORANDUM TO THE BOARD OF EDUCATION FROM THE CURRICULUM DIVISION OF THE LOS ANGELES CITY SCHOOLS ON THE STUDY OF WORLD AFFAIRS IN THE SCHOOLS, INCLUDING INFORMATION ABOUT THE UNITED NATIONS AND ITS SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

INTRODUCTION TO REPORT ON THE STUDY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

One of the primary purposes of our schools has always been the building of effective, loyal, American citizenship. The schools help pupils to become better citizens through understanding not only our own country but also the world about them. This memorandum pertains to a relatively small but important segment of the total curriculum of the Los Angeles city schools. It should be understood clearly that our schools deal with world affairs in the same manner as they deal with the curriculum as a whole. It is not a separate subject or course but is related to pertinent phases of the curriculum. There is no espousing of a cause, no promotion of a biased point of view, no slanting of an instructional program towards some attitudes that are sought to be established through the processes of propaganda or otherwise. We take no position one way or another on the political implications involved. We teach about these subjects as we deal with many similar subjects in the day-to-day program of the schools. This segment of our curriculum is there because not to include it in 1952 would be a disservice to the boys and girls in the schools. They have a right to a well-rounded education such as will fit them to deal intelligently with the day in which they do and will live.

I. WORLD AFFAIRS

The curriculum of the Los Angeles city schools has continuously through the years, as a part of the study of America and its place in the world, included provision for the study of the various countries of the world, their problems, their conditions of life, their political systems, and the habits, manners, and customs of their people. This is done on a factual basis fitted to the successive stages of the development of the student.

To give effect to this curriculum the school system provides unbiased history, geography, and civics textbooks, library books, newspapers, current events magazines, audiovisual aids, maps and globes, and suggested outlines for radio and television programs on world affairs of our own country and the world. The young people of today have available almost unlimited communication resources in their homes and elsewhere. The schools help them learn how to use these resources for securing a breadth and depth of knowledge and understanding that far exceed the comparatively limited horizons of the past.

During the past school year no textbook, or magazine, or other instructional materials for the students have been removed from circulation because they contained discussions of world affairs. Our textbook committees, who recommend all materials of instruction, are very careful that all presentations of world affairs



be on as factual and objective a basis as possible. They make an effort to secure history textbooks especially that do provide accurate, up-to-date information on world conditions and problems.

At the same time, the curriculum in world affairs has not displaced in any way the study of United States history and the United States Constitution, State and local government, American institutions and ideals. American institutions and ideals are taught in all grades of the elementary schools, culminating in intensive study of United States history and geography in grades 5 and 6. Every junior high school requires a minimum of three semesters of United States history, geography, and government, including the study of the United States Constitution. Every senior high school also requires a minimum of three semesters of United States history, geography, and government, including the study of the United States Constitution. This makes a total of six semesters required in the secondary schools. Junior colleges require at least six semester hours of the same subjects. There is a constant exchange among teachers and schools of the techniques for effective teaching of love of country, with the central office facilitating the exchange of these techniques. In developing an adequate program of world affairs, attention to American life has not been and will not be reduced or de-emphasized in any way.

It is recommended that the Los Angeles city schools continue to emphasize, along with their extensive and intensive program of study of our own country, a consideration of world affairs because--

1. Education should neither fence in or fence out important factual information.

2. A strong American is one who knows and understands the world. He studies and is concerned about world conditions.

3. Only informed citizens can and will maintain American freedoms and security in a perilous world.

4. The most effective weapon for security and national defense is knowledge and understanding about the world in which we live--facts are the only intelligent basis for thought and action.

5. The American way of determining national policies requires a constant examination of alternative courses of action and a constant reexamination of the direction of our action as new facts are brought to light in a fast-changing world. Pupils must learn how to find and use facts in order to draw intelligent conclusions in the years ahead.

6. There is general agreement that teaching must be in keeping with the guaranty of freedom of thought and inquiry in our Bill of Rights. Concern is felt by all that the freedom to learn must be preserved. The essence of good teaching requires that especially in the field of world affairs, where opinions are often divided, the nonpartisan and objective approach must be maintained because the public schools belong to the whole people and they cannot proceed on any other basis. The difficulty of maintaining the nonpartisan and objective approach, often in the face of pressure groups and interests and public misunderstanding of the role of teaching, must not deter the schools from meeting their professional obligation to teach about our country and its relation to the world of which it is a part.

## II. THE UNITED NATIONS AND UNESCO

By official action of the Government of the United States our country is a member of the United Nations and our country is a member of UNESCO. The Los Angeles City schools do not have separate courses of study on the United Nations and UNESCO. There seems to be some misconception on this point. Information about the United Nations and its specialized agencies, of which UNESCO is only one, and their activities as determined by the member nations, constitutes an integral part of the study of history, geography, and government along with other related topics. The pupils, at appropriate grade levels, discuss the weaknesses as well as the accomplishments of these agencies. At the high school and junior college levels the attitudes of Russia toward the United Nations are studied and appraised, as is also the fact that Russia has not joined UNESCO.

In teaching about the activities of the United Nations and UNESCO, there is no attempt to develop loyalties to these agencies in the sense that the schools deliberately do help develop loyalty to our country. It should be emphasized again and again that the United Nations and UNESCO are agencies or instruments which our country has joined to help accomplish certain purposes. We

appraise their activities on the basis of whether they help us to effect the purposes for which we strive, principally freeing the world of aggression.

Because the United Nations and UNESCO do bring us into the field of world affairs, they have become controversial subjects in the minds of some who do not differentiate between the organizations and their activities that are determined by the member nations. Some citizens and organizations have suggested that in teaching about the United Nations and UNESCO and their activities our teachers might be advocating a world government in which we relinquish our national sovereignty. Nothing could be further from the truth! Nor are we teaching that we should establish "one world"! Nor is there to be one history of the world which must supplant our usual history books everywhere, including Los Angeles. It cannot be emphasized too often that the schools are not in the business of torch-bearing or propagandizing for causes. The schools are in the business of dissemination of objective information and the development of intelligent understanding of facts and their significance. The personnel of the Los Angeles City schools are loyal American citizens who love their country intensively and understandingly. They expect the people of our community to have confidence in their loyalty, in their common sense, and in their ability to exercise competent professional judgment in dealing with the pros and cons of controversial issues.

It is recommended that information and study about the United Nations and its specialized agencies, including UNESCO, and their activities should continue to be an integral part of the study of world affairs in the curriculum of the Los Angeles City schools with the following understanding:

1. This should be done in an objective manner as is true in dealing with other topics in history and government.
2. Particularly it should be made clear that teaching about the United Nations and UNESCO is not advocating world federation.
3. Our schools are committed unqualifiedly to undivided allegiance to the United States of America.
4. There should be increased emphasis on more effective teaching of American citizenship, including the study of America's place in world affairs. It should be made clear that appreciation of our American heritage should accompany the study of world affairs and is indeed an essential foundation for such study.

### III. THE E IN UNESCO

In 1949 the preparation of a teacher's manual entitled *The E in UNESCO* was initiated and subsequently developed in the usual manner and through the usual procedure employed in the production of curriculum materials for use in the Los Angeles city schools. As is generally known, such materials are developed by committees of teachers, principals, and supervisors. This manual contained suggestions and reference materials that might be helpful to teachers in teaching about world affairs. The teachers could take or not take, use or not use, the materials in the manual according to their individual judgment.

In the years since this teacher's manual was produced, there has developed an increasingly emotional atmosphere around the United Nations and some of its specialized agencies, particularly UNESCO. The schools deplored this trend. They found themselves affected by the controversies that developed around this subject in some areas of the country. It is significant that both major political parties have recently declared their support of the United Nations. It is likely that much of the opposition to including attention to the United Nations and UNESCO in the curriculum was and is confined to a small, highly vocal minority. But the public schools belong to them too. So, on January 9, 1952, it was decided the *The E in UNESCO* should be subject to review in the usual manner by professional committees to determine whether (a) the manual should be withdrawn permanently or (b) continue to be used after any modifications had been made in accordance with recommendations by the reviewing committee.

It should be kept in mind that *The E in UNESCO* is a teacher's manual and not a textbook for pupil use. The three committees appointed to review the manual, representing the elementary, junior high, and senior high school levels, have submitted their reports. In the main their recommendations involve the following:

1. *The E in UNESCO* should continue to be available to the teachers in the Los Angeles City schools as a teacher's guide, after certain revisions. These revisions are of a type which normally come after any curriculum guide has

been in use for a period of time, due to teacher reactions and to changing world developments.

2. Suggestions to teachers should be more fully keyed to the maturity levels of pupils in various groups.

3. If the Declaration of Human Rights is included for convenient reference as information on a current issue, it should be accompanied by certain prefatory statements indicating that clearly it is not something that is advocated in our teaching. A clear distinction should be made between the Declaration of Human Rights and the proposed Covenant of Human Rights. The history of the development of the Declaration of Human Rights, its present status, and the thinking of some of the proponents and opponents should be included.

4. The statement of "Policy on the Study of Current Public Problems" should be included in the manual.

5. Reference lists for teacher reading should be revised, in order that up-to-date facts and viewpoints may be included. Sources and purposes of references should be indicated. The distinction between references for teachers and materials authorized and made available for pupils should be easily recognizable to anyone reading or using the guide. Annotations should indicate references which are chiefly opinions rather than factual.

6. The title page and introduction should make it quite clear that this publication is designed to serve as resource material for teachers, and is not a pupil textbook.

7. The major emphases in the guide should be; understanding the world in which we live and its people; an objective and realistic approach to world problems through a study of international cooperation—the obstacles to it, its strengths, and its weaknesses. The purposes and methods of teaching distinctions between fact and opinion should be highlighted.

8. More detailed and specific revisions of The E in UNESCO, in keeping with the recommendations of the advisory reviewing committees, should be developed by working curriculum committees.

It is recommended that curriculum committees be appointed to revise The E in UNESCO in keeping with the point of view expressed in this memorandum and with the suggestions of the reviewing committees. In the meantime, the study of America's place in world affairs, and the study of America's relations to the United Nations and its specialized agencies will continue to be a part of our curriculum. When the committees have completed specific revisions of the manual, which should be before September 1, the revised material will be submitted to the board of education for approval before reprinting or further distribution of the manual to the teachers.

#### IV. IN SUMMARY

We recommend that the Los Angeles city schools continue their program in reference to the study of world affairs, including information about the United Nations and its specialized agencies, as explained in this memorandum—

1. Because the American people, young and old, must be informed about the world and concerned about its problems in order to be intelligent participants in modern life, and

2. Because our Government is a member of the United Nations and UNESCO and we are vitally interested in what our Government does at home and abroad, and

3. Because informed citizens constitute our strongest bastions of defense of our priceless freedoms and our cherished country.

**Mr. McCULLOUGH.** The curriculum division report only resulted in more intensive attacks because the basic problem had not been clarified. That is, there had been no public understanding of what the facts were in this controversy.

School board meetings were held August 14, 18, and 25, 1952. They were packed with citizens and organizations desiring to speak on both sides of this matter. At the final hearing on August 25, a number of eminent citizens of Los Angeles, including Paul Hoffman, former Administrator of the Economic Cooperation Administration, were booed and hissed for their advocacy of a teaching program that would include information about the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

Three days after this hearing, on August 28, 1952, the Los Angeles Board of Education passed three resolutions on this subject. One calls for the impartial and factual presentation of controversial matters in the school system. The second suggested the need for comprehensive policy which shall govern the superintendent and the staff in the production, publication, and distribution of guides, manuals, and similar materials.

The third resolution, ignoring the advice of the curriculum division, made permanent the earlier teacher withdrawal of The E in UNESCO.

These resolutions are very brief and I should like to submit them for the record.

Mr. MERROW. They will be included in the record.

(The information referred to is as follows:)

#### RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE LOS ANGELES BOARD OF EDUCATION ON AUGUST 28, 1952

##### RESOLUTION A

*Resolved*, That if controversial matters are presented, they shall be treated impartially and factually in the Los Angeles city school districts.

##### RESOLUTION B

*Resolved*, That this board shall undertake, as soon as practical, the formulation and adoption of a comprehensive policy which shall govern the superintendent and staff in the preparation, publication and distribution of guides, manuals, and similar materials intended for the direction and guidance of teachers in the Los Angeles city school districts; and that such policy shall include the provision that if controversial matters are presented they shall be treated impartially and factually.

##### RESOLUTION C

*Resolved*, That the temporary withdrawal of publication No. 498—The E in UNESCO—be made permanent.

Mr. McCULLOUGH. On September 4, 1952, the president of the board of education appointed three members of the board as a committee—to ascertain the extent to which, and the manner in which, the curriculum of the Los Angeles city schools was affected by the UNESCO program during the school year 1951-52.

The committee reported its findings to the full board on January 15, 1953, and made a series of recommendations. One of the statements made by the school board's own committee was this:

The committee finds that there is no evidence available to it to substantiate charges of advocacy of a one-world government by any of the teachers or other school personnel engaged in carrying on the UNESCO program in the schools.

As to the allegations that the UNESCO program had been substituted for or was detrimental to the established program of promoting patriotism and love of our own country, the committee found—There is no evidence to support the allegations of such substitution, or detrimental effects.

The board of education committee made a series of recommendations which urged that teaching about the U. N. and the specialized agencies should be continued in the school system. This was the committee of the board of education. But they recommended that this program should avoid undue emphasis on labors or special activities.

For example, the UNESCO program which might create the false interpretation that certain ideas or activities are being given emphasis out of proportion to their significance in the entire educational program.

As you recall, Mr. Chairman, the full report of this committee of the board of education was submitted by Dr. Shuster, on the 11th of this month.

On January 19, 1953, the board of education adopted two resolutions which stressed the importance of continued teaching about the U. N. system, but which discontinued the use of a "UNESCO label." for this program. These resolutions were also submitted by Dr. Shuster.

On January 21, 1953, the president of the Los Angeles Board of Education issued an open letter to teachers, to members of parent teacher associations and other interested citizens on the subject of teaching about the United Nations and UNESCO. In this open letter he reviewed the major points in the school board's decisions and stated that the policy of the Los Angeles City Board of Education was in complete accord with the official position of the educational policies commission of the National Education Association of the United States and of the American Association of School Administrators respecting teaching about the U. N. and UNESCO in America's public schools. This policy statement was submitted by one of the witnesses last summer, Mr. Chairman, and it is found in those hearings.

I would like, however, to submit the text of this letter which went out from the president of the Los Angeles Board of Education, which did help to the extent that it reached citizens, and helped citizens to clarify some of this misunderstanding.

Mr. MERROW. That will be included in the record.

(The letter referred to is as follows:)

LOS ANGELES CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION,  
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,  
*Los Angeles, Calif., January 21, 1953.*

#### UNESCO

On open letter to teachers, members of parent-teacher associations and other interested citizens on the subject of teaching about the United Nations and UNESCO. (The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization.)

It is a matter of very special concern to the board of education and its administrative staff that teachers, parent-teacher associations, and other interested citizens, understand the official position of the board of education respecting the UNESCO program in our schools.

There are three major points to the board's recent decision relating to the schools' UNESCO program.

First: In the future, there is to be no specialized UNESCO program taught in the city's schools. While it is clear that teaching about U. N. and UNESCO in Los Angeles has never promoted world government or diminished enthusiastic teaching of patriotism and love of country, nevertheless it was the board's judgment that overemphasis tends to result almost inevitably when a specialized UNESCO program is superimposed upon the overall school curriculum.

Second: The Los Angeles schools shall continue to offer students full information about the U. N. and UNESCO—their objectives and organization, their purposes and activities—in a factual and impartial manner. The aim of the public schools should be to present the facts about these international institutions in full and fair focus, without either disparaging their lofty objectives of promoting world peace through concerted action among sovereign nations and "building the defenses of peace in the minds of men," or, on the other hand, glossing over areas of imperfection and weakness.

Third: The Los Angeles schools shall continue to teach, and teach enthusiastically, the subjects of moral and spiritual values, human or intercultural relations, the brotherhood of man, and "other peoples in other lands. These subjects have always been taught in our schools. They were assimilated into the UNESCO program during the years 1946 to January 1952, when the UNESCO program flourished in our schools. In the future, these vital subjects of instruction shall be disassociated from UNESCO and taught as they have been traditionally taught, that is, as part of our American heritage.

It is timely to point out that it is not the prerogative of the governing board of a public-school system to pass judgment upon the U. N. or UNESCO. By act of the Congress of the United States, our beloved country is a fully participating member of these international institutions. The board of education's action concerned itself only with the matter under its jurisdiction, namely, the UNESCO program in our city schools.

Teachers and members of parent-teacher associations will be interested in the January 15, 1953, statement outlining the official position of the educational policies commission of the National Educational Association and of the American Association of School Administrators respecting teaching about the United Nations and UNESCO in America's public schools. That official position, in my opinion, stands in complete accord with the recently enunciated policy of the Los Angeles City Board of Education.

Cordially yours,

PAUL BURKE,

*President, Los Angeles City Board of Education.*

NOTE.—This is a preliminary statement. Copies of official board minutes and complete documents will be distributed in the near future.

Mr. McCULLOUGH. I believe this record does disclose that the facts of the Los Angeles controversy are not as they had been presented in a good many parts of the country, unfortunately, and the misunderstandings that were created out there and that have been felt in other parts of the country have undoubtedly had an adverse effect on public attitudes toward UNESCO in the United States. I believe that this committee, in bringing out as much information as it can about this misunderstanding, can do a real service toward clarifying this controversy and the situation that developed as a result of it.

One of the areas in which there were repercussions from the Los Angeles controversy was Houston, Tex. It was so for a time that it was difficult for any of the civic clubs to invite a speaker on the United Nations or the specialized agencies and gain a respectful hearing for him. A good many people who did speak were treated discourteously, as some of the people in Los Angeles were treated.

However, as you know, that is a pretty alert community and the Houston Post was very much interested because of the criticisms of UNESCO, in trying to dig into the facts.

The Houston Post communicated with the New York Herald Tribune and asked the Herald Tribune if it would assign a writer to write a series of articles for publication in the Houston Post, about how UNESCO was conceived, how it developed, and what it is engaged in doing, and try to throw some additional light on the controversy about it, which would be of concern to citizens in that community.

The New York Herald Tribune News Service did assign a writer, Mr. William G. Wing. He wrote a series of articles and they are quite brief. I think they would be very illuminating for the record. It is about as brief and accurate a factual statement about how UNESCO has developed, as one would find. It does point out the role that the late beloved Senator Taft had in the creation of the organization, about the role that Senator Mundt had in it, and the role the chairman of this subcommittee had in it, as well as contributions

that Senator Fulbright and others who were associated with the U. N. in those early days had.

Mr. MERROW. You feel it would be helpful?

Mr. McCULLOUGH. I believe it would be helpful if it doesn't burden the record.

Mr. MERROW. All right, it will be included in the record.

(The information referred to is as follows:)

[From the Houston (Tex.) Post, February 16, 1954]

#### UNESCO: THE IDEA—GROUP'S AIM WAS TO FIGHT IGNORANCE

(By William G. Wing, New York Herald Tribune News Service)

NEW YORK.—Of all the international devices that came out of the last war to improve the world, none has kicked up more ruckuses or raised more suspicions in this country than the agency called UNESCO. At the same time, not many people know much about it.

How many in fact, can tell you the first thing—which is that UNESCO stands for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization?

Or the second thing—that it's one of the independent, specialized agencies of the United Nations, like the International Monetary Fund or the World Health Organization, and that the reason for starting it was to try to nip new wars in the bud?

The idea was that educators and scholars and artists were to unite to fight the ignorance and prejudice that breed misunderstanding among nations.

The founders followed the line of reasoning that ignorance can lead to mistrust and mistrust to fights. Some of the first-class rows that developed in this country over their baby seem to bear this out. Ignorance has played its part.

There is evidence that while the word "UNESCO" was flying through the air like shoes at a dogfight nobody concerned really knew much about what he was praising or damning.

That's not the whole story, of course. UNESCO has had pokes taken at it by persons who knew a great deal about it. It has, in fact, been a child of controversy.

Still, it remains a little-known agency and it's worth knowing more about—where it came from, what it's done, why it's been attacked and whether it's doing any good.

#### MANY IDEAS FROM UNITED STATES EDUCATORS

One of the surprising things you find when you dig to locate where the roots start is that so many of them begin in this country. Many of the ideas that gave UNESCO shape and a great part of the push that got it going came from American educators.

The story starts in the early days of World War II. People were singing *When the Lights Go on Again All Over the World* and swearing they'd never let such a mess occur again.

There was a lot of thought about how ignorance and the wrong kind of teaching helped start wars.

People were shocked at the way in Axis countries had been conditioned through warped teaching to fight. Communications people were sure that the free flow of information would go a long way toward making future wars impossible. And educators in war-torn countries were wondering where they'd get help to rebuild their schools and libraries when the fighting was over.

In London in 1942 the British organized a conference of education ministers of nine exiled Allied governments to start planning so that the moment the enemy was run out, they could get their schools going again. The United States and Russia were invited to take part, but declined and sent only observers.

These meetings continued regularly. By 1944, the State Department was interested enough to send a delegation from the United States, who helped work up a program for rehabilitating war-wrecked schools. Russia took no part in this work.

Meanwhile, in the United States, a strong current of opinion was forming. Private groups and individuals in widely scattered parts of the country were

proposing that some sort of international clearinghouse for educational and cultural matters be established at the end of the war.

It wasn't a new idea. It had been proposed in France as early as 1817 and the League of Nations had had such an office. But these new proposals, generally, were for a more fundamental kind of agency that would try to raise the world's general level of literacy and attack the germs of prejudice.

#### FIRST MEETING AT HARPERS FERRY

The late Dean Grayson N. Kefauver, of Stanford University, organized a series of meetings of educational groups to consider the matter. The first was held at Harpers Ferry, W. Va., in 1943. Later ones included educators from a score of foreign countries.

In New York, a lawyer named James Marshall began a forceful campaign to get the country to support an international office of education. Mr. Marshall, a fighter for educational reforms on the New York City Board of Education, organized business, church, and labor leaders to press for this proposal.

Another powerful force working in the same direction was the National Education Association under Dr. William G. Carr.

These and the other various groups eventually came together to work out a common plan of action.

A first principle agreed on was that the international office would have no right to interfere with any national school system. This was an outgrowth, in part, of the strong feelings most American educators had about keeping the Federal Government's hands off the local school systems. It also came from the practical realization that few governments would subscribe to any agency that might meddle in their internal affairs.

The opposition to the principle came from educators who wanted a means of controlling German and Japanese reeducation after the war.

A second principle was that the office would be concerned with the broad mass of peoples and not the intelligentsia alone. Mr. Marshall among others, wanted at all costs to avoid the tophat approach of the League of Nations Institute for Intellectual Cooperation.

Mr. Marshall backed and pushed through a third principle, which was that a widely representative group of Americans be organized to link the new agency with the American people as a whole. It was also, Mr. Marshall said the other day, to keep America's part in the agency out of the hands of pressure groups and the State Department bureaucracy.

At some point along here, too, the concept of the agency was being broadened to include the term "cultural," which would serve as a catchall for artists and literati.

Then events began moving rapidly. The free nations were gathering in San Francisco in 1945 to form an association, and along with all the streams of ideas for a better world, the movement for an international educational and cultural agency converged on it.

(This is the first of a series of articles on the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. Wednesday: The start.)

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[From the Houston (Tex.) Post, February 17, 1954]

#### UNESCO: THE START—SOLONS GAVE BOOSTER SHOT TO FOUNDERS

(By William G. Wing, New York Herald Tribune News Service)

New York.—In the spring of 1945, the eyes and hopes of the Americans who had been working to start some kind of international, educational, and cultural agency were fastened on San Francisco where the founding conference of the United Nations Organization was in swing.

But while they were watching the west coast, the biggest immediate boost for their plans came from Capitol Hill on the east coast.

The late Senator Robert A. Taft, Republican, Ohio, Senator William Fulbright, Democrat, Arkansas, and Representative (now Senator) Karl Mundt, Republican, South Dakota, sponsored resolutions which were passed by their respective houses of Congress urging the United States to participate in establishing "a permanent international organization for educational and cultural affairs."



It was the result principally of the earnest spadework done by a New York lawyer named James Marshall, who had formed an organization of prominent persons to back his idea and had got Senator Taft to agree to push a resolution.

But Congress' action was theatrical in its timing. It created a sensation among the American advisers at San Francisco.

These advisers had been arguing their heads off against any inclusion in the charter of the United Nations of so much as mention of the words "education" or "culture" on the grounds that Congress then wouldn't touch it with a 10-foot pole.

"We were interrupted in our arguments," one of these advisers said the other day, "by the noise of Congress beating the drum and whooping it up for culture and education."

#### APPROACH TO EDUCATION PLAN WIDENED

Needless to say, a rapid change was made in American advice. Both education and culture appeared eventually in the charter.

A second result of the resolutions was that the State Department immediately broadened its concept of the proposed educational organization.

Up until then it had been thinking of an agency to rebuild school systems in the allied countries wrecked by wars—the kind of agency discussed by the exiled education ministers in London.

But now it accepted the ideas developed by American groups like Mr. Marshall's and Dean Grayson N. Kefauver's and Dr. William G. Carr's, who pictured a universal assemblage of scholars and artists to fight ignorance and mistrust among the peoples of the world.

The next step was to create an official place for such an agency within the United Nations.

The U. N.'s fathers decided that the world's economic and social problems should be handled, not by departments but by independent bodies whose only connection with the U. N. would be through negotiated agreements.

The stage was set at San Francisco.

The Chinese stepped forward and proposed that a specialized agency to handle educational and cultural affairs be established; the British, in association with the French, followed through with invitations, and in November 1945 delegates from more than 30 nations traveled to London to get things going. No Russians were among them.

It turned out to be the very model of an international conference. The Americans who were there still speak of the exhilaration of it, the burning desire by men of letters and arts and of many different tongues to band together for peace.

#### CONSTITUTION ACCORD ATTAINED QUICKLY

A constitution for UNESCO was agreed on in relatively quick time.

The preamble was the handiwork of two men: The French philosopher Etienne Gilson, who contributed his ideas of universal morality, and the American poet and Assistant Secretary of State, Archibald MacLeish, who contributed the language.

The rest of the constitution which evolved in committee, declared that the purpose of UNESCO was to promote "collaboration among the nations through education, science, and culture. \* \* \*" It also made the following point:

"With a view to preserving the independence, integrity, and fruitful diversity of the cultures and educational systems of the states members of this organization, the organization is prohibited from intervening in matters which are essentially within their domestic jurisdiction."

Later, the charge that UNESCO was meddling in the local school system was to spark fights in several American communities.

The constitution also included the American suggestion that national bodies be formed in each member country to cooperate with UNESCO. The United States National Commission for UNESCO under the leadership of Dr. Milton Eisenhower was to become highly active.

And so the delegates went home with a feeling of satisfaction—the arts and letters were to strike a blow for peace. The afterglow became almost incandescent in some quarters and produced wildly impractical promises by American friends of UNESCO—promises the organization never was intended to live up to.

This is the second in a series of five articles on UNESCO. Thursday: The First Step.

[From the Houston (Tex.) Post, February 18, 1954]

# UNESCO: THE FIRST STEP—AGENCY WAS TARGET FROM VERY START

(By William. G. Wing, New York Herald Tribune News Service)

NEW YORK.—The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization—UNESCO for short—got going under its own steam in Paris in November, 1946, a year after its constitution was written in London.

Congress already had approved membership for this country in the new specialized agency of the United Nations. A delegation of 5 Americans sailed for Paris with 2 congressional advisers, 5 alternates and a fine assortment of brains. Assistant Secretary of State William Benton was chairman.

Among the alternates was Dr. Milton Eisenhower, Ike's brother and then president of Kansas State College. Another was Chester A. Bowles, who, with Benton, had founded the colossal advertising agency of Benton & Bowles.

The congressional advisers were Senator James E. Murray, Democrat of Montana, and Representative Chester E. Merrow, Republican of New Hampshire.

They gathered with the delegates from 33 other countries in the Hotel Majestic to form the first general conference. Russia, which had no truck with the organization from the beginning, was still nowhere in sight, but its satellites, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia, were there.

The general conference elected an executive board of 18, who sat down to nominate the first Director General. At once, the board hit a snag.

It had been assumed the Director General would be an American and that the American would be Archibald MacLeish, poet, former Assistant Secretary of State, former Librarian of Congress, and a delegate.

## CONTROVERSIAL DR. HUXLEY NAMED

But Mr. MacLeish did not want the job. He was deeply moved by the appeals made to him by several delegations but felt even more strongly that his business was poetry and not administration.

With no other strong candidates in view, the discussions finally centered on the man who had headed UNESCO's interim commission, the brilliant and almost always controversial British biologist, Dr. Julian Sorrell Huxley.

Dr. Huxley had been making headlines and shocking the hidebound for years, disputing William Jennings Bryan on evolution and the Roman Catholic Church on birth control.

At one period he taught at Rice Institute in Houston, and at another directed the London Zoo. He was dismissed from the latter post in 1942.

There were objections on the board to Dr. Huxley. Some felt he was too flamboyant, or to radical or that his administrative experience (the zoo period) was too slim.

In the end, a compromise was arranged. Dr. Huxley would be Director General but would serve 2 years instead of the prescribed 6.

Dr. Huxley was installed and UNESCO was on its own.

By this time, the tide of public opinion in the United States had turned and was ebbing from bright-new-world schemes.

Dr. Huxley was not a man to calm the conservatives. He said UNESCO's role was to speed up the evolution of man, asserted that the final ideal was world political unity and even cast a slur on a type of American "exaggerated individualism."

By 1948, the Saturday Evening Post proclaimed: "UNESCO has acquired a reputation as a spawning ground for pink fish."

The agency also got labeled as the refuge for the domed but foggy head. Mostly this was due to its early enthusiasm to take on most of the problems in the whole realm of knowledge.

For instance, it was announced that UNESCO would study the effect of high altitudes on sex. It was also announced that the next general conference would be held in Mexico City (altitude 7,800 feet).

When the laughter subsided, nobody made great effort to explain that the high-altitude study wasn't a whim but a matter of life or death to Bolivia, a member country. Bolivian rams were sterile in their sky-high meadows and Bolivian peasants depended on the reproduction of sheep for their food supply.

## SOME IDEAS NEVER GET STARTED

UNESCO was taking its first steps. There were bound to be some stumbles and stubbed toes.

Some of the early proposals, announced with high hopes and cooed over at high-minded parties, never left the ground. Others misfired or fizzled.

The first project to raise the living standard of backward people by "fundamental education," which UNESCO agreed to take on in 1947 and completed a few months ago, had only questionable results.

It took place in Haiti's Marbial Valley, a site so wasted that it seems the best thing UNESCO could have done for the inhabitants would have been to say softly, "Pack up and get out."

But in the same early years, under the direction of Dr. Huxley and his successor, the Mexican Jaime Torres-Bodet, UNESCO took some sure and certain steps.

War-damaged school systems in European countries were helped, a practical scheme was adopted by which scholars in soft-currency countries could buy the books of hard-currency countries; efforts were begun to lower national barriers to the flow of news and culture and hundreds of learned people from all over the globe were brought together in seminars to hash over common problems.

This is the third in a series of articles on UNESCO. Friday:  
The Attack.

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[From the Houston (Tex.) Post, February 19, 1954]

## UNESCO: THE ATTACK—UNITED STATES SCHOOLS DRAWN INTO CONTROVERSY

(By William G. Wing, New York Herald Tribune News Service)

NEW YORK.—In the summer of 1948, 14 educators from 10 countries met at a castle in Podebrady, Czechoslovakia, to discuss how children under 13 could be given "a sense of international understanding." The meeting was arranged by UNESCO, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

UNESCO had been started by educators and scholars who hoped to halt future wars by increasing understanding among peoples. This seminar was to study ways youngsters could be kept from acquiring the prejudices and hates that had led to wars in the past.

When everyone had said his piece, the Swiss professor in charge wrote a summary of the general views. UNESCO printed it as No. 5 in a series of 10 pamphlets for teachers called *Towards World Understanding*.

The UNESCO monogram was on the cover but inside were the words: "This pamphlet is in no way an official expression of the views of UNESCO."

It covered all the ways the 14 educators could think of to train children from kindergarten up to think of themselves as members of the world community—brothers to the Balt and the Boer.

Nationalism, the educators decided, is the greatest obstacle to world-mindedness. Therefore, the teacher's job is to offset "the poisoned air of nationalism" the child breaths at home.

## NATIONALISM AND RED TREASON

Probably no one connected with it, expected the pamphlet to do more than inspire discussion in various ivy-clad halls and thereafter gather dust. If so, they were overlooking the fact that an antinationalism tract was being dropped into the United States during a great upsurge of nationistic feeling.

Besides, America was probably at the height of its shocked reaction to the revelations of Communist treason. And further, fights were brewing in a handful of communities over local school systems.

Into this explosive atmosphere then walked an individual who cheerfully scratched a match on the seat of his pants.

His name was W. Henry MacFarland, Jr., of Philadelphia, founder of the American Flag Committee. His former organization, the Nationalist Action Committee, had been cited as Fascist by the Attorney General in 1949.

The Flag Committee's newsletter of October 1951 carried "a report to the American People on UNESCO" beginning: "UNESCO \* \* \* is a subversive organization."

The report said UNESCO was carrying on a campaign to pervert American teachers so that they would destroy the loyalty of American children to their country "for the cause of political world government."

To back this up, it cited the series of pamphlets, "Towards World Understanding," and quoted extensively from No. 5, not always accurately. In fact, one sentence attributed to the pamphlet about undermining loyalty to the United States is a MacFarland original.

The full report was put into the Congressional Record by former Representative John T. Wood, of Idaho. Doctor Wood preceded it with a description of UNESCO as "the greatest and most malignant plot in history against the future of this country and its children's children."

A quarter-million reprints of the Record were mailed to editorial writers and commentators across the country and the MacFarland report became the handbook for attack on UNESCO.

The fiercest storm broke soon after in Los Angeles, which had the country's most ambitious program of teaching about UNESCO in the city schools. Centering on a booklet by Superintendent of Schools Alexander J. Stoddard, called *The E in UNESCO*, it covered 2 years with violent public meetings and bickerings.

#### COMMUNIST DOMINATION CHARGED

The protagonists were local organizations usually described as patriotic and a Beverly Hills woman named Florence Fowler Lyons.

The *E in UNESCO* was withdrawn. The final act of the school board was a carefully written policy statement which directed the public schools to teach students about the U. N. and UNESCO, since they "are contemporary facts of significance," but that "there shall be no official or unofficial UNESCO program in the Los Angeles city schools \* \* \*."

Presumably this means official Los Angeles program. UNESCO or the National Commission for UNESCO had no program for Los Angeles schools.

The same allegations of Communist domination and subversion were made about UNESCO in Texas school fights. Public school students in Houston, as the result of a dispute in which UNESCO figured, were prohibited from entering the annual U. N. essay contest.

Congress did one thing. On June 25, 1952, the Senate Appropriations Committee, headed by Senator Pat McCarran, Democrat of New Mexico, put a rider on an appropriations bill forbidding the use of any funds for an agency that advocated one-world government or world citizenship. This became law.

Senator McCarran said afterward the action was aimed at ending United States support for UNESCO.

The other bitter attacks on UNESCO in this country have come from the *Daily Worker*, which sees the agency as an arm of State Department imperialism.

#### Saturday: An Assessment

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[From the Houston (Tex.) Post, February 20, 1954]

#### UNESCO: AN ASSESSMENT—IKE'S INVESTIGATORS REPORT CLEAN BILL

(By William G. Wing, New York Herald Tribune News Service)

NEW YORK.—Disturbed by criticisms of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), President Eisenhower asked the three Americans going to a special UNESCO General Conference in Paris last July to look into the charges and report to him.

The three were Irving Salomon, of Escondido, Calif., a retired furniture manufacturer; Elizabeth Heffelfinger, the Republican National Committeewoman from Minnesota, and John A. Perkins, president of the University of Delaware. Previously Mr. Salomon had investigated UNESCO for the Ford Foundation.

The delegation stayed awhile at UNESCO's Paris headquarters after the conference studying the staff and their publications. Their final report gave UNESCO "a rather clean bill of health in answering the criticisms leveled against it."

It discussed seven general accusations made in the United States about UNESCO:

That it was under Communist control; that it advocated political world government; that it sought to undermine the loyalty of Americans toward their Government; that it sought to indoctrinate school children with un-American ideas; that it was antireligious; that the United States doesn't get out of it what it puts into it, and that it has failed to live up to the hopes of its founders.

In substance, the delegation failed to find any meat on any of these charges.

### 3 OUT OF 90 REJECT LOYALTY OATH

The report noted that the 90 Americans among UNESCO's staff of 800 had been given the Government's loyalty form to sign. Three had not signed it. One of them, subpoenaed by a Federal grand jury in New York, had refused to come to America on the grounds that he might lose his Paris job and had been suspended.

This employee is David Leff of the Mass Communications Department. Since the report was issued, he has appealed his suspension to the U. N.'s Appeals Board. It was upheld and he went back to work.

Then UNESCO's Director General, Luther H. Evans, former Librarian of Congress and a native of Bastrop County, Tex., ordered him transferred to UNESCO's New York office. Mr. Leff appealed the transfer, and that's the present status of the case.

Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia marched out after UNESCO condemned the Communist aggression in Korea. Their letters of resignation violently denounced UNESCO for refusing to play ball with the Communists and for serving "in an increasingly servile way the game of American war policy."

Russia has never had any connection with UNESCO. It opposes the agency. Even America's Daily Worker is hostile.

On the one-world-government issue, the delegation suggested that UNESCO had created a lot of the misunderstanding itself by continually misusing the phrase "world citizenship."

UNESCO used it with a nonpolitical meaning. They thought of it as something like "cosmopolitan"—as describing a person filled to the brim with international understanding. But it sounded to a lot of people like it meant the citizens of a future world government.

### MANY DEAD CATS THROWN AT PHRASE

UNESCO had been translating it "world citizenship," but a board said, in effect, "Hold it! The term 'citizenship' has a legal connotation in our member countries. We literally do not mean citizenship."

The phrase was dropped. But it already had inspired a good many dead cats to be thrown UNESCO's way in this country.

The United States pays one-third of UNESCO's budget of about \$9.5 million, plus 60 percent of the special technical assistance program, plus other expenses which brings the total annual outlay to about \$5¼ million this year.

Why should the United States belong?

The delegation's report mentioned the help it gives our scientists and teachers and cultural people and said:

"Help to others in strengthening the foundations of democratic free governments by raising educational standards is in the interest of promoting peace, strengthens the economic stability of the world, and therefore promotes world prosperity, on which most of our own prosperity depends.

"A great nation like ours, conceived and developed through many sacrifices for the promotion of human welfare, cannot fittingly isolate itself from world efforts toward the same end."

(The end)

Mr. McCULLOUGH. The New York Board of Education was concerned about what happened in Los Angeles, also, and about the time the final action in Los Angeles was being taken by the board there, the New York Board of Education, because of criticism that was showing up there, decided that it would try to present in a factual way some information about these attacks that would answer in advance for some of the people in New York, some of the questions that had not been answered early enough in Los Angeles.

So the board of education published a bulletin called Strengthening Democracy, and in its issue of January 1953 it has a brief article about the attacks on UNESCO, giving its understanding of how they developed and commenting on the attitude of the board of education toward the organization. I should like to submit that for the record, Mr. Chairman.

MR. MERROW. We will include it.

(The information referred to is as follows:)

[From Strengthening Democracy, vol. 5, No. 3, January 1953. Published by the Board of Education, New York City]

#### THE ATTACKS ON UNESCO

In the recent attack on UNESCO in Los Angeles, the attention given to such topics as Knowledge of the Machinery for International Considerations, Improving Communications and Reducing Tensions was characterized as a communistic device for undermining patriotism. This equation of UNESCO's activities with subversion is undoubtedly based on honest misunderstanding of its purposes by some; in the case of others it is a deliberate attempt to mislead.

Where honest criticism is directed against UNESCO, educators have an obligation to meet it; but when attacks are based on a perversion of the Organization's purposes and activities, educators have an equally strong obligation to expose them. As its constitution states, the purpose of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization is "to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion, by the Charter of the United Nations."

In implementing this purpose, article I, section 3 of the constitution declares: "With a view to preserving the independence, integrity and fruitful diversity of the cultures and educational systems of the states members of this Organization, the Organization is prohibited from intervening in matters which are essentially within their domestic jurisdiction."

This provision demonstrates that UNESCO, like the U. N., is not a supranational authority but an organization of sovereign states. UNESCO, therefore, has no control over what is taught in the schools of member nations; it provides assistance to a member nation only when specifically asked to do so and then the country requesting aid must contribute to the support of the project. In carrying out its aims in a world where no nation, any longer, can live alone, UNESCO has made studies of international tensions and the causes of war, aided member nations to combat poverty and disease and to tackle the problem of illiteracy, and promoted mutual understanding through conferences, the international exchange of persons and the reduction of barriers to the free flow of information.

UNESCO is giving high priority to "fundamental education"—training in the basic skills of health, sanitation, agriculture, home economics and literacy needed to raise living standards in underdeveloped countries. To train specialists in this field and prepare teaching materials suited to local needs, UNESCO hopes to set up six regional training centers. The first is at work in Patzcuaro, Mexico, with 100 teachers enrolled from 10 Latin-American countries. A second will be set up at Sirs-el-Layen, Egypt, with 50 teachers from the eastern Mediterranean region in its first class.

To help individual governments improve their educational systems, UNESCO has sent missions to a number of countries. In Thailand, for example, it helped set up an experimental school system at Chachoengsao, 60 miles from Bangkok, to demonstrate modern educational methods with more emphasis on the types of training needed for the country's economic and scientific development. The first free public library in India was established in Delhi by UNESCO and the Government of India; most of its readers had never visited a library before.

In the field of science, UNESCO has established field offices to promote cooperation among scientists; led in plans for an International Computation Center which will make an electronic brain available to countries that could not individually afford such equipment; helped organize a European Council for Atomic Research which will build an atom-smashing cosmotron near Geneva for

basic studies in nuclear physics; helped Pakistan set up its first educational radio network as a means of reaching widely scattered groups; sent a team of four professors to introduce new science courses at the University of Liberia; and has helped other countries with individual science problems ranging from earthquake prediction to use of desert winds as a source of energy.

Among its other activities, UNESCO has sponsored an agreement to remove tariffs on the import of educational, scientific, and cultural materials, which came into effect in May 1952; operates schools for some 50,000 Arab refugee children in cooperation with the U. N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees; enabled 800 workers from 12 European countries to exchange visits in the summer of 1952 and encourages international study and travel through other means; and operates a "UNESCO coupon plan" to help countries with foreign exchange difficulties to buy books, films and scientific equipment.

How these UNESCO activities can be construed as undermining the loyalty and patriotism of American citizens is difficult to see. Loyalty to the American way of life means loyalty to human freedom and the pursuit of happiness—objectives in full accord with the aims of UNESCO. Moreover, United States participation in the U. N. and UNESCO was established by acts of Congress which received overwhelming bipartisan support. Schools therefore have an obligation to acquaint their pupils with the ideas which our Government has publicly supported in its role as a member of both the U. N. and UNESCO. Can teachers, for example, neglect to discuss in their classes the principle of collective security for which thousands of Americans have given their lives in Korea?

In the attacks on UNESCO we have the anomalous situation wherein those who back up their government's support of the Organization are branded as disloyal or subversive while its critics claim a monopoly on true patriotism. This is an Alice-in-Wonderland viewpoint which defies rational analysis.

The harmony between patriotism and the purposes of UNESCO was cogently expressed by Jaime Torres Bodet, then its Director-General, in his remarks opening an international seminar in the Netherlands.

"What we are trying to do is to train citizens who will be faithful in their duty to their own country and who for that reason will also be loyal to the international obligations which their country has assumed. The activities of UNESCO are founded on texts that have been officially approved and are publicly regarded as the guaranty of peace and essential to the progress of the whole world. \* \* \* It is very obvious that, in extreme cases, the patriot who does not care a straw for international obligations deliberately accepted by his country is a queer kind of patriot."

The wild charge that UNESCO is somehow associated with communism becomes fantastic when viewed in the light of the facts. The Soviet Union has never joined UNESCO. The satellite countries of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland, technically UNESCO members, have boycotted the Organization since 1950 when the delegation of Nationalist China was seated over Communist opposition.

Only the Soviet Union, Poland and Czechoslovakia voted against approval of UNESCO's program at the session of the U. N. Economic and Social Council held in Geneva in 1951. The Polish delegate attacked UNESCO for giving moral support to what he called United States aggression in Korea. The Soviet delegate termed UNESCO's failure to support the Communist-inspired Stockholm Peace Appeal as evidence that the Organization existed merely to further the interests of the United States. Then, on last December 6, Poland withdrew as a member of the UNESCO after calling it a tool of the United States policy of aggression. Czechoslovakia and Hungary are now the only Iron Curtain countries left in the Organization.

As Paul G. Hoffman informed the Los Angeles School Board:

"The Kremlin considers UNESCO one of its most dangerous opponents. The reason is obvious. The last thing the Communists want is a free exchange of information among the peoples of the world. That is why they erected the Iron Curtain around the Soviet Empire. \* \* \* I find it tragically paradoxical that in the name of patriotism misguided groups here in Los Angeles should be attacking UNESCO and thus following precisely the party line laid down by Moscow."

In countering attacks which distort the purpose of UNESCO, the United States National Commission for UNESCO characterized many of the offenders as "the notorious supporters of totalitarianism and of rowdy attacks on racial and religious groups. They carry on falsely in the name of patriotism. The United States National Commission for UNESCO warns against this device of hiding behind the flag, while, at the same time, seeking to destroy freedom. The Com-

mission calls on public groups and the press to continue to expose those who assail the integrity of teachers because of their interest in the United Nations."

One therefore views with suspicion those who would set up false barriers in the name of patriotism. It is not "my country or the U. N." It is my country in the community of nations.

**Mr. McCULLOUGH.** There is one other point I would like to make, Mr. Chairman. It relates to what the National Commission for UNESCO is engaged in doing in the United States. This is a question that has been asked a good many times. It has been asked particularly as a result of the criticisms that have occurred. As you know, the National Commission is not engaged in trying to tell any school system what ought to be taught in the schools. It is not engaged in trying to place in the school systems any textbooks, since there are none in this country that are published by UNESCO, and it isn't trying to guide in any way the development of curricula in our schools. It is, as described in the UNESCO Constitution, to serve as an agency of liaison with the people in the country. There are some 60 National Commissions in the member states of UNESCO, and each of them tries to help the government in its relations with UNESCO and tries to assist in getting private citizens and organizations in the country to do work that would contribute to some of UNESCO'S aims.

As you know, Mr. Chairman, the law which established the National Commission requires that the National Commission hold a conference at least every 2 years that will deal with matters that are of interest to UNESCO and the United Nations and that are of interest to the organizations that nominate members to the National Commission.

A meeting of this kind was held in Minneapolis on September 15-17, 1953. The theme of that meeting indicates something about the National Commission's work in this country. It is "America's Stake in International Cooperation," and the Commission called on some 36 organizations and institutions to help prepare the material for that meeting. I don't want to burden the record with this program, but the program itself does indicate something about the great variety of interest that is expressed in this international organization, and its work. To that meeting, the President of the United States sent a message. The Chairman of the conference was a national known businessman, Harry A. Bullis, chairman of the board of General Mills. There were a number of distinguished addresses, there, but I would like to submit excerpts, if I can, from only two, Mr. Chairman.

One is a statement made by the Undersecretary of State, Mr. Walter B. Smith. This is an excerpt from his statement, and I should like to submit an excerpt from the statement that the chairman of this subcommittee made at the final luncheon session, if I may do so.

**Mr. MERROW.** You may submit those.

(The documents referred to are as follows:)

PRESENTATION BY REPRESENTATIVE CHESTER E. MERROW

**Representative MERROW.** (United States House of Representatives, New Hampshire; member, United States National Commission for UNESCO). Madam Chairman, Mr. Director General, distinguished guests, my colleagues on the National Commission and representatives of the Fourth National Conference on UNESCO. I am afraid that the conversation which I had with your able chairman when I arrived in Minneapolis has placed restrictions on me.



I am very happy to be here as a member of the National Commission. It was my pleasure and privilege to be in London as an adviser to the United States delegation when the constitution was written. I served on the National Commission during its first 3 years and I am very happy to have been appointed on the National Commission again.

I am happy to be here at this Commission meeting and at this Conference. It is splendid that there is so much enthusiasm and it seems to me that this is a very hard working conference. We have been successful. I predict if we could carry this determination and enthusiasm into the future we will have greater and better days for UNESCO. [Applause.]

Now, Madam Chairman, the subject today is the "American Heritage and UNESCO." I think it would be well if every once in a while we review our American heritage because sometimes we take many things for granted.

I would call your attention to a fact which you all know. The United States of America is a young nation. Christopher Columbus discovered the new world 461 years ago. This is a short period in history.

Some of the historians and college presidents may disagree with me, but it is my belief that people in future years will say one of the greatest—if not the greatest—book of this century is the study of history by Arnold Toynbee which describes many civilizations both modern and ancient. In comparison to ancient civilizations we have been in existence an extremely short time. As short a period as 461 years is, the time is still shorter since we formulated the Constitution of the United States, 165 years ago.

I am very glad that someone remarked about the friendship of New England this afternoon. You know that this was the part of the country that inspired the poem "The Landing of the Pilgrims"—

"The heavy night hung dark the hills and waters o'er

When a band of exiles moored their bark on the wild New England shore."

We are a young Nation and our rapid rise to world prominence has occurred since the Spanish-American War at the turn of the century. Now, why have we come to this position so rapidly? It is because of some fundamental principles. In the first place the Constitution is probably the greatest document that has ever been written. You recall what Gladstone had to say in reference to the Constitution. He characterized it as "The most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man." I am glad New Hampshire was the ninth State to ratify the Federal Constitution setting up the United States of America. Thus there was launched the most ambitious and what has proved to be the most successful experiment in free government the world has ever known. Why has it been so successful? Because we have fundamental freedoms in this country—political freedom, economic freedom, and religious freedom.

If you will survey the empires of the world, you will find that the reason we have risen so rapidly is because those freedoms have been guaranteed and because we have placed emphasis on the worth of human personality and the value of the individual.

We believe that every human being should have the opportunity to develop in accordance with his innate ability. As a monument of that principle there is this great University of Minnesota. Because we believe in this principle hundreds of millions of dollars are being spent annually for education.

The American heritage in addition to the freedoms I have mentioned includes freedom of the press, freedom of speech and the opportunity of every person to develop according to his ability. These fundamental principles have made possible our rise to power. We have a tremendous heritage. We have developed the finest way of life. At its very heart and at its very core are the noblest ideas and the highest ideals to which the human spirit is capable of aspiring.

Let us not forget these fundamentals as a part of our great heritage. This is the heritage which we bring to UNESCO. Because of the freedoms about which I have been talking we have risen to our present position in the community of nations. This position is unequalled in the annals of history. We find ourselves today, and it has already been mentioned here before, the leader of the free nations in this the greatest struggle to establish freedom throughout the world that has ever engaged the attention of mankind from the most primitive days to the present hour.

I am sure Mr. Lincoln would say, "We are now engaged in a global struggle, testing whether or not, free civilization or any civilization so conceived and so dedicated can long endure."

Our heritage and the heritage of the free world is being threatened by the most sinister force that has ever come into existence—a force which would destroy the fundamental principles about which I have been speaking. We cannot evade our responsibility of leadership. We are the leader of the free world in a sharply divided world and we also find ourselves the leader of this great enterprise of UNESCO.

How is our heritage related to UNESCO? UNESCO believes in the importance of the individual. UNESCO is concerned with the fundamental freedoms. UNESCO is seeking to establish conditions that will make possible world peace. All of this ties up with the American heritage.

To create greater understanding among peoples is a tremendous challenge. As we bring our heritage to UNESCO we can exercise our leadership in this divided world for the development of a better society.

Our economic strength, our military strength, and our spiritual strength must be exercised to such an extent that the free world will be able to prevent aggressive engulfment of the free nations by communism. I hope, Madam Chairman, that the historians of the future will be able to look back on the second half of the 20th century and say that it was during this period that the world under God had a "new birth of freedom."

ADDRESS BY HON. WALTER B. SMITH, UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE, BEFORE THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR UNESCO, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA AUDITORIUM, MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1953

Mr. Chairman, members of the UNESCO National Commission, honored guests, ladies and gentlemen, it is a privilege to be with you at this conference. Your presence here is a unique demonstration of our belief, as a Nation, that decent people everywhere want to live at peace with one another, and that gives the people generally an opportunity to be heard in the world's councils is itself a contribution to peace building. It is a very fine thing to see a group of distinguished private citizens gathered in a council established by Federal statute and considering international relations. Indeed, the legal establishment and continued support of the United States National Commission by the Congress are evidence of the simple fact that our effort to build peace is an undertaking that involves all of us.

If our people are to help constructively, they must be better informed than they have been in the past. The decisions to be made now and in the future are vast in scope and tremendous in import; judgments must not be shaped either on emotional impressions or prejudice. We must understand other peoples, their cultures, their histories, and their philosophies. If we don't, we cannot understand the forces and motives which impel their decisions. We must be able to evaluate those specific economic, political, and human situations whose solutions may sometimes be the difference between peace and war. And we must surely understand the clashing political philosophies and the intellectual divisions which characterize our modern world.

The building of a cooperative peace demands, in the free countries of the world, citizen minds which are capable of thinking with equal facility and with as much accuracy in global terms as most of us thought in mere community terms when we were younger.

Unfortunately, neither here nor in any nation of the world have we achieved the level of understanding which our modern complex situation requires. Developing relevant understanding is going to take time, and the responsibility for doing it must be widely shared. Every individual must do what he can to educate himself. Every school, church, civic club, government, great private organization, and international organization—each must do its part.

UNESCO's role in this manifold task of learning is, as I see it, to promote that educational, scientific, and cultural collaboration among organizations and peoples which will help build the understanding essential to peace.

UNESCO has now been at its task for about 7 years. It must be admitted that it has not fully realized the high hopes entertained by the noble men and women who carved out its charter and then launched the organization. UNESCO has made mistakes. At times it has tried to do too much, with too little—thus diffusing its efforts sometimes to a point of near disappearance.

But UNESCO has also achieved a great deal of good. It has, for example, done much to muster the educational, scientific, and cultural strength of the United States in support of broadly based programs for peace. It has helped to initiate important programs in fundamental education. It has given educational support to a multitude of technical cooperation projects. The mass media of the world have been supplied with basic information designed to promote understanding among peoples.

Before UNESCO and the cooperating national commissions in the member States were established, a great many careful thinkers argued that this educational task should remain exclusively in private hands. They thought UNESCO should be a private international organization which worked through existing educational, scientific, and cultural agencies that abound in the international area.

Others felt that the job required such substantial financial support and such continuous effort that only an international governmental agency, perhaps as a unit of the United Nations itself, could get the job done.

UNESCO as it was finally established represented a compromise of these extreme views. UNESCO itself is an international governmental organization, but for its successful functioning it must work with a great many private agencies, and especially with the national commissions of the member States, which are an experiment in public-private cooperation.

Whether the structure as it evolved is the best that can be devised is open to question. This does not mean that I am now presuming to offer a better pattern. But just as the time is approaching to review the United Nations Charter and instruments, so too we should now, I believe, take a new look at UNESCO.

I think that this reexamination should be a cooperative enterprise involving the United States National Commission for UNESCO and the State Department and I would like at this time to pledge the Department support to such a project. Since President Eisenhower's administration took office, it has had to cope with international emergencies of the gravest character in many parts of the world. Nevertheless, there has been time to reassess our efforts toward peace in most areas of the globe. Secretary Dulles has made visits to Europe and to the Middle and Far East. The Assistant Secretaries of State have all visited the areas of their particular responsibility. A special mission headed by Dr. Eisenhower, the first chairman of the United States National Commission for UNESCO, has visited the 10 republics of South America.

In these visits, through regular diplomatic reports, and in a myriad of other data which reaches the State Department, there is one persistent theme: The lack of understanding among peoples and governments is a constant impediment to the building of a cooperative, enduring peace.

This is an awesome shortcoming. A totalitarian power enforces its will upon its own people and its satellites. The less they know, the easier the task of control by the central power.

But among the free nations of the world the situation is very different indeed. We are equal partners, and we equally abhor control of one nation by another.

We are utterly dependent on genuine abiding cooperation, but cooperation is not something that springs up by itself. It is the result of careful planning, systematic action, and adherence to clear and well understood principles.

There is misunderstanding and, indeed, a great deal of suspicion among our friends throughout the world regarding the motives and objectives of the United States. For example, Dr. Eisenhower reported that he found much misunderstanding of the United States in South America even among our staunchest friends and allies. It exists to as great or greater degree elsewhere. We are so conscious of the basic decency of our own motives that we unconsciously expect them to be taken for granted by others—to believe that truth will prevail without the necessity of establishing it as truth. It is in this significant sphere that the work of UNESCO becomes of such great and immediate importance to the United States. UNESCO's work in the dissemination of knowledge—without favoring any national state—cannot but be beneficial to the United States by contributing to a greater understanding of our motives and our beliefs. For we have nothing to fear and everything to gain from the truth—from a genuine understanding of our own country by others.

I have heard it said that American prestige has declined, and that our influence in world affairs is waning. I do not accept this, nor should you. Events of the past few months, beginning with the cessation of hostilities in Korea and culminating in the demonstration of triumphant democracy in the free German

elections have shown that our foreign policy is firm and wise, and that it is reaping the rewards of firmness, restraint, and wisdom. But this very fact makes the work of advancing mutual trust and understanding all the more important.

Since our concern is not for the past, but for the future, there is every incentive to increase the scope and effectiveness of UNESCO's activities. I have suggested that an analysis of UNESCO machinery and methods, based on experience which did not exist at the time it was founded, may indicate that both the structure and the techniques could be improved.

And I believe that this reexamination can proceed from the point of view of developing wider and more energetic public support for UNESCO activities. It might also explore ways of revitalizing the enthusiasm of those who were originally active.

There is room for improvement in the relationship between UNESCO and the Department of State, and this should be the easiest part of the problem to solve, since we need each other.

You now have the Salomon report. The findings of this inquiry should go far toward rebutting much unjustified criticism and should do a great deal to reassure the people of this country as to the real mission of UNESCO.

When we talk of the need for understanding both at home and abroad, it would be difficult to find a more pointed illustration than in the present situation in the Far East and the policy this country is developing to deal with it.

We now have an armistice in Korea. We have made clear the action we would take if the other side were to violate that armistice. In concert with the other 15 member nations of the United Nations who fought in Korea beside the ROK forces, we have declared formally that we would be prompt to resist further aggression and that in such circumstances it would probably not be possible to limit the hostilities to Korean territory.

We have subscribed to this joint statement for two reasons. The first is our determination to stand on the principle which led us to take up arms in Korea in the first place—the conviction that aggressive forces must be turned back from their assault on the free nations of the world. The second is our belief that the aggressors are less likely to strike when they know in advance our determination and our ability to react swiftly and strongly.

There can be no misunderstanding now.

We have also made clear to the Communists that they cannot make a farce of the Korean truce by aggression elsewhere in Asia. We are fully aware of the fact that Communist China has been an active sponsor of the Communist movement in Indochina, and has provided the Red troops there with training, equipment and supplies.

We are equally alive to the possibility that the Peiping regime might attempt to take advantage of a truce in Korea to move its so-called volunteer units to Indochina to reinforce the Viet Minh.

By any process of reasoning, a shift of this sort constitutes aggression quite as clearly as did the movement of these same troops into the lines in Korea.

Accordingly, we have stated officially that the appearance of Chinese Communist troops in the fighting in Indochina would be regarded as renewed aggression—that the consequences of such a move would be grave and that they might not be confined to Indochina.

During the war in Korea, the United Nations exercised a restraint which is equaled in few instances in military history. We scrupulously confined our actions to Korean territory.

But should the Chinese Communists reopen hostilities, renew their aggressive behavior—either in Korea or in Indochina—we would be confronted with a very different situation. We would be forced to the conclusion that the Peiping regime is bent on a reckless course of conquest. It would then be clear that Communist intent was to invest all Southeast Asia and by force of arms to subject the free peoples of that area to the tyranny of Red control. Our reaction would have to be adequate to meet such a grave situation.

As a corollary we strongly oppose the representation of China in the United Nations by the Chinese Communists.

The Chinese Communists have openly waged war against the United Nations. They have disregarded all accepted standards of international conduct in their relations with the free world. The United Nations overwhelmingly voted to brand them as aggressors. The United States cannot accept the theory that the Chinese Communists should be rewarded for their entry into the Korean conflict on the side of the enemy and for their years of violent warfare against the com-

munity of nations. Our position is that by no standard do they qualify for admission into this community of nations.

To so reward them now would be to make a mockery of the sacrifices of life by the forces of the United Nations and the Republic of Korea in defense of Korean freedom. How could we possibly deal with future aggressions if we rewarded the aggressors in the first major test of the United Nations' ability to undertake collective action? We are opposed even to consideration of any proposal to seat the Chinese Communists and are confident that a large majority of the General Assembly will continue to stand with us on this.

I would like to turn now for a few moments to the political conference on Korea and some of the events which have preceded its convention. The factor of understanding enters here, too, although in a somewhat different way. We are, of course, continuing our planning for a political conference on Korea as recommended in the armistice agreement and approved by the General Assembly on August 28. The Communist reaction to the General Assembly resolution, which you have seen in the press, was not entirely surprising but it was disappointing. It was not surprising to find the Chinese Communists taking the same line which the Soviet delegation took in the General Assembly 2 weeks ago. It was disappointing, however, for it might have been hoped that in view of the recommendation in the armistice agreement and the action of the General Assembly, the Chinese Communists would cease their obstructive tactics. Yet this has not been the case.

There appears to be little about the conference arrangements to which the other side could legitimately take exception. The minor matters of date and location are difficult to transform into major issues of controversy. And it is certainly not reasonable for them to object to the proposed form of the conference, because it is exactly what they themselves proposed.

As you know, in the special session of the General Assembly there was some debate over the form the conference would take. You will recall that the United States believed that it would be a cross-table negotiation between the United Nations and the Communists who fought against them. We felt strongly that the United Nations representation should be confined to those members who participated in the Korean fighting. The presence of the Republic of Korea was, of course, indispensable. We recognized also that the presence of the Soviet Union—while not making the negotiations any easier—would give added weight to whatever agreements were reached.

However, the Soviet Union obviously could not take part as a member nation of the United Nations command. It was equally apparent that Russia could not qualify as a neutral—no matter how far the term was stretched. Thus, if Russia was to sit anywhere, she should sit beside the North Korean and Chinese Communist representatives.

On the floor of the Assembly, the Soviet Union advocated an entirely different conference format. They supported a roundtable arrangement composed of a few United Nations representatives, some neutrals—including Poland—and a Communist contingent.

We have proceeded on the assumption that North Korean and Chinese Communist positions are cleared in advance with Moscow. I think the assumption is well founded.

The conference format which this country supported in the Assembly debate was in strict accord with article 60 of the armistice agreement. And article 60 of the armistice agreement was proposed by the Communist negotiators at Panmunjom and accepted by us.

In other words, the conference which we pressed for was the kind of conference which the Communists themselves proposed during the armistice negotiations and which we there agreed to. We continue to believe that that is the kind of conference most conducive to agreement on the difficult questions involved in a Korean settlement. The United Nations overwhelmingly supported this view and, I am confident, will continue to support it.

After the Assembly resolution was adopted on August 28, the United States, in accordance with the terms of that resolution, communicated with the Communists in regard to a time and place of the conference. We have not yet received any official reply to that communication. We understand, however, from a Chinese Communist radio broadcast, that they have communicated with the Secretary General of the United Nations.

From this, it would appear that the Chinese Communists have simply revived, with minor variations, the Soviet proposal for a roundtable conference which was overwhelmingly rejected at the General Assembly at the end of August.

We see no reason whatever for reopening this question in the General Assembly. The Assembly has already had the Communists' position before it. We see no reason whatever for inviting the Chinese Communists to appear before the General Assembly. The way is clear for them to agree on a time and place of the conference with the United States, which was authorized by the General Assembly to speak for the United Nations side on this matter.

However, in spite of these obstructions, the United States Government has not been, and is not now, unduly pessimistic about the possibilities of a successful conference.

We do not indulge in overoptimisms, nor in overpessimism. We know that the issues to be discussed have been long in controversy. We realize that the interests of the contending parties are very strong. Korea, you will recall, has been a bone of contention in the Far East for centuries.

The American attitude is simply one of realism. We believe that some of the problems relating to Korea can be resolved. And we know that our every move will derive from a sincere desire to reach a settlement. We are watchfully hopeful that the other side will also negotiate in good faith.

If this should be the case, we believe that there is a good chance that we can produce from the conference that free, unified, and independent Korea which for years has been our objective. Once this is achieved, the second U. N. objective—the withdrawal of foreign troops from the peninsula—should not offer insuperable difficulties.

This afternoon, the General Assembly opened its eighth session. Once more the General Assembly faces an impressive range of problems. There are about 80 items on the agenda. Some deal with very involved political questions—some with economic and social problems, such as the development of underdeveloped countries and technical assistance—others with problems concerning the progress toward self-government in the trust territories and non-self-governing territories. None of these is easy to solve. If that were the case they wouldn't come before the General Assembly.

We face these difficult questions with understanding and confidence. On United States leadership rests a large part of the responsibility for insuring the essential unity of purpose and understanding among the free nations. We must be one of those catalytic agents which precent the unavoidable differences of views among friends from becoming major divisive forces. If we are to maintain the essential focus of the free world against the world threat of the Soviet bloc, it is in the American national interest that the United States play a harmonious role in the settlement of the differences that arise among our allies. The General Assembly provides a means for harmonizing these differences.

Every American has a personal stake in the great work of increasing the strength of the United Nations. There is significance in a recent public opinion poll which indicates broad support for the United Nations as a force for peace. It is apparent that this support is based on a more mature and sensible approach to the United Nations—an approach that recognizes both the limitations and capabilities of the Organization.

This more mature approach to the United Nations will be of great importance during the next few years. As I mentioned before, in 1956 we will have an opportunity to review the United Nations Charter at a Charter Review Conference. This gives the world the opportunity to strengthen the United Nations. We ourselves will make full use of this opportunity only if the American people exercise their responsibility by carefully studying and then expressing their considered views on the charter.

I wish that all people everywhere had the same opportunity to do this that you have. But it is the tragic fact that today a vast number of the world's inhabitants live behind walls of censorship. They are permitted to know only what their political leaders want them to know. And while this terrible power is being used to keep peoples from knowing the truth, these same Communist leaders, with powerful instruments of communication, are filling human minds everywhere with lies and with distortions of the truth. There is the more reason for you to intensify your own unselfish efforts to understand and grasp the problems which confront our country and our world. The Government and people of this country are committed to a program of mutual cooperation with the other nations of the free world. The single all-pervasive element upon which this vital effort rests is mutual understanding. The stake, broadly speaking, is our survival as a free, self-governing, peace-loving, civilized people. It is as fundamental as that.

Mr. McCULLOUGH. This is for the subcommittee's information. It is a check list of the contributions made to this conference without cost to the Government by the organizations and people who are interested in this problem of America's stake in international cooperation.

There were some 93 publications, most of them as small as this one, which were prepared for the discussions which would take place, there.

If there is an interest in any of those materials, they can be supplied.

What was done at the conference was summarized by the Chairman of the National Commission, Dr. George Shuster, who made a brief summary on the final day of the meeting, and I should like to submit that for the record.

Mr. MERROW. It will appear in the record.

(The information referred to is as follows:)

#### SUMMATION OF THE FOURTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE

An address by Dr. George N. Shuster, president, Hunter College; new chairman, United States National Commission for UNESCO

Now that it is afternoon again on this busy and hospitable campus and our days of talk have come to a close, it is perhaps not unseemly that we should ask what, when the stimulation of our mutual prodding has worn off, will remain for us and for the organization we serve. My function is that of amateur distiller. There is much in the mash that will not be detected in my brandy. Indeed there was such a quantity of the first that as I confronted it last night and this morning I felt not a little like I did when the train first ejected me into New York and I began to try to get to Fordham Road by subway. And so if none of you can quite believe that what is here said by way of summary contains any aroma of your sagacious discourse, you may be kind enough to attribute my failure to the same malpractice of overeating which appears to be a chronic American affliction.

Two things can be said about our conference as a whole. The first is suggested by the fact that we have met in the land of Hiawatha. You will recall the words of the poem,

Ever thicker, thicker, thicker, froze the ice on lake and river. Time has been when the supporter of UNESCO might well feel that calumny, criticism, frustration, and constriction were hemming in the organization more and more disturbingly. These days of the Fourth Conference have been from this point of view days of a great thaw. First the report which made it obvious once more that Solomon is a synonym for wise man. To be assured by three unprejudiced and observant Magi from East and West, one of them fortunately feminine, that we were not working for the Kremlin or spending our time making soft music for the moon, even though, as many of us has suspected, we were not infrequently trying to write our letter while pounding all the typewriter keys at the same time, was an experience which we shall not easily forget. That the President of the United States and the Secretary of State have by implication at least set the seal of their approval on this report was news for all the headlines there are.

And there was the second obvious fact. We have learned that this brave new world is like every other world in the sense that in it you can plant fields only if you make them no bigger than you can plow. We have, as was evident from the addresses of the Director General and of the Chairman of the National Commission, but was perhaps no less noticeably inherent in nearly all else that was said found out that there are no wonder drugs in the domain of international life—and that finding peace is like climbing a mountain higher than Everest, by picking your way perilously and laborously from crag to crag. In the deepest sense, of course, that was implicit in our philosophy from the beginning. We said that wars begin in the minds of man; and it was Reinhold Niebuhr who in particular told us again and again that here in this stormy land of conscious and subconscious experience chaos is forever close on the heels of order. But I think we have learned it in a different way than we had before. We have gone out and looked at chaos. And, of course, this cannot mean that our faith or our dedication can be less than before. We shall indeed have to have much more of both.

This conference was dedicated to exploring the manner in which a patriotic citizen of one nation might learn to be also in the finest sense a member of a world community. Four basic questions were asked and then broken down into

subheadings of the same queries. First, what can education really do for the creature man who must learn to live in a world which in very vital ways spills national boundaries? Second, man isn't worth talking about unless he has a human destiny to the attainment of which he is entitled. In other words, he must not only have rights in theory but we are collectively here to see that he possesses them also in practice. Third, here we are a people one of whose greatest poets has written his best line about the art of being a neighbor. There are good neighbors and good fences. How good are we? And what is to be said of our fences? Fourth, the business of creating a United Nations Organization is now 8 years old. What does an audit of its books reveal? These are four real UNESCO questions. For UNESCO is without a meaning unless it is part of an effort to build an organization which will be the spinal column of a community of friendly states and peoples. And it will likewise not be fruitful of good unless we who are Americans do what we alone can do.

Of education we said these days that since a free world must of necessity be one in which people are free to choose, schooling must be available in order to make clear what there is to choose between. Some things we have already chosen—the common values which the free world in its length and breadth approves and cherishes. We must strive to bring about a chance to live in the spirit of those values for all the endless millions of the intellectually and emotionally starved. On the one hand this means a ceaseless effort to mitigate the curse of illiteracy. On the other it means the free flow of vital information and constant community associations, in school and out of it. Let us, it was urged, not forget that education itself has much to learn. Insight must be deepened into all those differences which make the study of comparative education as valuable as it is frequently neglected. How can habits of cooperation be formed unless the methods for doing so have been tested so carefully in assiduous practice.

Perhaps we may regard what was said about the exchange of students and similar inquiring persons as a contribution to the study of one aspect of education. Anyone who came—as I confess I did—to the discussion of this topic with little realization of the laboratories in which our friends the social scientists have been dissecting the migratory student had to realize that he was at last seeing Shelley plain, but that there was so much socio-psychological anesthetic and surgery about him that he didn't look quite like Shelley after all. But what a vista of required patience and yet of legitimate and stirring hope these reports conjure up. Research was not merely hinted at here. It seems to me that at no previous conference has the need for ever-continuing resolute delving into problems been emphasized so strongly and effectively.

Discussion of intellectual and cultural preparation for all aspects of international living directed the attention of many groups on facets of the general problem. Each was so scintillant and all were so diverse that it is quite impossible for your poor scribe to reflect them adequately. But I think it may be said that the record is one of constant improvement and heightened participation. And even if there is at present no special course of study for the person whom one panel member described as—I quote—the “fanatic who believes UNESCO has the answer to everything” it would seem that the bill of fare has the variety of which some professional Duncan Hines would heartily approve—one noticed in particular that the teacher-training institutions were alive to their responsibilities.

We then approached the great issue of human rights. The important aspects of those rights and of the laws which might encapsule them were dissected coolly and calmly. It was well argued that rights are indeed inalienable. And this was once stated in a hard-headed declaration by our equally hard-headed forbears, why should it be impossible to compress some of the inalienability into a modern covenant? Yet it was also made clear, I think, that we are probably a long way from seeing the fruits of that advocacy of rights through education to which our own Government is committed. Treaties of peace must be signed between group and, it may be, classes. Why are we ourselves so slow to dry up the marshes in which prejudices breed? And why does what we say with our lips about “race” still remain at arm's length from our hearts? It was felt that in other respects also—I quote—“a rational and skillful minimizing of realized obstacles” must be the goal. And we were told that UNESCO should by all odds continue vigorously its work in this area by study and exploration of trouble spots.

A distinguished group of economists approached the problem from another direction. They accorded full recognition to the right to eat, which is being



assured in part by the technical assistance program and other efforts to improve the world economy. The development of trade is of essential importance here; and it was carefully pointed out that in the last analysis productivity requires ability to enter markets, to develop capital resources, and to adjust cultural patterns to meet the disruptive changes which undoubtedly result from the passing of primitive agrarian economies.

Next we had a good look at ourselves as a Nation and at our present stage of development. A business executive, for example, offered a liberal education in such subjects as how to make friends and influence people even while being an innocent abroad. The problem of finding men and women who can live in far countries without making asses of themselves was very adroitly and realistically stated; and I fancy that all humanists in attendance went off happy in their knowledge that corporation leaders realize that language is part of the equipment for foreign duty—not merely the English language, that is, although a case might be made for this, too, as one of the lost American arts. And lo and behold, the same melody was sung when the scientists gathered in sage conclave. The said scientists also maintained that the endeavor to distribute their test tubes and formulas around the world is by no means as simple as tossing coins to the vendors in Gibraltar Harbor. Things happen to people when science comes to them. Therefore, the scientist should be an educator, too. He must bear in mind that he is square up against human nature in the raw and that accordingly he should be intellectual physician as well as technical assister. It was reported casually that scientists, looking about in the National Commission, felt rather lonely. If this be so, all humanists should rally to the cause in order to increase the supply of good talk in favor of their own resources.

And soon, of course, we were talking about that strange being the American tourist, who is often described as a machine for scattering dollars about with a prodigality beneficent to the inhabitants of all towns boasting night clubs, and as well as an eerie human object forever popping in and popping off. Efforts to imbue him with the sense of decorum that is the heart's desire of all our cultural affairs officers abroad were described, and the resistance accorded thereunto was calmly measured. But one had a feeling that the situation isn't as bad as has sometimes been averred, that the 50,000 students who go abroad every year have their wits about them, and that the trek to foreign parts is being extended to worker groups who may desire and need special assistance.

Finally we took a quick look at the books of the United Nations. Many vital issues were debated, though the Conference wisely arrived at no single conclusion. It listened to earnest discussion of the proposed Bricker amendment and opined that this is a crucially important proposal—perhaps the most important to be offered since the adoption of the Constitution. Possible modifications or revisions of the United Nations Charter were also considered and weighed with caution. Of special interest to UNESCO were reports of studies conducted to determine the attitude of the American people toward international action in the present world. These indicated that our organization has a real job on its hands if it wishes to deepen our Nation's awareness of what is at stake.

I think we may therefore say that five facts stand out in our discussion:

First, that UNESCO's program in cooperative education must be continued with ever-deepening awareness that although the good rules have been laid down and it remains only to apply them, if I may borrow a phrase from Montaigne, there are no responsible educators in any sensitive country who cannot be made to understand that only by working together with their fellows of good will everywhere, within the framework of UNESCO, can the world's need for enlightenment be in a measure fulfilled.

Second, that although the riches of the human spirit which finds expression in the arts, in literature and in humanistic study may be difficult to organize in terms of a program that UNESCO can carry out, these deeply cherished cultural interests affect relations between the peoples at every vital level, and are of special importance to youth. Ten difficulties do not excuse one missed opportunity.

Third, that the facts about international organization and its deeper meaning—a meaning which Benjamin Cohen formulated in a challenging address—are far from having come home to Americans, and that therefore UNESCO's information giving opportunities are endless.

Fourth, that barriers to the free flow of information and to mutual understanding can be in part removed, however, remote the millennium may be.

Fifth, that the very lifeblood by which UNESCO lives are the many organizations of scientists and teachers, of artists and editors, of workers and businessmen, of churches and community groups, and that accordingly it should build its ties to them solidly, in friendship and ceaseless cooperative effort.

Let us note in conclusion that one of the themes of this Conference which elicited particular interest was that of religious dedication. And indeed, as one views realistically the world which longs to breathe anew after decades of holocaust and despair, it becomes very clear that unless there be in the universe a center of goodness toward which all human history moves, one can with difficulty persuade oneself that whatever one tries to do to drain up the mighty flood of evil will in the long run prove to be much more than an illusion. I shall add a quite personal word. We sometimes forget that in that part of our world in which civilization has been reputed to be most advanced—that is the Eurasian world—there are in all probability at least 40 million people who have dwelt in the duress of slave-labor camps under varying totalitarian dominions. That mighty population includes throngs of the wisest, the best, the most devoted servants of religion and culture, of the sciences, and of free industrial pursuits. Upon millions of them the brands still burn, and the agony of suffered tyranny is in their hearts. I have dealt with many hundreds of them, escaped penniless and jobless into freedom. The losses suffered are tremendous. The strain upon us to compensate for them, to save what remains of them, is very great indeed. I know it is difficult, but it seems to me that the blessing of God will be on our organization if it includes in its purview full awareness of this elemental struggle for dignity which the oppressed and dispossessed have fought. Let us make UNESCO a mighty city of freedom and study, of confidence and accorded welcome to which even the poorest in our world, gored to the bone by agony, may turn confidently as a first expression of a future in which there will be a greater measure of respected law and cherished aspiration than all but a few human beings have so far known.

**Mr. McCULLOUGH.** Members of this subcommittee and other committees have asked upon other occasions, Mr. Chairman, about what happens as a result of these conferences. I would like to give 1 or 2 indications as to followup that has occurred.

These publications that are listed in this list have been in substantial demand by people who came to the Conference and by other people who learned about the Conference. We have been requested to supply some 2,000 copies a month, since September, when this Conference was held, which indicates that the discussions and the discussion materials do generate a good deal of public interest and continued public discussion in other parts of the country.

In Minnesota, the effect of the Conference I think is best described in two editorials, by Carroll Binder of the Minneapolis Star Tribune. They describe what was done at the Conference and how it was received in the State of Minnesota.

If you would like those, I will submit those for the record.

**Mr. MERROW.** You submit those and we will consider it. If it isn't too much, we will include them.

(The information referred to follows:)

[From the Minneapolis (Minn.) Tribune, September 18, 1958]

#### UNESCO: ITS ORIGIN, WHAT IT DOES AND WHY

(By Carroll Binder)

In the springtime of American enthusiasm for international cooperation the House of Representatives adopted H. R. 215 introduced by Karl E. Mundt, then a Republican Member of the House and now a Republican Senator from South Dakota. This urged " \* \* \* the participation by the Government of the United States in the creation of an international educational and cultural organization \* \* \*."

That was May 22, 1945. Two days later the Senate adopted a similar resolution introduced by Senator J. William Fulbright, Democrat of Arkansas, and the late Senator Robert A. Taft, Republican of Ohio.

Pursuant to these resolutions the United States helped to establish the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization commonly known as UNESCO. Thirty-four nations joined in launching this attempt to advance international peace and human welfare through intellectual cooperation. The number of participating nations has since grown to 69. They include some nations which were enemies of the Allies at the time the United Nations and UNESCO were formed and some nations not then in existence.

Russia, which distrusted the purposes and form of organization of UNESCO, never joined. Under its prodding, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary have withdrawn from UNESCO on the ground that it is an instrument for promoting "United States aggressive policy." Switzerland, Spain, and other countries not in the U. N. belong to UNESCO because it is a specialized agency of the U. N. not controlled by the U. N. or subject to the conditions of membership in the U. N.

Switzerland was disturbed when an American, Luther Evans, recently was chosen as Director General of UNESCO because it seemed to the neutrally-minded Swiss that this was putting the leadership of an organization supposed to promote international understanding and cooperation in the hands of a man strongly committed to one side of the cold war. Other neutrally minded members previously had objected to UNESCO's efforts to acquaint peace-loving people with the objectives of the U. N. in resisting aggression in Korea.

Despite these apprehensions and Communist attacks upon UNESCO for its "American-British bias," it is not dominated by the United States or any other country or bloc. Since it contributes one-third of UNESCO's regular budget and 60 percent of its special "technical assistance" budget (about \$54 million in all or three and a half cents per capita) the United States seeks to restrict UNESCO activities which would entail heavier expenditures than it is prepared to finance. That is the only sort of "dominance" it could exercise since each of the sovereign States belonging to UNESCO has but one vote.

Evans, then Librarian of Congress, was made Director General of UNESCO after the governing body had failed to agree upon any other nominee. While the United States wholeheartedly supported Evans once he had been agreed upon it previously made clear it was definitely not in favor of an American being selected for the office.

UNESCO has suffered more than the U. N. or any other specialized agency of the U. N. from the disenchantment of those Americans who expected miracles to be quickly accomplished by international organization and the opposition of those Americans who object to United States participation in any type of international organization.

Previous columns (July 6, 1952, March 8 and 15, 1953) have discussed the nature of the opposition to United States participation in UNESCO and the false propaganda circulated about UNESCO in unscrupulous efforts to create prejudice against American participation.

UNESCO has fallen short of the expectations of some of its loyal supporters in the United States and in other member states. It has made some serious mistakes and it has failed to respond to some major opportunities.

But it also has scored many creditable achievements. Carl Rowan recounted some of these in last Sunday's Tribune. UNESCO continues to have great possibilities. The need for the sort of international cooperation it is designed to facilitate will continue to exist as long as civilization survives.

A large and representative number of organizations and individuals in the United States and the United States Government recognize this continuing need and opportunity.

Realizing that the success of UNESCO depends on the widest possible participation by educational, scientific, and cultural organizations in each member State the organizers of UNESCO provided for representative national commissions in each country belonging to UNESCO.

One of the strongest of these national commissions was provided for in the United States by Congress on July 30, 1946, through public law 565.

This commission, which is holding one of the meetings and a biennial national conference prescribed by law in Minneapolis from September 15 to 17, is a unique combination of private and governmental cooperation in the fields of education, science, and cultural activities. It is comprised of 100 American citizens serving without pay in an advisory capacity to the United States delegations to the

general conference of UNESCO, to the Government and to such national conferences as will take place at the University of Minnesota this week.

Sixty of the 100 members of this unpartisan, nonpolitical commission are named by national voluntary organizations recognized generally in their respective fields as being representative and reputable. The nominating organizations are also supposed to be effectively concerned with international relations in their respective fields and competent to make valuable contributions to the work of the national commission.

Since its establishment in 1947, 81 organizations have nominated representatives to the Commission, rotating so that no more than 60 are represented at any one time. The membership of any individual representative is limited to 2 terms of 3 years each so as to assure maximum infusion of new blood and new interests with maximum continuity of experience.

The Secretary of State nominates the other 40 members of the National Commission. Ten are selected from leaders of Federal Government, including members of Congress. Fifteen are selected from leaders in the area of State and local government and 15 are members at large.

The Commission has enjoyed the membership of many men and women prominent in religious, cultural and scientific activities as well as influential national personalities.

The conferences—the first was held in Philadelphia in 1947, the second in Cleveland in 1949 and the third in New York in 1952—have been participated in by many experts who have read papers that have contributed to knowledge. The discussions have improved American understanding of and participation in world affairs, particularly through the United Nations and the specialized agencies.

The National Commission is holding the fourth biennial conference in Minneapolis so that the people of the upper Midwest may obtain a better idea of what UNESCO stands for and participants in the conference may obtain a better idea of the upper Midwest.

Unfortunately, it has been found necessary to limit participation in most of the conference meetings to accredited representatives of organizations fulfilling the requirements mentioned above. This is simply because unlimited participation would reduce the effectiveness of the discussions.

But the opening meeting on Tuesday evening at which Undersecretary of State Walter Bedell Smith will speak and the closing meeting Thursday afternoon at which Director General Evans will speak will be open to the public. The other sessions will be reported by the press and radio. Many of the papers presented at those meetings will be published by periodicals dealing with the respective fields.

What is said and done here in the next few days thus will have wide and lasting repercussions.

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[From the Minneapolis (Minn.) Tribune, September 20, 1953]

#### UNESCO LINKS CITIZEN AND HIS GOVERNMENT

(By Carroll Binder)

At my side as I write these lines is a stack of printed and mimeographed papers 2 inches high. Each of these papers is about 12 inches long and 8 inches wide.

The content of these publications is more impressive than the volume. They are addresses, reports, discussion outlines, and summary findings presented at the Fourth National Conference of the United States National Commission for UNESCO which took place at the University of Minnesota September 15-17.

They deal with research, reflections and discussions ranging over a wide variety of matters in the fields of education, science, culture, civics, and international relations. It is impossible to calculate how much time, knowledge and experience has been invested in these papers.

Thirty-six organizations and institutions participated in their preparation. In some instances a paper represents the result of collaboration by scores of inquirers over a long period of time. More than 100 individuals devoted extended time, insight and energy to the preparation of data papers, outlines for discussion and the summarizing of discussions which were participated in by more than 800 members of the conference.

The United States Government, convener of the conference at which this cultural harvest was reaped, did not pay a cent for the effort extended in prep-

aration of the papers. The Government did not pay the expenses of participants in this, the only conference which must be held by Federal statute. Citizens and organizations made these voluntary contributions to knowledge and human betterment.

Until UNESCO was created 8 years ago there was nothing like the National Commission or the National Conference in the United States or in any other country. They are daring experiments in citizen-government cooperation.

The United States conference is still by far the largest and most productive held by any of UNESCO's 60-odd member states. The whole undertaking is so new and experimental that ways have yet to be found to put the results to maximum use by the Government and people of the United States and other peoples and governments.

But the need for and the promise of such cooperation within and between nations is now so clearly recognized that United States participation in UNESCO no longer seems in doubt.

During the early days of the Eisenhower administration the State Department, where UNESCO relations are domiciled, seemed to be so preoccupied with other matters that some members of the United States National Commission feared UNESCO relations would wither and die through neglect. The fact that the President's brother, Dr. Milton Eisenhower, was the first Chairman of the United States National Commission, and the fact that the Commission was set up by the 79th Congress at the instance of such influential Republicans as Senator Karl Mundt, Senator Robert A. Taft, and Representative Chester Merrow apparently had little weight initially with the administration.

Since the Chairman and the 99 other members of the National Commission serve without pay and are engaged in many other activities, day-to-day relations with other branches of the Government, UNESCO headquarters in Paris, the organizations and individuals interested in UNESCO matters, and Commission and committees must largely be carried on by members of the State Department.

Reductions in personnel and budget, violent attacks by ultranationalist groups hoping to nullify United States participation in UNESCO as a prelude to a general retreat to isolationism, and seeming top-level apathy to UNESCO relations combined to create serious doubts about future United States activity in this field.

These doubts have been largely dispelled as a result of a number of developments during and just prior to the Minneapolis conference. President Eisenhower, Secretary of State Dulles, and Assistant Secretary of State Carl McArdle, in whose province UNESCO relations fall, expressed strong administration interest in UNESCO and the National Commission. Under Secretary of State Walter Bedell-Smith and McArdle came to the fourth conference to outline the administration attitude and manifest their own official interest in facilitating and profiting from the sort of citizen participation made possible through the Commission and the Conference.

Since the Commission was launched during a Democratic administration, this attitude on the part of a Republican administration constituted a highly reassuring manifestation of the nonpartisan character of United States participation in UNESCO and of the continuity of basic American foreign policies.

Largely responsible for the stepped-up support of United States participation in UNESCO were three representatives of the administration at the second extraordinary session of the General Conference of UNESCO held in Paris early in July of this year. They are Irving Salomon of California, Mrs. Elizabeth Heffelfinger of Minnesota, and Dr. John Perkins of Delaware.

After carrying out their mission to the Conference, these prominent Republicans and friends of the President stayed on in Paris to make an objective study of UNESCO aims and activities in the light of current criticisms of United States participation. They summarized their findings in a 31-page report to the Secretary of State and the President which Secretary Dulles cited approvingly in his message to the Conference.

The report, which was made public during the Conference, contributed enormously to what George N. Shuster, newly elected Chairman of the National Commission, aptly characterized as "the great thaw" that has just taken place in the official and popular attitude toward United States participation in UNESCO.

The "calumny, criticism, frustration and constriction" which had seemed to be hemming in the organization more and more during the past 6 months visibly gave way to new confidence, vigor, and courage.

The Salomon report, as the document is coming to be called, seems likely to be of great assistance to citizens and organizations disturbed by charges that UNESCO is a dangerous encroachment upon national sovereignty, communism, atheistic or otherwise menacing to American interests and values.

Scholars, scientists, educators, artists, civic and business leaders, experts in international relations and related fields presented papers and participated in the discussions to an extent that made this the most successful of the four conferences held since 1947.

Many of the papers were revealing and exciting. They will be of material assistance to the Government in the formulation of United States foreign policy and the establishment of closer relationships between citizens and Government. There are important contributions to knowledge among the papers. There are practical guides to Americans in such matters as how to live and travel abroad "without making asses of themselves," to quote Shuster's summary of a paper by a leading business executive.

Ideas launched, information shared and inspiration gained at the fourth conference seem certain to find expression in many ways in many places, and for a long time to come.

The sort of co-operation which found expression in these papers and discussions seems certain to be continued and enlarged. That can only serve to benefit not only our own Nation but all the nations which partake in the work of UNESCO.

Mr. McCULLOUGH. Here is another article prepared by some of the participants that tries to share some of the information brought out there. This is by Dr. Maurice Seay of the University of Chicago and published in the Elementary School Journal.

One of the topics at this Conference, Mr. Chairman, that was most interesting to the group, was a discussion of the value of UNESCO in the foreign policy of the United States and how UNESCO relates to our interest. I don't know how much of this you might be interested in for the record, but I would like to submit it.

Mr. MERROW. You submit that and we will check it.

(The information referred to appears in the appendix, p. 467.)

Mr. McCULLOUGH. There are other comments, here, on the value of UNESCO in the foreign policy of the United States. Another one is by a distinguished district judge in Dallas, Tex., who is a colleague of yours on the National Commission, the Hon. Sarah T. Hughes.

Mr. MERROW. You may submit those, and we will look at them.

(The information referred to is as follows:)

[From the Fourth National Conference, United States National Commission for UNESCO, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, September 15-17, 1953]

#### AMERICA'S STAKE IN INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION—THE VALUE OF UNESCO IN THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES

Discussion paper for Group I (program planned in cooperation with the Minnesota UNESCO Committee, Charles J. Turck, Chairman)<sup>1</sup>

"A nation's hope of lasting peace cannot be firmly based upon any race in armaments but rather upon just relations and honest understanding among nations."—President Dwight D. Eisenhower (from address delivered before the American Society of Newspaper Editors, April 16, 1953).

#### BASIC PREMISES

The ultimate goals of United States foreign policy include: the prevention of war; world acceptance of fundamental human rights; respect for the dignity and worth of the human person and the equal rights of men and women; respect for

<sup>1</sup> Revised discussion paper, October 1953. Revisions based on discussions in conference work group.

justice and law in relations among nations; and the promotion of economic and social progress in the world.

The cherished freedoms of Americans are threatened by the existing state of and small nations is in our tradition. international anarchy. As far as the United States is concerned (and the same is true for other freedom-loving countries), a world organization for interstate relations provides the most satisfactory method for the achievement of our foreign policy goals.

The only possible alternative is the practice of balance-of-power diplomacy in which the United States is hindered by popular control of foreign policy. Rapid shifts of policy are difficult and secrecy in diplomacy is inconsistent with our political system. On the other hand international organization is linked to our experience with the "coordinate states," and equal rights before the law for big

#### I. UNITED STATES PARTICIPATION IN UNESCO FURTHERS UNITED STATES ULTIMATE GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

A. The success of international organization depends on shifts of individual attitudes and opinions from those supporting aggressive nationalism to ones supporting symbols of international cooperation.

(1) This process must go on in all countries simultaneously, because nations which prevent the use of symbols favoring international cooperation are more likely to become aggressors.

(2) Thus, there is need for universal participation in a free flow of ideas on international cooperation through UNESCO within this country and among countries.

B. UNESCO works in the realm of ideas which develop a world climate of opinion sympathetic to international organization.

(1) UNESCO seeks to develop attitudes favorable to international cooperation.

(2) UNESCO, while recognizing the legitimate aspiration of peoples for national independence and self-determination, nevertheless seeks to eliminate attitudes of aggressive nationalism and imperialism.

(3) UNESCO studies causes of tension that may lead to war and fights them through education.

(4) UNESCO serves as a clearinghouse for the exchange of scientific and professional data and methods in social-science field which will contribute to a more informed opinion on foreign-policy questions.

C. UNESCO seeks to develop a world climate of opinion sympathetic to international organization by improving the physical and social well-being of peoples.

(1) Alleviation of poverty and disease may, under certain circumstances, relieve or prevent tensions leading to war.

(2) The world's scientific discoveries, if properly pooled, might end poverty in the world. UNESCO helps to mobilize the resources of each nation for this purpose.

(3) UNESCO helps teach people the use of tools of science through spreading literacy and teaching fundamental skills.

(4) Direct services of UNESCO thus help develop individual attitudes favoring international organization on the part of direct beneficiaries of aid in many countries.

#### II. UNITED STATES MEMBERSHIP IN UNESCO FURTHERS IMMEDIATE OBJECTIVES AND GOALS OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY

A. The long-term policy cannot succeed until the immediate threat of Soviet imperialism is ended. Some sort of realignment of power must be attained before the process of shifting attitudes from those supporting aggression to those supporting international cooperation can be fully developed.

B. The United States foreign policy recognizes that present world conflicts are fought not only on the military front but on economic, political, social, and psychological fronts as well. The United States can enhance its influence in these areas by active leadership in the United Nations and in the specialized agencies, of which UNESCO is one of the more important.

1. The United States can help dispel ideas that America is a cultural desert by contributing to and participating in the social and cultural activities of UNESCO, by face-to-face contact among cultural leaders of America and other

countries, and by welcoming to the United States the products of diverse cultures which have in the past contributed so much to the development of America.

2. The United States can, on the economic front, gain the understanding and good will of all nations involved by contributing economic and political support to UNESCO aid programs.

3. The United States can, by supplying technicians, ideas, leadership, and aid through such an international body as UNESCO rather than on a unilateral basis, dispel ideas and counteract charges that our purpose in such aid is an imperialistic one.

4. Nations and peoples who need the activities of UNESCO and who benefit by its programs can be expected to develop attitudes of good will and understanding toward the United States because of its participation in contrast with their attitude toward those states that refuse to participate.

### III. VALUE OF UNITED STATES MEMBERSHIP IN TERMS OF AMERICAN PUBLIC-OPINION SUPPORT FOR THE LONG- AND SHORT-TERM UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICIES

A. UNESCO affords opportunities for persons engaged in educational, scientific, cultural, and artistic activities in America along these lines:

(1) It gives them more active participation in American foreign policy through the United States National Commission for UNESCO and also through local, States, and regional UNESCO organizations.

(2) It shows them that foreign policy is concerned with such matters as education, science, music, and art, and it assures groups engaged in such fields that government is interested in their work.

(3) It informs them about the problems of government in the conduct of foreign affairs.

B. UNESCO, through its work in race relations and human rights, has a special interest to the many Americans concerned with progress in these fields.

C. UNESCO programs which lift the level of life all over the world will offer a tremendous opportunity for expansion of productive enterprise which will be of benefit to economic groups all over the world.

D. Some Americans may be more willing to accept the immediate requirements of military preparedness if they understand that the long-term foreign policy of the United States is being advanced along other lines by support of U. N. agencies like UNESCO.

E. Many Americans have deep humanitarian feelings to which UNESCO programs appeal for their own sakes.

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### ARE WE GETTING OUR MONEY'S WORTH FROM UNESCO?

By Sarah T. Hughes

(In this article our immediate past president, now representing our federation as a member of the United States National Commission for UNESCO, explains what we may expect in profitable returns from our national investment in worldwide fundamental education.)

UNESCO is practicing Christianity. It is waging a campaign of ideals to challenge the war spirit in the world today. So said Senator Charles W. Tobey, of New Hampshire, congressional adviser to the United States delegation at the UNESCO General Conference in Paris in December 1952.

The purpose of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization is, according to its constitution, "to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science, and culture."

In the preamble to its constitution are these significant statements: "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed. \* \* \* Ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause throughout the history of mankind of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war. \* \* \* Peace must be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind."

To achieve its purpose UNESCO promotes understanding of peoples, their history, and their economic and social conditions. The peoples of the world are interdependent but, until they understand each other, prejudice and bias will result in tensions that lead to war.



It is interesting to note in this connection a statement by Abraham Lincoln: "From the first appearance of man upon the earth down to very recent times, the word 'stranger' and 'enemy' were quite or almost synonymous. \* \* \* The man of the highest moral cultivation, in spite of all which abstract principle can do, likes him whom he does know much better than him whom he does not know."

"To correct the evils, great or small, which spring from want of sympathy and from positive enmity, among strangers, as nations or as individuals, is one of the highest functions of civilization." It is to this "highest function of civilization" that UNESCO is dedicated. It has been said that the aim of UNESCO is to make effective the commandment "Love thy neighbor as thyself."

With half the world illiterate, the first step in UNESCO's program was to work out a system of fundamental education. The main purpose is to give adults who cannot read and write an elementary education supplemented by basic instruction in such fundamentals as agriculture, handicrafts, and hygiene.

To accomplish these results in the shortest possible time, fundamental education projects have been set up as rapidly as possible in the world's underdeveloped regions. Because local participation is essential, it is UNESCO's aim, after starting these projects, to have them carried on by the countries themselves. Up to the date of UNESCO's report of February 26, 1953, 135 requests had been received from 37 countries, and 35 basic agreements providing for 93 projects had been concluded.

It should be emphasized that UNESCO's constitution provides that educational activities in the various countries shall be developed at the request of the country; the organization is specifically prohibited "from intervening in matters which are essentially within their domestic jurisdiction."

Typical of the educational projects is the program in Liberia, carried on by the joint efforts of the Government of Liberia and UNESCO. The facilities, including a demonstration farm, community center, and housing were supplied by the Government; the staff, by UNESCO.

The first fundamental education center was located at Dimeh, in Liberia, in an area which is the focal point of approximately 30 villages. Schooling for children and adults, with emphasis on reading and writing, agriculture and handicrafts, has been started. A health clinic has been opened. A second center has now been established and assistance is being given in raising the standard of science teaching in the college.

In 1949 a UNESCO consultative mission visited Thailand and as a result a project is now in operation about 60 miles from Bangkok. The objective is to relate education to real life in the home and the community. The children learn geography by building on sand trays. Science is taught by using equipment made from material found locally. Trips to the townhall show students the function of government.

Since the great need in El Salvador is for improved health and sanitation, the emphasis is on health education. There are roundtable discussions and conferences aimed at fighting disease and removing its causes.

In Ceylon a team of experts has visited 56 villages. As a result, motion pictures are now shown to demonstrate new ideas in sanitation, irrigation of rice-fields, matmaking, and carpentry. The objective is to show villagers the advantages of rice farming as contrasted with jungle existence and the possibility of building up cottage industries.

In addition to the headquarters fundamental education center at Minneriya, nine adult centers have been established throughout the island. The training of rural village teachers was begun in December 1951, and the first seminar for rural leaders was attended by 120 persons. One aim of the island program is to make the large arid zones productive in order to provide for the rapidly expanding population.

Throughout the underdeveloped areas there are similar projects. After they have been initiated by UNESCO experts, it is important to have trained native leaders to carry on the programs. For this purpose UNESCO plans include the establishment of six training schools for teachers in sections of the world where illiteracy is greatest.

The first of these schools was opened at Patzcuaro, Mexico, in 1951. Early this year it graduated its first class of 45 students from 17 Latin American countries. Following graduation they returned to their native countries where they are training others for the vast job of education in the basic facts of ordinary living.

The program at Patzcuaro covers health, agriculture, home economics and literacy. Each country participating selects one member to specialize in each

field. Students are taught to teach others through the most primitive form of picture education.

They are shown posters reading, "Boil the water before drinking it." "The house at one side—the animals at another." "A higher stove makes work easier."

These posters are produced by a new printing process which is cheap and simple to use. Key to the method is engraving on wax from which a printing plate is cast. The finished product, made of carpenter's glue and glycerine, has a rubbery texture from which any poster can be printed.

As a part of their training at Patzcuaro the students work with local villagers many of whom live under most primitive conditions. By the end of 1952 literacy classes had been organized in nearby communities, a strawhat industry had been started and a cooperative buying and marketing system had been revitalized. Fourteen thousand inhabitants of 20 villages have been shown how they can improve their standard of living.

In January 1953, a second fundamental education training center opened at Sus-el-Layana, Egypt, for training teachers from six Arab countries. Specially adapted textbooks, posters, and films are being developed here for use throughout the Middle East. Fifty students were immediately enrolled.

As a part of UNESCO's education program seminars for teachers have been held on curricula, teaching methods, and equipment. An exchange program is being promoted for teachers, students, and workers. In some instances UNESCO has furnished the money and in others it has encouraged governments and civic groups to do so.

While education is primary in UNESCO's program, it is by no means its only concern. Science and culture are likewise included.

In Montevideo, Uruguay, scientific services are made available to governments and scientists through a regional field science office.

In the Middle East and arid zone, research is being carried on by an advisory committee, consisting of experts from nine countries. Each year emphasis is placed on a different aspect. In 1951 the study was on hydrology based on investigations of underground water; in 1952, on the relation of plants to their environment; in 1953, the sources and uses of energy with special reference to wind and sun. The importance of these studies is apparent when it is realized that more than one-fourth of the earth's surface is arid or semiarid.

In Israel the feasibility of using desert wind power to take care of the shortage of electric power is being studied.

Earthquakes present a serious problem in Turkey. Therefore, UNESCO is working with the Government to determine how dams and other heavy construction can be made safe from earthquake damage. Advice has been given in the establishment of an Institute of Seismology; new stations are being installed.

Included in its program to promote culture UNESCO has promoted the establishment of libraries. A model public library was located in New Delhi in 1951 and a special section has been set aside for children. In 1952 a second pilot project was launched in Latin America, following a conference in Sao Paulo attended by 119 librarians from 17 Latin American countries.

Perhaps its most extensive project in the area of culture is the production of a history of mankind in six volumes. Leading scholars from all nations will cooperate in presenting history from a global view rather than from the standpoint of a particular country. The text of each volume will be based on the work of hundreds of participating scholars and will be assigned for writing to one or more historians. A 10-man commission will direct the operation. It will be used primarily for research and graduate work rather than as a textbook.

From this résumé it can be seen that UNESCO's program is vast. Perhaps it is too large, but with such a lack of understanding among peoples and so much illiteracy in the world, there is much to be done by an organization dedicated to promoting peace through education, science, and culture.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization was authorized by article 55 of the United Nations Charter, which provides that member states shall promote "intercultural and educational cooperation." This provision was added at San Francisco on recommendation of consultants to the United States delegation, representing business, labor, religious, education and civic groups.

As a result of this article, 44 nations met in London in November, 1945, and organized UNESCO. Sixty-five nations are now members. Russia has never belonged, and during the past year three of Russia's satellites, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary, resigned. The reason, Poland said, is that UNESCO is "a tool of a United States policy of aggression."

What does the United States get out of being a member of UNESCO? What does UNESCO mean to the individual American citizen?

It is true that UNESCO does little work in the United States although the amount contributed by the United States is larger than that of any other one country. This is because of our high national income which totals more than that of all the other peoples put together. The returns are, however, well worth the approximately \$3 million they cost.

Briefly, the program of UNESCO promotes the security of the United States by alleviating the primary causes of unrest and war, poverty and disease. Secondly, by raising economic standards in underdeveloped countries the number of consumers for American goods is increased and our own living standards are raised. Thirdly, helping other people and understanding them gives us a sense of satisfaction and well-being. Every cent spent on UNESCO is well spent in the promotion of peace and the general welfare of mankind.

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[From the News Letter, May 1953, vol. XVIII, No. 8]

### WHAT HAS UNESCO ACCOMPLISHED?

(By Edgar Dale)

You can look at the world in several different and important ways. H. G. Wells saw it in 1946 as "a jaded world devoid of recuperative power." Some see the world provincially—Asia First, America First, Europe First. Some people are learning to look at the world from the world point of view. They may find this difficult, but certainly they find it emotionally rewarding.

From the world point of view, you see two and one-half billion people. A billion of them cannot read or write. Life for over one half of the people in the world is a daily struggle against hunger, disease, and poverty. A few nations are economically and politically advanced, but most of them produce goods and crops in primitive ways. All have complex languages and cultures.

In the last few years a new way of looking at the world has been developed. This social invention, the United Nations and its specialized agencies, helps us to see the world steadily and to see it whole. To look at the world "in the round" requires the emotional and intellectual maturity of our great businessmen, our able spiritual and religious leaders, our statesmen, our leaders in scientific and educational thought.

Such persons know that economic and political growth require world trade in goods and ideas. Most persons, however, do not have the vision or insight to see the world as a whole. The billion illiterate people, for example, can share no ideas through books and are only beginning to be reached with ideas through films, radio, and television. The world desperately needs, therefore, an international agency which can help all the people share the benefits of the world's good ideas in education, science, and culture.

UNESCO, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, is just such an agency. UNESCO was established in London in November of 1945 and membership was accepted by the United States Government in a joint resolution introduced by Senator Robert A. Taft, July 30, 1946. What has UNESCO accomplished in these 7 years? Is it a success?

For seven years the member nations of UNESCO, now 65 in number, have thoughtfully developed their programs of activity. They have learned how to work together—a difficult art even in one country, but made far more complicated when there are differences in outlook, in language, in need. For those who nearly always hope for too much too soon, for those who cynically expect this jaded world to have no recuperative power, for those who (like the Communists) fear new ideas, the report on UNESCO would be unfavorable.

The record shows, however, that UNESCO has many accomplishments to its credit. It has developed a grand conception, a bold design for building the defenses of peace in the minds of men. UNESCO is an agency fired with great hopes and reasoned optimism. Its proponents are in agreement with the late Henry Stimson, who said that "the great sin is cynicism." Here are some of the specific accomplishments of UNESCO.

First of all, UNESCO has mapped the communications facilities of most of the world. I say "most of the world" because the satellite countries and the Soviet Union did not cooperate with the investigation of worldwide facilities in news-print production, press, radio, film, and television. These were on-the-spot

studies made by trained investigators. The data are available in a series of volumes entitled "Press, Film, and Radio."

Was this a good job? Was the money well spent? Let me note briefly what Terry Ramsaye, an eminent American historian of the motion picture, said about these studies in the Motion Picture Herald for December 1, 1951:

"\* \* \* It is amazingly detached, positively impersonal, not a name in the book, containing no message beyond the facts succinctly stated, endlessly \* \* \* It should be better known than it ever will be \* \* \* It is the best this observer has seen out of the United Nations and its complex efforts so far. It stands in conspicuous contrast to the inept motion picture fumbblings that emanated from the League of Nations those years ago."

Following these extensive survey reports, there have been additional studies of mass media, namely, Television and Education in the United States by Charles Siepmann, and a report on children's films prepared by Henri Storck of Belgium. Other reports include educational radio, professional programs for journalism, preparation of teachers for use of audiovisual materials, and others. These reports were prepared by able specialists aided by strong worldwide committees.

It is hard to single out one major activity of UNESCO as its major contribution. I believe, that its establishment of a program for fundamental education will have far-reaching influence. Fundamental education is conceived not merely as developing literacy but it includes the development of health, recreation, improved farming, and general citizenship.

Two regional centers have already been started to develop teachers of teachers in fundamental education, and others are planned. The first center, established at Patzcuaro in Mexico, has just graduated its first class of 50. The second center has been established in Egypt near Cairo. Graduates of these centers will establish similar centers in their own countries.

These centers provide guidance in developing simple reading materials, producing audiovisual materials for teaching health and improved farming practices. They teach the use of films with adults of limited education, making the necessary adaptations for varying audiences. Obviously, we need centers like these in all the underdeveloped countries. The additional centers to be developed by UNESCO are, after all, only pilot centers, spearheads, visible samples, capable of endless imitation and duplication.

What else has UNESCO done? It makes a continuing, worldwide study of fellowships and scholarships available to able and deserving students. It has also provided a small number of fellowships each year for mature, able specialists, persons of educational prominence who already hold key educational positions in their own country.

Some of these persons who are interested in radio or audiovisual materials have come to the Ohio State University. They take specialized work with us for 3 months, and then return to their own countries to become pivotal figures in mass communication. They have come to us from Haiti, Jamaica, the Philippines, Denmark, Cuba, and other countries. It is heart warming to see the excellent readers developed by these UNESCO specialists or through related projects—readers which teach the art of reading and at the same time help farmers grow more corn, decrease the amount of hookworm, improve sanitary facilities.

To a degree that may be surprising to many in the United States, there has been a striking development abroad in the use of mass media and audiovisual materials. Due to UNESCO, to the United States Information Service, to active promotion by governments themselves, the world is learning how to use new methods of communication. The capacity to absorb ideas through films, radio, and television is running ahead of the ability to get these ideas through reading. However, the improvement of farming, of health, of citizenship through these means will provide funds and motivation for later and vitally necessary work in the teaching and learning of reading.

But scholarship and books have not been neglected. A unique invention, the film and book coupon plan, which has been developed and widely used by UNESCO, enables schools and colleges in soft-currency countries to buy films, books, and scientific equipment in hard-currency countries. A variant of this plan, the gift coupon plan, enables persons in France, England, the United States, and other countries to aid educational projects in India, Pakistan, and other underdeveloped countries through the gift of a community radio, a microscope, books, or other educational material.

What else has UNESCO done? UNESCO has the responsibility of getting groups of specialists together. It is a convener of international meetings, a com-

munication system for bringing together able educational specialists, artists, scientists, teachers. It has established worldwide journals. In short, it puts persons in touch with each other to carry out educational, scientific, or cultural purposes. It has sent educational missions to many countries to aid in educational reconstruction. Dean Donald Cottrell of the Ohio State University has recently returned from a 6-month educational mission to Korea which he headed. In 1952 alone, 22 such educational missions were requested by member governments.

UNESCO has helped to create a European nuclear research center, has aided 100,000 Arab refugee children get a primary education, has developed a uniform system of Braille to simplify the education of the millions of the world's blind.

UNESCO has brought the ablest biologists, sociologists, and other scientists together to study the problem of race. Their reports have exploded the ancient myths about inferior and superior races. For those who derive great benefit from perpetuating such myths, such conclusions are hard to take. Yet the construction of the defenses of peace in the minds of men must not rest on the shallow pretensions of superiority of race.

These are a few of the accomplishments of UNESCO. But the needs of the world are so overwhelming that these may seem meager in amount. These projects will continue and multiply. They will do an enormous amount of good.

Yet the contribution of UNESCO is over and above such specific projects. UNESCO is an act of affirmation in a troubled, disorderly world. It is an act of involvement, a responsible commitment to improve the lot of the common and the uncommon man throughout the world. UNESCO helps us learn the necessary lesson that our pledge of allegiance of "liberty and justice for all" is not bounded by our family, our friends, our State, or our Nation. It is as wide as the world itself.

As this world gets smaller, the people in it must get bigger. They must get big enough to see themselves in a rich network of human associations, a network which not only helps us take care of our obligations to our school, college, library, city, State, or Nation, but also shows us how to be a good human being in a good world.

Mr. McCULLOUGH. I have one other comment relating to something UNESCO is doing that coincides with our national interest without intruding on the sovereignty or interest of another member state. I cite as an example the educational mission which UNESCO sent to Korea, a year and a half ago, and this mission produced a report and recommendations which are now being used by UNKRA, and by the Government of Korea, as a basis for rebuilding and democratizing the educational system in Korea. Now, this is another way in which American influence is expressed in a way that is highly acceptable to people in other parts of the world.

The Chairman of this group was Dr. Donald P. Cottrell, who was chief of the delegation and who is the head of the school of education at the Ohio State University. I am not submitting this for the record. I simply want to mention this as a practical service that UNESCO is performing for a member state at the request of that member state.

Mr. MERROW. I am glad you called it to our attention.

Mr. McCULLOUGH. Here are five articles that might be called short, short stories, that are of great interest to us as a government. They relate to steps that are being taken to build solidarity among a group of countries that are on the southern periphery of the Soviet Union. These countries are Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Burma, and Thailand. These short, short stories describe the efforts that UNESCO has undertaken in cooperation with other specialized agencies of the United Nations to help build up the educational systems in those countries and combat illiteracy which, as you know, is one of the chief problems and a problem that must be solved if those countries are to advance economically and socially.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the opportunity to appear before you. I apologize to the subcommittee for having consumed so much of your time.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. McCullough, we appreciate your comprehensive, detailed, and factual presentation of many of the issues that are involved here, and I think it is most enlightening to have these facts on the record.

Mr. LeCompte, do you have any questions?

Mr. LeCompte. I have no questions. I want to express appreciation for the detailed and studied presentation that you have given us. Really, I don't think of any question I want to submit at this moment.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Hays.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Chairman, we have some other witnesses, and I don't want to prolong this examination, but if Mr. McCullough would be available later after we have had an opportunity to digest some of this material and can proceed a little more leisurely, I would like to have an opportunity to explore some of these points with him. I think it is necessary for us to hear other witnesses, so I forego any further examination.

Mr. CARNAHAN. I will forego any questioning at this time. Perhaps we will have a chance to visit with Mr. McCullough at some later date.

Mr. MERROW. We will have that chance.

We would like to have you come back. I have several questions, and other members have, and we would like to explore them.

Mr. HAYS. This has been very helpful, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. McCULLOUGH. Mr. Chairman, I believe someone requested a list of the current membership of the National Commission.

Mr. MERROW. Yes, that's right. I don't know that we want it for the record, but we would like to have it here with the subcommittee. We will call you again.

(The document referred to is contained in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. MERROW. Our next witness this morning is Mr. Andrew E. Rice, executive director of the American Veterans Committee. Mr. Rice.

Mr. RICE. Mr. Chairman, I have a brief statement which I can make very quickly.

Mr. MERROW. You may proceed as you wish.

#### STATEMENT OF ANDREW E. RICE, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE, INC.

Mr. RICE. Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, the American Veterans Committee, an organization of veterans of World Wars I, II, and the Korean conflict, wholeheartedly endorses the United Nations.

From the time when three AVC representatives were consultants to the United States delegation at the San Francisco Conference in 1945, AVC has worked for a stronger United Nations with full United States participation. AVC has actively supported United Nations Day. It has actively participated in conferences of the United States National Commission for UNESCO and of the American Association for the United Nations. It has accredited represen-

tatives at the United States mission to the United Nations and participates in the conference group of United States national organizations at the United Nations. It has vigorously endorsed the United Nations action in Korea. It has always looked ahead to a greater degree of world law than is possible even under the United Nations.

These are not unusual matters for alert citizens, though they are unusual in veterans organizations. One of the reasons for AVC's creation was dissatisfaction with the narrow, parochial thinking which characterized so many old-line veterans groups. We did not want these organizations to speak in the name of all veterans when we knew very well that they did not speak for us.

AVC's greatest contribution in support of the U. N. is the leading role which it has played in the founding and developing of the World Veterans Federation. The WVF now has 18 million members in 22 countries and is the fourth largest nongovernmental international organization. It is wholly dedicated to support of the United Nations, and in cooperation with the U. N. carries on an extensive rehabilitation program for disabled veterans in scores of countries. Since 1945 AVC has had a vision of such an international association of ex-servicemen. AVC worked increasingly to make that dream come true. Today, 1 of 5 United States member groups, AVC is still the sparkplug of the WVF's dynamic action program.

The story of the WVF is a fascinating one which I should be glad to recount in greater detail. AVC believes that, by working to create solidarity among those who bore arms, it has taken a long step forward in providing a sound basis for a peaceful world.

I am appearing here today, sir, as a representative of a veterans' organization, primarily to make clear that veterans as well as other elements in our citizenry do support the United Nations and its specialized agencies. I have listed briefly in my statement the ways in which we have supported the United Nations and why we, as a veterans' group, feel it is important to speak out, because we feel that some other veterans' organizations have created an impression that veterans as a group have some kind of an antagonism to world cooperation.

I know this isn't true for the great majority of veterans, but nonetheless, the leadership of some of the old-line veterans' groups sometimes give that impression.

What I particularly would like to talk about is something I think would interest the subcommittee. The subcommittee probably knows about it already, and that is the World Veterans Federation, which AVC, and four other veterans groups in the United States, belong to. The World Veterans Federation is now the fourth largest international nongovernmental organization in the world. It has about 20 million members in 22 countries. It has grown quite rapidly since it was started in November 1950, and today has a large headquarters in Paris and an affiliation of 104 member organizations in these 22 countries.

The World Veterans Federation is dedicated to the support of the United Nations and as a practical demonstration of its support of international cooperation, it carries on an ever-increasing program of rehabilitation for disabled veterans.

Now, here in the United States, of course, we have a program of rehabilitation second to none in our own Veterans' Administration, but this is not true in most of the countries of the world.

The disabled veteran often receives a small pension or a lump-sum payment, but he gets no help or assistance in rehabilitating himself to take an active part in the life of the community.

Under the auspices of the World Veterans Federation, training courses, seminars, institutes, conferences, have been held, bringing together all those interested in rehabilitation of the disabled, to train them in methods of building artificial limbs, of teaching blind people how to read, and so forth.

As another part of this program, the federation has developed with CARE, the American organization, the program of helping-hand kits, with which people in this country can help individual disabled veterans by sending abroad braille wrist watches, wheel chairs, and other types of equipment. The American Veterans Committee, my group, cooperates fully in that helping-hand program.

I have here little leaflets about the World Veterans Federation which I would like to hand out to each member of the subcommittee. If you would like to have them, I will leave them here and you can look them over at your leisure.

Mr. MERROW. We will be happy to have them.

Mr. RICE. We have found in this World Veterans Federation, that, sitting down together with people of other countries and working out practical problems is one of the most tangible ways of creating international good will and understanding.

We have found that the Israeli and Egyptian delegations sit down and talk over problems of how to help the man who has lost his leg. The Yugoslavs and Italians sit down side by side.

At the last Geneva assembly of the WVF, held in Holland, last November, a German veterans' group was admitted to membership—disabled veterans' group. This is the first time anything like that has happened and demonstrated what a lot of good will and understanding there is among these men, most of whom were in battle against the Germans only a few short years ago.

That is really all I want to say here today, Mr. Chairman. I think everyone who is acquainted with this program, President Eisenhower and others such as Harold Russell, the famed movie star who is the vice president of the world veterans' group, are deeply excited about this opportunity of cooperation and we in the United States hope that the larger veterans' organizations, the American Legion, and VFW, who, so far, have not seen fit to associate themselves with this movement, will find it a good thing to do and will join some of the smaller groups, including our own, who have taken the lead in building this international cooperation.

I will be glad to answer any specific questions, sir.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. LeCompte—

Mr. Lecompte. You represent who?

Mr. RICE. We call it the AVC.

Mr. Lecompte. Is that the same as the AMVETS?

Mr. RICE. No, sir; it is a separate organization.

Mr. Lecompte. It is an organization of veterans of World War II?

Mr. RICE. World War II originally, and now open to all veterans.

Mr. Lecompte. All veterans previous to World War II?

Mr. RICE. World War II and the Korean period.

Mr. Lecompte. It was organized after World War II?

Mr. RICE. That's right.



Mr. LeCOMPTE. It is not to be confused with AMVETS?

Mr. RICE. No, sir.

Mr. LeCOMPTE. Or the American Legion?

Mr. RICE. No, sir.

Mr. LeCOMPTE. Or VFW?

Mr. RICE. It is not to be confused with any of them.

Mr. LeCOMPTE. Well, what is it?

Mr. RICE. AVC was organized originally around the slogan of "Citizens first, veterans second." That is it believes the best interest of the veteran is maintained by building for the welfare of all citizens. It did not want to see veterans set aside as a separate class with special rights and privileges. It has always supported veterans legislation, legitimate legislation to help the veteran who was disabled or who lost time and skills by serving our country. It never favored general service pensions for everyone in the service. It has always opposed bonuses.

Mr. LeCOMPTE. Just for the sake of finding out what I can, you speak of the organization of WVF. That is the World Veterans Federation?

Mr. RICE. Yes, sir.

Mr. LeCOMPTE. That is veterans of all countries?

Mr. RICE. Twenty-two countries are affiliated.

Mr. LeCOMPTE. Does that include American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars?

Mr. RICE. No, sir. In this country it represents only five small organizations, the Disabled American Veterans which is fairly large, the AMVETS, the AVC, my group, the Military Order of the Purple Heart, and the Blinded Veterans Association.

Mr. LeCOMPTE. What about the auxiliaries?

Mr. RICE. And the auxiliaries of those groups.

Mr. LeCOMPTE. But not the auxiliaries of the Legions, VFW, and the AMVETS?

Mr. RICE. No, sir.

Mr. LeCOMPTE. Well, membership in one of your organizations automatically makes him a member of the World Veterans Federation?

Mr. RICE. That's correct. It is a federation of organizations. It doesn't have individual members.

Mr. LeCOMPTE. It doesn't have individual members, but has general membership.

Well, I think that's all the questions I have.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Hays.

Mr. HAYS. I see that by the list there are no Iron Curtain countries in the group.

Mr. RICE. That's correct. They were originally invited, but they, of course, refused, and they certainly wouldn't come in now, because WVF is supporting the United Nations in Korea and so forth.

As a matter of fact, we know how opposed the whole Soviet bloc is, because of what is happening at the United Nations right now. The WVF has a consultative status there, a consultative status in category B, and since the year so large, now the fourth largest group, they have asked to move into category A, which is a much more restricted group of organizations, restricted only to the very largest, and the Soviet Union has opposed this.

Mr. HAYS. Thank you.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Carnahan.

Mr. CARNAHAN. I have no questions.

Mr. MERROW. Thank you, Mr. Rice.

Our next witness is Mr. Merwin K. Hart, president of the National Economic Council, Inc.

**STATEMENT OF MERWIN K. HART, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL  
ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC.**

Mr. MERROW. You have been before this committee before, have you not, Mr. Hart?

Mr. HART. Yes, sir, quite a few times.

Mr. MERROW. Would you tell us something about your council?

Mr. HART. The National Economic Council is an organization of several thousand citizens in all States, interested in preserving private enterprise and among other things, American independence.

I appreciate very much the opportunity of coming here and expressing our views on the United Nations and its specialized agencies, and I gather that this subcommittee in its special work has something to do with the fact that there may be, and probably will be, important amendments next year to the United Nations Charter.

Mr. MERROW. The subcommittee is very much interested in that. Considerable work has been done along this line in the Senate.

The study mission that was in Europe last fall dealt with the specialized agencies.

Mr. HART. That is Lawrence Smith and one other.

Mr. MERROW. No, the study mission included Mr. Morano and Mr. Bentley. I served as Chairman. We are very much interested in anything that has to do with the United Nations, its specialized agencies, and international movements.

Go ahead.

Mr. HART. The United Nations and its specialized agencies seem to us to be perhaps the most important problem now before the American people. So long as the problem isn't solved right, its importance will increase.

If the United Nations and its agencies are good for the people of the United States then both the Congress and the people ought to be in favor of them. If they are not, then surely the Congress should not favor them; and the people, when informed, certainly will not be for them.

The American people and the Congress were told when the United Nations was first publicized in the press that its great object was to promote peace. Such an atmosphere was created through persistent propaganda that when the United Nations' Charter reached the Senate, there were few either in or out of Congress who doubted the sincerity of those who had set up the United Nations.

But, since then the country has become better informed. There has been one long history of disillusionment. The Secretary General of San Francisco Conference, and a chief architect of the United Nations, Alger Hiss, was convicted and is still serving time in a Federal penitentiary for perjury in denying his relations with communism. He is now widely held to have been a traitor, greater than Benedict Arnold, for he was in a position to do far more harm than Arnold ever was.

Second perhaps only to him, among the group which, according to sworn testimony before congressional committees, were traitors to their country, was Harry Dexter White.

These men were two of the principal figures in setting up the United Nations. If the facts about Hiss and White had been known when the United Nations Charter was before the Senate, it is hardly likely that it would have been ratified.

In connection with the launching of the United Nations in May 1945, I wish to quote the following from the April 1945 issue of Political Affairs, the official organ of the Communist Party of the United States, written by James S. Allen. He says—and this was a month before the San Francisco Conference:

The major question for us in connection with the San Francisco Conference is to assure the adherence of the United States to the world security organization. In this spirit of the policies formulated in the Crimea declaration we have come a long way along this path. But the final battle has not yet been won, although we are in an extremely favorable position to destroy the remaining bridgehead of opposition \* \* \*.

At the time of the Moscow Conference, October 1943, the Senate voted 85 to 5 in favor of United States participation in a world security organization, even changing the phraseology to accord with the Moscow Declaration. \* \* \* Great popular support and enthusiasm for United Nations' policies should be built up, well organized and fully articulate. But it is also necessary to do more than that. The opposition must be rendered so impotent that it will be unable to gather any significant support in the Senate against the U. N. Charter and the treaties which will follow \* \* \*.

And, I would emphasize the "treaties," Mr. Chairman.

Thus, not only did Communists sit in on the drafting of the United Nations Charter, but they were taking steps to assure themselves of the ratification of both the charter and the treaties that would follow.

Section 7 of article 2 of the United Nations Charter says that—

Nothing in the charter shall authorize the U. N. to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state, nor shall it require the members to submit such matters to settlement under the charter \* \* \*.

It is significant to me, Mr. Chairman, that apparently all through the charter, it is referred to as "the present charter," and I am wondering if they were not looking forward to amendments that might be passed in 1955, as the real charter which they were aiming for. I don't recall that in the Constitution of the United States we talked about "the present Constitution."

Many Senators have stated that, if this provision had not been in the charter, they would not have voted to ratify the charter.

But controlling persons in and out of the United Nations and its specialized agencies, who have been able to mold underlying policy, have, ever since the charter was ratified, consistently sought to get away from the plain meaning of this provision.

Thus, in January of 1948, John M. Humphrey, a Montreal lawyer, in the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science stated that the program of the Commission on Human Rights, which is a subagency of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, was to develop treaty law and international law so that it would cover the domestic internal affairs of the member states of the United Nations.

In the American Bar Association Journal for April 1949, page 285, Moses Moscovitz, who is or was consultative councilor of Jewish organizations of New York City—this is the only designation I can find for him—expressed the opinion that—

once a matter has become, in one way or another the subject of regulation by the United Nations, be it by resolution or the General Assembly, or by convention between member states at the instance of the United Nations, that subject ceases to be a matter being "essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the member states."

Mr. Moscovitz added that—

\* \* \* such a matter represents the official view of the United Nations \* \* \*

On September 23, 1950, the State Department in Publication 3972, Foreign Affairs Policy, Series 26, stated that there is now no longer any real difference between domestic and foreign affairs.

In other words, the domestic matters of the several nations, including the United States, were to be considered beyond the reach of the United Nations—but only so long as the United Nations should choose not to include them.

Thus, with respect to section 7 of Article 2 of the charter, those back of the United Nations, not excluding our own State Department, have been perpetrating a fraud.

Now, since 1945, when the charter was adopted and ratified, a movement has developed to form what goes by the name of World Government. We have the Atlantic Union whose purpose is to unite under one government those countries signatory to the North Atlantic Treaty. The inclusion of the United States with Britain reminds us of the idea originally propagated by Cecil Rhodes, and furthered by such organizations as some of the Carnegie foundations, of bringing the United States back under the control of the British Empire.

Then we have had several organizations advocating world government, the chief of which perhaps is known as the United World Federalists. The United World Federalists frankly advocates our throwing in our lot with the other nations of the world, thus casting away our sovereignty and abiding thereafter by the decisions of 60 or 70 nations, all of them inferior to us in wealth, most of them in culture, and all of them in standard of living. Astonishingly enough, a great many responsible men and women in the United States, largely, of course, on the eastern seaboard where they seem to fall more quickly for schemes like this—and I live on the eastern seaboard—have been taken in by this scheme of world government. World government is ballyhooed even in our schools and universities.

I ask the committee to permit the insertion in its record of Economic Council Letter 312 of June 1, 1953, entitled, "When World Government Moves In." The author is Douglas Reed, widely known writer, who was the representative in Germany of the London Times during most of the 1930's.

All of you gentlemen may have seen this, or have had the chance to see it, but I would like to have that entered in the record.

Mr. MERROW. It will be included in the record.

(The information referred to is as follows:)

[From Economic Council Letter 312, June 1, 1953. Published by the National Economic Council, Inc., New York, N. Y.]

### WHEN WORLD GOVERNMENT MOVES IN

By Douglas Reed

"World Government" is today's phrase, as "National Socialism" and "Communism" were yesterday's phrases; they have now been tested in practice. How would world government look if it, too, were to pass from phrase to reality, how would people feel when it moved in? Here is the picture as the One Worlders themselves see it:

Soviet troops (after a Soviet defeat, or without one) would be in Mobile, Ala.; also in Canada, Australia, Africa, India, China. They, the Chinese and Indians would predominate in the world army because its units would be related to population strength. These units would be stationed anywhere in the world except in their own countries. Their duty would be to enforce the world government's law and prevent human beings from "sheltering behind national allegiance."

The World Parliament would be composed of appointed members (elections being unacceptable to the Soviet and other dictatorships) and also would reflect population strengths, so that Asia would dominate it. There would be no guaranteed individual rights or liberties; this one matter would be left to the sovereign determination of the nations no longer sovereign (so that slave-labor camps and imprisonment without trial could continue unhindered).

The World Parliament would appoint a world government (presumably located in Asia), but apparently this executive would be less powerful than the permanent bureaucracy, consisting of a world director, 8 zone directors and 51 regional directors. These potentates would never serve in their own countries. In their careerists' utopia (their realms are already mapped) they would reign over any lands but their own, with the help of the equally alien world army units.

In this one world, then, the West (the United States and Canada, Britain, and the Commonwealth countries, and Western Europe) would become a vassal area of Asia. In this scheme all the age-old lusts of greed and conquest reappear in a new gift-wrapping. Where Hitler and Stalin practiced annexation in the name of lebensraum and vulnerable frontiers, world government would take over African, Middle Eastern and ocean territories on the pretext that they are underdeveloped.

This will not appear a crackpot or screwball scheme to any who consider that it has in 40 years grown from something very small to its present shape of advanced realization. The Korean war, where Western fighting men have already been reduced to the status of unidentified U. N. Forces and where victory is an objective apparently forbidden them, looks very much like a rehearsal for the rearrangement of mankind outlined above.

It is dangerous enough for the West to need all the safeguards it can get, such as Senator John W. Bricker's proposed constitutional amendment to ensure that no treaty can ever override the rights of United States citizens, and similar efforts now being made in Britain. The history of this country is that of the repeated triumph of small, well-organized minorities over inert masses; the group behind the plan to override national rights by United Nations treaty is extremely well organized.

The outline of world government given above is taken straight from a document, with appended map, distributed at the recent, second conference of WAPWG. This, the latest set of despotic initials, means World Association of Parliamentarians for World Government. (I will hereafter insert a vowel, to make the unutterable hieroglyph WAPWG utterable and call it Wapwag.)

As various world government organizations already existed, some special reason obviously prompted the formation of this new body of "parliamentarians." Presumably the intention was to gain a more direct approach to, and greater influence over, the debates of the United Nations.

Wapwag has a definite and astute plan to advance the scheme described above through that body. The drafters of the United Nations Charter inserted in it a curious provision; namely, that the charter might in 1955 be revised by bare majority (such amendment requiring a two-thirds majority in other years).

Wapwag is organizing to make the most of this chance. At its 1952 conference a drafting commission presented two plans for amending the charter. Plan A contained amendments which would at a stroke transform the United Nations into a dictatorial world government of the kind shown above; plan B

contained more moderate amendments, which nevertheless would greatly weaken the already weakened safeguards of nations and individuals and leave States much less able, on a later occasion, to resist plan A.

Both plans were adopted; the choice, which to press to a vote, was left to be made at the last moment before the 1955 Assembly. This (clearly the work of a high directing intelligence) is the strategy of the maximum and minimum objective: if conditions are good, launch the full assault; if they are less favorable, go for the minimum and strike later for the maximum. Success for plan A is unlikely in 1955. In the confusion of another war and its aftermath it might well be rushed through on a snap vote, especially if plan B had earlier succeeded.

(The best hope of full success is apparently seen in a third global war; all the one worlders, one may say, are waiting for that sunrise. This is shown by their attitude toward communism. They express an orthodox repugnance of it and are ardent to crush it, but their world government plans would give dominance to the Soviet area. Thus the masses of the West and of Russia, if they were embroiled, would have more to fear from this party of *der lachende Dritte* (the smiling third party), which would inflict a total despotism on all, than from each other.)

The task of prudence now should be to reinforce the constiutions of the western countries against such attempts, and to prevent the passage of either amendment in 1955, particularly the more moderate-looking one, which plainly is but the thin end of the greater one. The danger (as the vote on nationalization showed) lies in the snap vote. Voting can be greatly swayed by inducement and intimidation behind the scenes (see *The Forrestal Diaries*, pp. 346 and 363, and Dr. Chaim Weizmann's *Trial And Error*, p. 292). A bare majority in 1955 could effect something later hard to undo.

The two plans, between which Wapwag will decide on the eve of the 1955 General Assembly, may be briefly summarized. Plan B would reduce only some of the remaining safeguards of national survival. It would amend the charter by abolishing states' rights of secession; by subjecting them to some yet unknown international law to be drafted by "a lawmaking body of 31 persons not answerable to their own states"; and by altering voting strength to bring it into relationship with "economic and/or population factors." That is much, but it is the capture of the outer walls, not the central citadel.

Plan A would go the whole way. It would amend the charter so that the United Nations would be transformed at once into a superstate over nations. Compulsory membership, however, would not at first be demanded, apparently only because "this might well involve war." It might be much better if the world government were to start by waging war on nations to make them join; then it would at once stand revealed for what it is.

Once in, there would be no right of secession. The world army would be formed (in the manner described above) to enforce all disarmament but its own. A new International Court of Justice would pronounce on all disputes between states, or between states and citizens of other states. The behavior of the League of Nations toward Armenia and Palestine, and of the United Nations toward Eastern Europe and Palestine, may indicate what manner of justice this tribunal would dispense.

A world parliament of two houses would be formed. Clearly out of deference toward the Iron Curtain area, no electoral law is proposed; the appointment of parliamentarians is left to local governments, and population, once again, would govern the number of representatives sent to the lower house. The world parliament would levy tribute (the specious term used is "raise revenue") on nations once sovereign, and pass laws on any matter held by it to be in its province. Every person in the world would become a world citizen and be subject to these laws; if he (or she) tried to hide behind national allegiance, the alien soldiers of the world army would winkle him (or her).

Would there, then, be no Bill of Rights, no Magna Carta, no law of habeas corpus in this world state designed at last to liberate mankind from fear and want? No. A Bill of Rights is mentioned, but it is a fake, because it would apply only to acts committed by members of the world army, and not to those done by local governments. Thus in this happy one world concentration camp law could continue as it continues under the United Nations and its Declaration of Human Rights.

These are the published proposals of parliamentarians for the amendment of the United Nations Charter. The unpublished document distributed at the last conference then describes in detail the actual organization of full world govern-

ment: The permanent directorate, the world army, and the stationing of troops, as they are envisaged by these folk. The picture given is that of a nationless slave world, where Asiatic troops would be posted all over the Christian West, and American, British, and European units, shorn of their nationhood and birth-right, would be scattered in forlorn foreign legions over the face of the earth for the oppression of peoples alien to them.

Who are these folk? Well, Wapwag is a self-appointed body with a self-chosen executive of honorary president, chairman, 3 vice presidents, secretary general, and 19 members. The executive is supposed to have an advisory council of 70 members (a significant number). In the familiar manner, the executive was empowered by the last conference to create this advisory council.

The frontal figures are typical of our time. The honorary president, Lord Boyd Orr, once headed a League of Nations commission and later, for a spell, one of the many United Nations international agencies. Thus he has acquired the taste for large undertakings and is no doubt available for others. The chairman is Mr. Clement Davies, whose record does not violently support a claim to manage the world. He is the leader of the Liberal Party in the British House of Commons, which once had several hundred seats and today has half a dozen. Among the vice presidents is Congressman Adam Clayton Powell. The United World Federalists, located in the United States, work in close harmony with Wapwag.

Membership of Wapwag was supposed to be limited to members of parliaments but this was soon changed to include former members, which extends the bounds of the brotherhood toward infinity. Thus, an anti-Franco Spaniard was loudly applauded for demanding that Spain be debarred from membership. Therewith Wapwag removed the benevolent universalist mask and displayed the familiar leftist face. This again appeared when a speaker proposed that Prof. Albert Einstein and Mr. Charles Chaplin would be ideal ornaments of the World Parliament's senate; and when a Zionist speaker, loudly cheered, said, "We must expand political control away from Europe and America; European and American philosophies are stale."

These incidents are recorded to show the nature of Wapwag, not to prompt derision, for it should be taken most seriously. Such platform and auditorium figures are not important; in the Western capitals today their kind can be plucked from the trees of vanity and credulity like nuts in the fall. The organizers and drafters are the dangerous men, and they are little seen, heard, or known.

Mr. Alger Hiss and Mr. Harry Dexter White were the chief drafters of the United Nations Charter, and probably were responsible for the provision relating to 1955 (Mr. Hiss, while awaiting his second trial, publicly declared that a world agency with dictatorial power and authority ought to be set up). Wapwag's drafters include men of similar type (among them prominent Zionists) and in plan A and plan B they have taken up where Mr. Hiss and Mr. White left off.

All these men are continuing in our day a scheme to clamp down a universal (and plainly anti-Christian) despotism on mankind, which first became visible about 160 years ago. In our century it has taken open form and been brought within reach of achievement, through two wars which were supposed to be for Christian freedom and the dignity of man.

It is not a plan of today, or of yesterday. It emerged first as part of the design of the secret societies which prepared the French Revolution. The later infiltration into the United States of the ideas of these Illuminati perturbed one George Washington, so that he was somewhat reproached with McCarthyism (though in the language of his time).

Twenty years later, after the fall of Napoleon, it emerged again, wearing a Christian mask this time and calling itself The Holy Alliance. That collapsed for reasons for which, the present writer hopes, the present attempt will fail; it was in time seen to be an attempt at a supernational dictatorship. Twenty years later, again, one Louis Blanc, in France, was working for world revolution and the superstate (that group of planners in time produced the one which triumphed in 1917 in Moscow).

It is a long way from Louis Blanc to Texas. Probably very few people in Texas, even today, know anything of him: the world has no stonier ground for revolutionary ideas. Nevertheless, 20 or 30 years after Louis Blanc's heyday a young Texan called Edward Mandell House, who by chance had Central European and Zionist associations, was absorbing ideas "reminiscent of Louis Blanc and the revolutionaries of 1848" (to quote the editor of his papers).

Through Mr. House the plan was advanced much further. He thought that he infused ideas into other men's minds, but these ideas had been infused into his own. He was not quite clear about the shape of the design, so that Philip Dru (the hero of his novel of 1912) was an American dictator who wished to bring about "an international grouping or league of powers, founded on Anglo-Saxon solidarity."

Always the wrapping changed, but the central scheme went on: some association, league or other body above nations. Mr. House was virtually president during Mr. Wilson's two terms and in long correspondence discussed the great plan with the ailing British Foreign Minister, Sir Edward Grey. It changed shape again: now these two men talked with each other about some supernatural body which would combine against states which committed inhumane acts in war. But the core of the idea was preserved: some authority over nations; and Sir Edward Grey, the mildest of men, first fell right into the trap. He thought there should be "some league of nations" backed by force. True, he did not use the word "force"; had he done so he probably would have backed away from the whole project; but somebody suggested the genteel-sounding "sanctions" to him and he was ensnared.

By the time Mr. House prompted President Wilson (in 1916) publicly to support the plan for "some league of nations," its true nature had been at last unveiled, for those who had eyes to see, because the President's speech was made to a new "League to Enforce Peace" (the keyword is "enforce," not "peace").

Mr. Wilson himself never seriously studied the program of this league implicitly approved by him. At that point a wise man put in a word (which was ignored): Lord Robert Cecil reminded Mr. House that the Holy Alliance, too, had been started "as a league to enforce peace, but unfortunately it allowed its energies to be diverted—in such a way that it really became a *league to uphold tyranny*." (The italicized words correctly describe today's attempt of the One Worlders.) In 1952, incidentally, Senator Robert Taft used similar words in his book, *A Foreign Policy for Americans*: "The theory of an international state bearing the same relation to nations and their citizens as our Federal Government bears to the States and their citizens appears to me, at least in this century, to be fantastic, dangerous, and impractical." American friends tell me that this opinion may have cost Senator Taft the presidential nomination. I am not competent to judge if that might be so; if it is, it shows that the One Worlders are powerful, not merely "crackpots."

In the sequence to President Wilson's speech, Mr. House set up a body called merely The Inquiry to draft the plan of a "new world order." The leading spirits were Dr. Sidney Mezes (Mr. House's brother-in-law); Dr. Isaiah Bowman; and Mr. Walter Lippmann (who today is a vigorous opponent of the Bricker amendment). Apparently this body produced the first American draft of a "Convention for a League of Nations"; Mr. House's biographer says that "Mr. Wilson was not and never pretended to be the author of the covenant."

Nevertheless, Mr. Wilson insisted that there must be a new "general association of nations" and so stated in his famous 14 points speech of January 1918. The fate of the 14 points is known; one of them related to the independence of the Palestine Arabs. However, the "association of nations," in its first edition, was established. The League To Enforce Peace was the first open move of the One Worlders; out of it came the League of Nations, and out of that came the United Nations. The present plan is one to realize, through this misnamed body, the United Nations, the fullness of the old, original plan: a league to uphold tyranny. There is a fairly clear line of descent from the Illuminati, who aroused George Washington's misgivings, through Louis Blanc and Philip Dru to Wapwag of 1953.

Wapwag and its kindred organizations will be interesting to watch, especially in 1955. The men whose names appear on the letterheads and playbills may be crackpots or cranks, idealists or careerists out of a job; the men behind them are dangerous, know exactly what they want, and through two generations of western politicians, dazzled by the word "internationalism," have come near to achieving it.

They have more than one iron in the fire, too. The plan to superimpose their world government on nations through treaties is a skillful one, and there is a Californian judgment on record to show how insidiously the incredible might be achieved. Something equally dangerous (and against this not even the Bricker amendment or like safeguards in other western countries would give protection) is the possible use of force, in any situation resembling the anarchic



one which existed (in Western Europe) in the months following the end of the fighting.

The "seizures" in 1951 and 1952 of various American cities by troops, apparently ordered and authorized to consider themselves as members of a world army, might be of significance in this respect. These incidents looked like rehearsals for the kind of regime outlined in the Wapwag document which I have summarized above. There has been at least one similar incident in another western country, France, where the mayor of Cahors (a one worlder) suddenly seized a neighboring town, declared it to have been "mundialized" and compelled the citizens to subscribe themselves as world citizens in the main square.

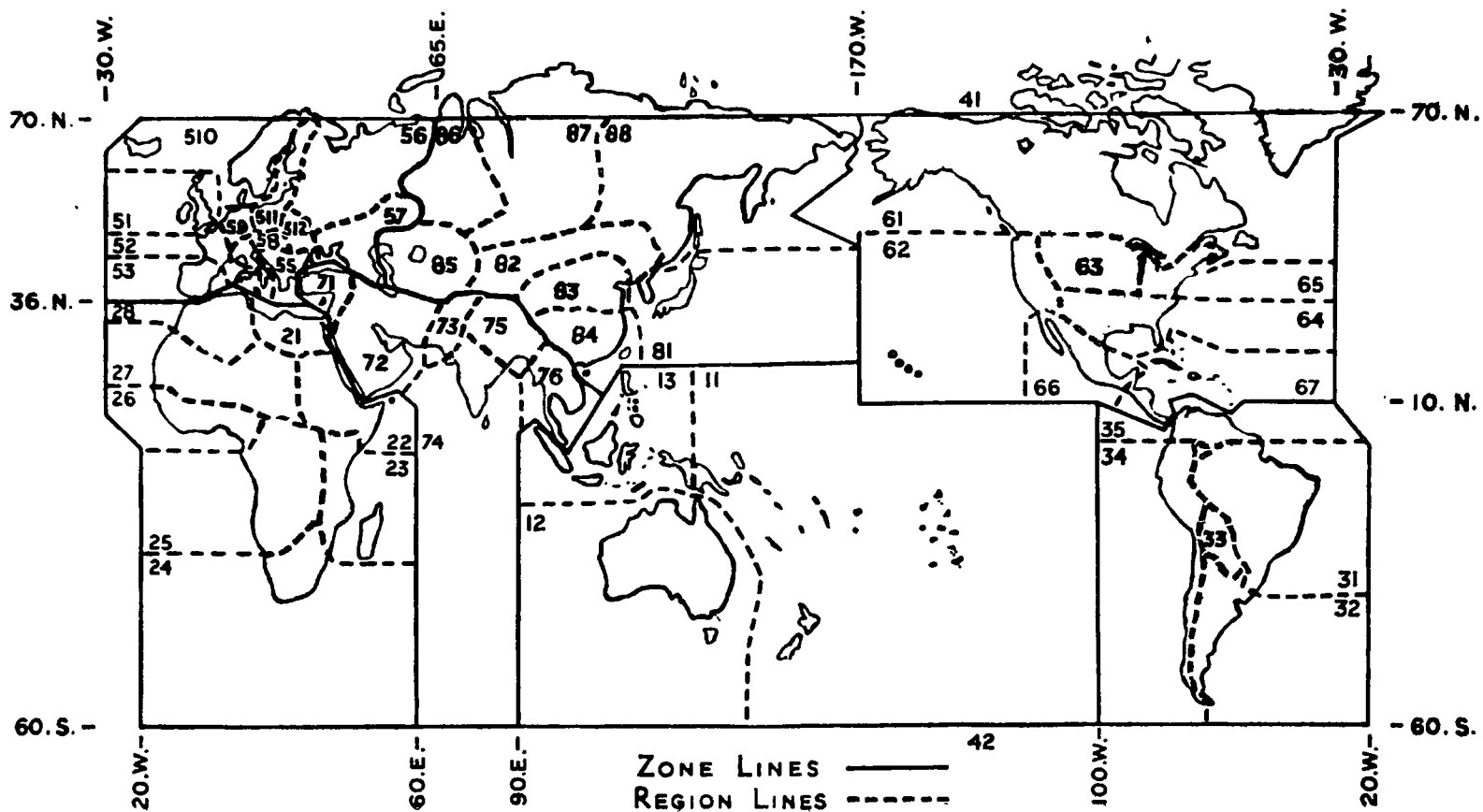
To me it seems clear that the one worlders would use any third war to clamp down on mankind a tyranny worse than the Communist one, the destruction of which would, at the outset, be declared as the objective. That would simply be the repetition of the course taken by the second war, in which tyranny was overthrown merely to enlarge the area of tyranny. It is from this third quarter that the new falsification of purposes threatens. The one worlders, I estimate, need more vigilantly to be watched than even the Communists; and home defense in the West needs to be directed against them even more than against bombs, for these 40 years have shown them to be expert in the thought control of leading politicians.

Mr. HART. Mr. Reed writes about an organization known as the World Association of Parliamentarians for World Government. Down to the present moment this organization has held three meetings. At its second in September 1952 in London, an outline of world government and an appended map were distributed, and two so-called charter revision resolutions were adopted. This outline of world government contemplated the division of the world into regions and zones.

And, I would like to file a photostatic copy of this map with the subcommittee.

Mr. MERROW. Without objection it will be included.

(The map referred to is as follows:)



Mr. HART. An essential part of the plan is that the world army contemplated in the plan would be so distributed that troop contingents of any country would never serve within the country. Thus, American troops could be sent to some bleak and distant points, there to carry out the determinations of the world government. World law would be enforced in our zone which, by the way, includes all of North America, not by American authorities but by the troops of other countries, perhaps Soviet Russia, China, India, or Africa. National lines, let alone State lines, as we have known them in the United States would disappear.

Does all this sound fantastic? Well, it is no more fantastic than the provisions of the Genocide Convention under which if an American citizen should give offense to someone of different race or creed or color, thereby causing "mental harm," as the convention phrases it, he could, if the United States refused to prosecute him, be transported overseas for trial before an international tribunal.

I asked one of the keener members of the British Parliament last summer what the World Government Association is and whether it has an influence. He replied, "My experience of the world government movement is that it is the kind of organization no one likes to say 'No' to, but no one takes very seriously."

But two world wars in 34 years have been almost devastating to Britain, and have saddled the United States with debt, taxes, and budgets that leave little leeway in event of another general war. And for us to be involved through the United Nations in every quarter of the world, simply increases the likelihood of another war.

The officers of the World Parliamentary Conference on World Government in 1952-53 included as honorary president, Lord Boyd Orr, of England. Clement Davies, for the past 25 years a member of the British Parliament and former Cabinet Minister, was president, and Congressman Adam Clayton Powell of the United States was a vice president.

At the third annual meeting of this world association in Copenhagen in August 1953, General Riiser-Larsen, of Norway, was elected president, and the so-called Copenhagen Declaration was adopted.

I have a copy of that if the committee wishes to see it. I have but one copy, but I could have it photostated and sent to you.

Mr. MERROW. We would like to have that in the subcommittee.

Mr. HART. I will be glad to furnish it, sir.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

[From the *Federalist*, October 1953]

## WORLD CONGRESS REPORT—THE COPENHAGEN DECLARATION

### CHAPTER I

The conference recommends to the governments concerned:

(a) That the United Nations proceed to a general revision of the charter:

(b) That this revision should transform the United Nations into a world federal government in conformity with the following recommendations:

#### *I. Membership in the United Nations*

A. All states shall have a right to membership in the United Nations, provided they accept the terms of the charter.

B. Once a state has been admitted into membership, it shall have no right of secession.

C. The charter shall define what is a state.

D. The Secretary General of the United Nations shall be competent to decide whether an applicant is eligible within the terms of the charter. His decision shall be subject to appeal to the International Court of Justice by either the aggrieved applicant or any member of the U. N.

## *II. Disarmament*

A. The charter shall provide for complete, simultaneous, universal and enforceable disarmament, carried out by rapid stages. (Details of the disarmament plan should be set out in an annex to the charter.) Disarmament shall be subject to inspection and supervision by U. N. police.

B. Production of atomic weapons and other weapons of mass destruction by member states and nonmember states shall be prohibited. Atomic energy shall be placed under the control of the United Nations at all stages where this energy might be used for the production of atomic weapons.

## *III. U. N. inspectorate and police*

The charter shall provide for a U. N. inspectorate to be charged with the supervision of the disarmament plan, and for a U. N. police to enforce the provisions of the charter, the laws enacted thereunder, and the decisions of the International Court of Justice and other organs of the U. N. (Details of the composition and organization of the U. N. inspectorate and police should be set out in an annex to the charter.)

## *IV. International courts*

A. The International Court of Justice shall be given compulsory jurisdiction to decide legal disputes—

1. Between two or more member states.

2. Between any parties, if the dispute concerns the interpretation and application of the charter and laws enacted thereunder.

B. The charter shall provide for the creation of lower courts of the UN, empowered to decide on violations by individuals of the charter and laws enacted thereunder. The International Court of Justice shall have appellate jurisdiction with respect to judgments of such lower courts.

(The annex to the present U. N. charter relating to the International Court of Justice shall be amended accordingly.)

## *V. World equity tribunal*

A. A world equity tribunal, which shall be a section of the International Court of Justice, shall be created with jurisdiction to hear and report on all nonlegal disputes.

B. The decision of the World Equity Tribunal shall be advisory, unless the parties to the dispute have consented in advance to its being binding. (Details of the organization and powers of the World Equity Tribunal should be set out in an annex to the charter.)

## *VI. World legislature*

A. *Constitution.*—1. In place of the present General Assembly a World Legislature shall be established.

2. The World Legislature shall consist of two chambers.

3. One chamber, to be called the Council of States, shall consist of Senators, appointed by the member states.

4. The other chamber, to be called the Council of Peoples, shall consist of elected deputies, the number of deputies from each member state bearing relation to the population of that state.

5. All legislation shall be passed by both chambers.

6. Safeguards shall be established to insure that the views of a minority of the world population are not imposed on a substantial majority.

B. *Powers.*—1. Unlimited power of debate and power to make recommendations on any matters within the scope of the charter or relating to the powers and functions of any organs provided for in the charter.

2. Power to raise revenue for U. N. purposes. The maximum percentage of estimated world income to be collected for U. N. purposes must be defined in the charter, and should be levied proportionately to the national income of each member state.

3. Power to enact legislation strictly confined to matters concerned with and necessary for the preservation of peace.

4. Power to elect and dismiss the World Executive Council or individual members thereof.

#### *VII. World Executive Council*

A. In place of the present Security Council a World Executive Council shall be established.

B. The two chambers of the World Legislature, sitting together, shall appoint the Executive Council.

C. The Executive Council shall be responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security and for carrying out the directives of the World Legislature. The members of the Executive Council shall be elected for a fixed term, but shall be dismissible by the World Legislature.

#### *VIII. Economic and Social Council*

The Economic and Social Council shall be continued and strengthened by giving it increased responsibility for the activities of the specialized agencies and wider powers and ampler means for the development of underdeveloped areas. The necessary funds shall be provided by pooling voluntary contributions of member and nonmember states.

#### *IX. U. N. citizenship*

A. To insure that world law can be enforced by the means of the United Nations against individuals breaking the law, every citizen of a member state shall be a citizen of the U. N. as well as of his own country. The charter and the laws enacted thereunder shall bind each individual citizen of the U. N.

B. The United Nations shall insure that citizens of nonmember states and stateless persons shall act in accordance with the charter, and the laws enacted thereunder, so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of peace.

#### *X. Human rights*

A. A bill of rights shall safeguard all persons against violation by the United Nations of certain basic liberties. (The bill of rights should be set out in an annex to the charter.)

B. No attempt should be made in the charter to safeguard individuals against action by respective member states.

#### *XI. The seat of the United Nations*

The seat of the United Nations shall be established in territory placed under its exclusive sovereignty.

#### *XII. U. N. officers and agents*

The privileges and immunities of the officers and agents of the United Nations should be set out in an annex to the charter.

#### *XIII. Amendments*

The procedure for amending the revised charter shall insure that future amendments will not be imposed on nonassenting member states, unless they embody the views of a substantial majority of the world population.

#### *XIV. Ratification*

A special procedure shall be provided for ratification of the revised charter to insure that it would not come into effect unless supported by a substantial majority of the member states and of the world population.

(NOTE.—Proposals relating to the extension of the trusteeship system are still under consideration.)

### CHAPTER II

While the amendment plan contained in chapter I represents the considered views of the Conference of World Federalists, Copenhagen 1953, on United Nations general charter revision as the minimum workable scheme of world federal government necessary to insure peace and stability throughout the world, the conference has thought it desirable to formulate a number of interim recommendations (set out below) for consideration.

These proposals are set out not as a substitute or alternative to the proposals contained in Chapter I, but as possible first steps to secure the strengthening of the present U. N. Charter in the direction of world federal government. The proposals in chapter II are designed to extend the operation of the U. N. so that it may evolve into a world federal government as provided in chapter I.

*Interim recommendations*

1. To replace the present article 2, clause 1, of the Charter of the United Nations with the following:

"The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its members, subject to the correlative principle of the limitation of national sovereignty, but only to the extent necessary for compliance with their obligations under the U. N. Charter."

2. To amend the charter so as to provide that membership in the United Nations be open to all states which agree to accept the obligations contained in the charter, and that, having become a member, no state may secede.

3. To consider ways and means of making the General Assembly more representative than at present, taking into account such factors as population, economic importance, etc.

4. In view of the proposed increase of membership in the United Nations and in order to make the Security Council more representative, it is proposed to amend article 23 so as to provide for a membership of 15, of which 7 would be permanent, and further to amend article 27 so that the decisions of the Security Council on matters relating to security shall be made by an affirmative vote of any 11 members.

5. That article 26 be amended so that the Security Council be made responsible for formulating plans for the establishment of a system of universal, simultaneous, progressive, and enforceable disarmament.

6. To amend article 43 so as to provide for the immediate creation of a nucleus of a United Nations police for the purpose of helping to solve the problems of recruitment, training, supply, and language that will arise in ultimately creating the U. N. police, and meanwhile to make it a duty of U. N. members to place military units at the disposal of the Security Council.

7. To tighten the obligation of member states to report periodically on action taken by them to carry out the resolutions of the General Assembly.

8. To create a World Development Authority, with administrative powers and guarantees of substantial long-term financial assistance that measure up to the increasing challenge presented by world poverty, illiteracy, hunger, and disease. Such a World Development Authority should be administered by the Economic and Social Council under the authority of the General Assembly.

9. To make the prohibition against racial discrimination in article 55 of the United Nations Charter more effective than at present.

10. To improve at present unsatisfactory provisions regarding non-self-governing and trust territories contained in chapters XI, XII and XIII of the charter.

11. To entrust the interpretation of the charter to the International Court of Justice and to provide that any member of the United Nations may refer for the decision of the Court any provision of the charter the meaning of which is disputed or doubtful.

12. To amend the Statute of International Court of Justice so as to authorize the establishment of lower United Nations tribunals to exercise criminal jurisdiction over any individuals accused of offenses against international law.

13. Nothing contained in the charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which in accordance with the decision of the International Court of Justice are solely within the domestic jurisdiction of any state, or shall require the members to submit such matters to settlement under the charter. This principle shall not prevent the United Nations from making recommendations concerning matters of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character.

14. To amend article 109 so that—

(1) the General Assembly alone and by a simple majority may call a revision conference every 5 years after 1955, and that the question whether such a conference shall be called be on the agenda of the regular session of the General Assembly of the U. N. every 5 years after 1955;

(2) the General Assembly by a simple majority and any 11 members of the Security Council may at any time call a revision conference of the U. N.

**PROGRAM OF ACTION FOR FEDERALIST ORGANIZATIONS AND PARLIAMENTARIANS PENDING THE CALLING OF A GENERAL U. N. CHARTER REVISION CONFERENCE**

Pending the calling of a general U. N. revision conference action may be taken at once to improve the functioning of the U. N. and make effective charter amendment politically more possible.

1. Call upon national governments and legislatures and upon leading non-governmental organizations, institutions, and foundations to establish commissions for careful study of the problem of charter amendment in 1955.

2. Urge national governments to intensify their efforts to secure as soon as possible an agreement for the progressive reduction of world armaments.

3. Urge the immediate creation, even if on a small scale, of a U. N. Legion either through the Collective Measures Committee or some other appropriate body.

4. Urge upon national governments greater support of the present U. N. technical assistance program.

5. Urge adoption of the report of the U. N. committee on a special U. N. Fund for Economic Development.

6. Help secure for the U. N. International Law Commission, full-time status, as it has repeatedly requested, so that it may complete the tasks assigned it as rapidly as possible.

7. Urge the International Law Commission to complete, insofar as it can, its effort to draft a codification of existing international law.

8. Urge national governments to instruct their U. N. delegates to consider the adoption of a Code of Offenses Against the Peace and Security of Mankind, using the best features of a draft code prepared by the International Law Commission.

9. Urge national governments to instruct their U. N. delegates to consider the Statute for an International Criminal Court prepared by the special U. N. Committee on International Criminal Jurisdiction with a view to implementing a Code of Offense Against the Peace and Security of Mankind, when such a code is adopted.

10. Urge national governments to make permanent the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories.

11. Support all possible voluntary, concrete measures for increasing human rights, such as seminars and training commissions, examination and action on petitions received by the Commission on Human Rights.

12. Urge the completion of the work of the Committee on Factors that determine when a nation is self-governing.

13. Study carefully, the procedure necessary in each nation for ratification of a revised U. N. charter. Wherever necessary begin the process of preparing to make ratification possible as some countries have recently done in amending their constitutions to make it possible for their parliaments to act in developing international legal order.

Mr. HART. This declaration, whose object is to convert the United Nations into a world government, takes the form of recommendations for a general revision of the United Nations Charter in 1955. Needless to say, this declaration, with which the subcommittee is doubtless familiar, would lay the foundation for the complete destruction of American liberty.

We have no better illustration of the complete deception of some of our intellectuals than the remark made by former Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts in a speech in Ottawa, April 30, 1952, that—

We must decide whether we are to stand on this silly shibboleth, national sovereignty. We must yield national sovereignty to some higher authority, call it what you will.

When the Clement Davieses, the Adam Clayton Powells and the Owen J. Robertses are so close together in their thinking, the danger of the United States being eased into a totalitarian world government can hardly be dismissed as chimerical.

As for the specialized agencies of the United Nations which are subject to, and really a part of, the United Nations, I have already mentioned the Genocide Convention which was voted by the General Assembly. Upwards of 40 nations have ratified this convention.

It is true that at rare times in the world's history substantial parts of whole races have been exterminated. The fact that any sane per-

son looks with horror on such a crime does not necessarily suggest the way to combat it. But certainly the proper way is not by a wholesale law such as the Genocide Convention which defines Genocide as including every offense down to even the making of a crude remark by a person of one race about a person of another, which might be deemed by zealous authorities as coming within the description of "mental harm."

I want to say, here, I realize fully President Eisenhower has said he would never submit the Genocide Treaty, and I think the covenant of human rights and I believe one other. Mr. Eisenhower will not always be President. We will have other Presidents and they may not take the same position.

Incidentally, while we have heard loud cries raised against the crimes of extermination alleged to have been practiced by Nazi Germany and by Fascist Italy, has anybody suggested, either within or without the United Nations, that action be taken against Soviet Russia which has murdered millions of her own nationals, as well as 6,000 to 11,000 Polish officers in the Katyn Forest? And, indeed, through the agency of Soviet China, several thousand American prisoners in the Korean war?

The International Labor Organization, which itself antedates the United Nations, but is now subject to the United Nations, has been the most prolific of all the specialized agencies in its production of agreements and conventions. To take a single one, the convention providing "minimum" standards of social security" for all nations. Under this convention governments ratifying would agree to pay people for:

Any condition requiring medical care of preventive or curative nature, including pregnancy, and any "morbid condition" whatever its cause.

Loss of earnings due to sickness, injury, unemployment, old age, or invalidity, which is defined as "inability to engage in any gainful activity."

Here is a gross attempt to intervene in the internal affairs of the member governments.

Incidentally, the delegate of the American Government, as well as its labor delegates, voted for this convention, while the employer delegate voted against it.

The United States has paid about 70 percent of the cost of maintaining Arab refugees in the Middle East. It has borne at least 90 percent of the cost of the "U. N. War" in Korea, and the taxpayers of the United States—so long as they had anything left would be expected to pay a similar proportion of the deficits that would result from providing the "minimum standards of social security" for all nations.

One of the most active of the specialized agencies of the United Nations is, of course, UNESCO. UNESCO is responsible for full employment, for technical assistance under point 4, for the Covenant on Human Rights, the rights of minorities and the status of women. It is responsible for education, science and culture.

You are all familiar with the Covenant on Human Rights and know that it includes political, economic and social "rights," although certain of the rights are mere aspirations or ambitions.

We have in our possession a document entitled "Questions and Answers" on the United Nations Charter, Genocide Convention and pro-



posed Covenant on Human Rights, issued by the Office of Public Affairs, Department of State, dated June 1952. It is a complete denial that the United Nations, the Genocide Convention, or the Covenant on Human Rights would infringe on the rights of American citizens in the slightest degree. I believe this document is as much a fraud on the American people as was section 7 of article 2 of the United Nations Charter.

I am convinced that together these activities represent a scheme, a veritable plot for taking over the United States, including control of its physical wealth and the activities of its people. Those who are the real authors and promoters of the United Nations—I do not include in these the many good men and women who have been persuaded to lend their names to the promotion of the United Nations' activities—wish to see the American Republic and its people under the secure control of international socialism.

Communists have been found in the United Nations and we know there are many more there. But it is not sufficient to condemn the United Nations and these agencies merely on the ground that any of their activities are promoted by Soviet Russia. If the promoters of the United Nations and its activities are ultimately successful, the American Republic will cease to exist and we will be no better than a province in a totalitarian world government. It will then make little difference whether that government is ruled from Moscow or from some other part of the earth.

In my opinion, too, the whole movement, while boasting of good works, is to a very large extent an anti-Christian movement. For if we should ever be swept into a world government or taken in by deceit—the more likely way—the hundreds of millions of Soviet Russia, or China, and India would dominate America. And those areas are anything but Christian.

I think the American people are rapidly awakening to what is going on. No better evidence of this could be given than that, in spite of every effort the administration could put forth and in spite of the influence of one worldism in the universities and in such centers as New York, Los Angeles, and other cities, the Senate of the United States in late February came within a single vote of passing the Bricker-George amendment by the necessary two-thirds.

The people and the Congress are doing a good deal of thinking on this subject.

It interested me, Mr. Chairman, in analyzing the names of 31 Senators, who had voted against the Bricker-George amendment, that only 7 of them come up for reelection this year.

I think the United Nations and most of the work of its agencies bode no good to the continued prosperity and happiness of the American people. And if it isn't good for America, it will be of little good to the world as a whole, because the world's greatest prospect for improvement lies in gradually developing the personal liberty that has been enjoyed by the American people.

I realize it is going to take a very long time. None of us will ever live to see it accomplished, but a beginning can be made and in some cases is being made.

The Senate and the American people were deceived by the propaganda for the United Nations from 1944 on. It was not a peace organization but a world government organization. The more

straightforward of the United Nations' proponents now admit this. It was designed to capture the United States for the benefit of the ambitious internationalists of other countries and of our own. If we permit it to continue as at present set up, the end of the American Republic is in sight.

In regard to the United Nations as a factor in promoting peace, I would like to make two observations. First, the United Nations has promoted two wars. The resolution passed by the General Assembly of the United Nations November 29, 1947, to partition Palestine caused a war. Not only that, but war was the natural and inevitable result. In this war more than 800,000 Arabs were driven out of Palestine following the utmost cruelty perpetrated upon some of them. And the United States has earned the enmity and hatred of the Arab States. I can testify to this with some firsthand knowledge for in November and December 1953, I spent several weeks in four of the Arab countries, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, and Jordan, and also visited Egypt. I found there the greatest feeling against the American and British Governments.

If anybody can point out any phase of the partition of Palestine that promotes general peace or that is in the interest of the American people, we would like to know what it is.

In the second place, we used the United Nations, or were used by some of its members, to promote the Korean War. We did nearly all the fighting, aside from South Korea, and as I said before, we bore nearly all the cost. Yet when leaders like MacArthur and Van Fleet wanted to win, we were held back by our "friends," the United Nations. It proved to be the only war the United States ever lost.

These two wars would seem to prove beyond question that peace can never be obtained through the United Nations or any similar organization. Peace can only be continued by courage, wisdom and forbearance on the part of the leaders of nations. I do not note that either wisdom or forbearance have been developed in the slightest degree by the United Nations. Every nation, except the United States, in the United Nations is for itself first.

There should indeed be amendments to the charter next year. But those amendments should limit the powers of the United Nations to those of a debating forum, with power of recommendation. All provisions of the charter and of the charters or rules of its agencies that claim, or could possibly be interpreted as claiming, to acquire power over the domestic affairs of the United States, should be repudiated.

If such amendments can't be obtained, then the United States should get out of the United Nations. And the United Nations should get out of the United States.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Hays.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Chairman, we have such short time that I doubt that I should ask any questions. I think Mr. Hart has stated his views fully and that he understands the subcommittee is making a sincere effort to study all points of view.

Mr. HART. I am sure of that, Mr. Hays.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Carnahan.

Mr. CARNAHAN. I have no questions at this time, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. HAYS. May I ask this one question? Mr. Hart, you would not repeal the essential declaration of the Fulbright resolution, would you, which commits this country to efforts for peace through international

cooperation? You would still feel that there is some significance and some hope in the idea of international cooperation?

Mr. HART. Cooperation by all means, but without any element of compulsion.

I don't think any other country in the world, unless it is some little helpless country, would carry out any instruction from the United Nations, if it didn't think it was to its own interests. I get over to England once or twice every year and have for a good many years, and I talked with a Member of Parliament there whom I have known for some time, only a few weeks ago and I said to him, "What would Britain do if the United Nations should tell it to do something it didn't believe to be in Britain's interests?" He said very promptly, "We would tell the United Nations to go to hell," and so it would, and so would others. I think compulsion has crept in, Congressman. That is my complaint. Meeting for conferences, airing views, debating things, that is excellent. No one could possibly complain of that. But, here it certainly appears that many of those who are connected with the United Nations or who are behind it, are actually looking to involve us in a world organization in which we will take the orders of some other groups of countries. We are not the majority, naturally.

Mr. HAYS. Thank you, sir.

Mr. MERROW. The committee will stand adjourned until 2:30 this afternoon.

(Whereupon, at 12:15 p. m., the subcommittee recessed to convene at 2:30 p. m., the same day.)

#### AFTERNOON SESSION

Mr. MERROW. The subcommittee will be in order.

I have a letter from John Lesinski, one of our colleagues, who asks that an attached letter received from Mrs. Edna M. Hammond, of 8258 Normile Avenue, Detroit, Mich., be inserted in the hearings that are being held.

Without objection, we will include both letters in the record.

(The information referred to follows:)

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, D. C., March 12, 1954.

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
United States Capitol, Washington, D. C.

(Attention: Hon. Chester Merrow, subcommittee chairman.)

MY DEAR COLLEAGUE: Attached you will find letter received by me from Mrs. Edna M. Hammond of 8258 Normile Avenue, Detroit, Mich., and also a statement on the revision of the United Nations which she would like you to insert in the hearings held recently.

Any consideration you may give Mrs. Hammond's request will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN LESINSKI.

Congressman JOHN LESINSKI,  
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I am enclosing my statement on the revision of the United Nations and ask that you personally take it to the subcommittee of which Chester E. Merrow is chairman to be inserted in the hearings that were held in the House this week.

This procedure that I am taking is so that it will be sure to get into these hearings.

Thanking you for this kindness, I am,  
Very truly yours,

MRS. EDNA M. HAMMOND.

P. S.—Will you also kindly put my name on the list for a copy of the hearings when they are completed?

E. H.

Hon. CHESTER E. MERROW,  
*Chairman, Subcommittee on Foreign Affairs:*

In behalf of the 16th Congressional District Women's Republican Club of Detroit, Mich., we wish our desires to be known on the revision of the United Nation's Charter.

First, we are not anti-UN., but feel that it has gone way beyond its purpose for which it was designed and sold to the American people, such as the meddling with our educational, domestic, economic, and in general the American way of life. We do resent UNESCO's interference with our text books and their contemplated rewriting of the history of the world.

The Bill of Human Rights will take some of our God-given rights under the Constitution such as we find in articles 55 and 56 of the Charter. Under these two articles we will become a minority in this planned one world. How can we, one sixth of the world's population give the other five-sixths, a higher standard of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress?

Under article 55 of the charter of the United Nations, all members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in cooperation with the organization for the achievement of the purposes set forth in article 55. Every phase of the daily life of the American people as enumerated in article 55., which means: civil, political, social, and economic. This is a broad power and not limited by any reservation in the treaty.

The handwriting is on the wall for all to see when one takes into consideration of the "mock" takeover by the United Nations army of several California cities. This was the most brazen trial balloon ever foisted on any of our States. California protested but the lawmakers in Washington did nothing about it.

Many of the proponents of the various movements for world government are either Socialists or outright Marxists and the only deduction that can be made is: The one world will have to be either Socialist or Communist.

Let the UN be the grievance headquarters where all people can sit together and resolve their problems.

Once we become a part of the planned superworld state there is no withdrawal. Why do we not tell the people of the implications and the planned one world? Give them all the facts and let them vote on the proposal instead of giving it to us by the treaty method via the back door.

EDNA M. HAMMOND,  
*Chairman, 16th Congressional Women's Republican Club.*

Mr. MERROW. This afternoon will be a continuation of the hearings on international organizations and movements. We have with us Capt. F. O. Willenbucher, United States Navy (retired), who represents the National Sojourners, Inc.

Captain Willenbucher.

**STATEMENT OF CAPT. FRANZ O. WILLENBUCHER, UNITED STATES NAVY (RETIRED), REPRESENTING NATIONAL SOJOURNERS, INC., ACCOMPANIED BY BRIG. GEN. JOHN W. N. SCHULTZ, UNITED STATES ARMY (RETIRED), CHAIRMAN, NATIONAL AMERICANISM COMMITTEE**

Mr. MERROW. Will you tell us something about your organization, Captain?

Captain WILLENBUCHER. Yes, Mr. Chairman, my statement will cover that. If there are any questions additional, we will be glad to answer them.

Mr. MERROW. All right, you go ahead.

Captain WILLENBUCHER. My name is Franz O. Willenbucher, captain, United States Navy (retired). I am a member of the national Americanism committee of National Sojourners, Inc. I appear in the company of Brig. Gen. John W. N. Schulz, United States Army (retired), chairman of the national Americanism committee, to present this statement on behalf of National Sojourners. This is the statement which would have been made by the national president of National Sojourners, Col. Andrew J. Copp, Jr., United States Army Reserve (retired), of Los Angeles, Calif., had it been possible for him to be present today.

National Sojourners, Inc., was founded in 1919. It is a nationwide nonprofit patriotic organization, composed of Freemasons who are, or have been, officers or warrant officers in our Armed Forces. It is a large and growing association with chapters in almost every State of the Union and with numerous chapters beyond our national borders. Most of its members have performed active military service during wartime and a large number saw service in both World War I and World War II.

National Sojourners appreciates this opportunity of appearing before this subcommittee to express its views concerning the grave matters now under consideration; namely, how best to achieve peace, international understanding, and world cooperation in the best interests of our country as a sovereign nation.

Organized with the primary purpose of developing true patriotism, and composed of members who have had international experience through travel and duty on behalf of their country, National Sojourners favors these essential objectives. It supports all efforts within our constitutional processes to achieve them.

Another basic purpose of National Sojourners is to oppose any influence whatever which would tend to weaken our national security.

Under these standards, in recent national conventions, National Sojourners has adopted resolutions: (1) Opposing and reaffirming its opposition to the establishment of a world government or other type of supergovernment, (2) opposing the proposed Genocide Treaty, (3) supporting a constitutional amendment to regulate the making of treaties and executive agreements, (4) supporting the McCarran-Walter Act, and (5) opposing the distribution of UNESCO pamphlets to our schools and libraries to be used by our school children in the molding of their education.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I have here in printed form the resolutions which were adopted by our convention on May 23, 1952, and one which was adopted at our convention in May 1953, and I shall be pleased, if you do desire, to submit those for the record.

Mr. MERROW. You would like to have these included in the record with your testimony?

Captain WILLENBUCHER. Yes, at this point, I think that it would be a good thing as we mention these as having been former actions taken by National Sojourners.

Mr. MERROW. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(The resolutions referred to follow :)

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY NATIONAL SOJOURNERS, INC., AT THE 32D ANNUAL CONVENTION, BALTIMORE, MD., MAY 23, 1952

RESOLUTION NO. 4—OPPOSING WORLD GOVERNMENT OR OTHER FORMS OF SUPERGOVERNMENT

Whereas National Sojourners is organized to develop true patriotism and to oppose any influence whatsoever calculated to weaken the national security; and

Whereas the United World Federalists, Inc., have advocated in their pamphlet, *Beliefs, Purposes and Policies*, that a world federal government be formed which shall be "based upon the following principles and include the following powers": Principles—1. "Membership open to all nations without the right of secession." 4. "World law should be enforceable directly upon individuals." 7. "The world government should have—direct taxing power independent of national taxation." Powers—"There should be incorporated in the world constitution itself:" 1. "Provisions prohibiting the possession by any nation of armaments and forces beyond an approved level required for internal policing"; and

Whereas important inroads have been made among Members of the Congress and other citizens in support of a lesser form of supergovernment, the Atlantic Union, which would equally weaken or destroy the sovereignty and democratic processes of our country and nullify the Constitution and the constitutional rights of our citizens: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the National Sojourners, Inc., assembled in the Thirty-second Annual Convention, at Baltimore, Maryland, on 23 May 1952*, that this organization hereby reaffirms its strong opposition to world government or any other form of supergovernment which would weaken or destroy the sovereignty and the democratic processes of the United States of America; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the various chapters and members of National Sojourners be called upon again to urge their State and National legislators to fight against any resolution or action looking to the abrogation of the Constitution of the United States and the relinquishment of the constitutional rights of American citizens through the formation of a superstate; and be it further

*Resolved*, That this organization cooperate fully with the other patriotic organizations of the country in their efforts to combat supergovernment and to disseminate information as to how a world federated state, or other federation such as proposed in the Atlantic Union, would destroy the sovereignty and liberties of the United States; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the national president of National Sojourners be directed to cause copies of this resolution to be transmitted to the President of the United States, the President of the United States Senate, the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, the Secretary of State, and to the chairman and each member of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate and of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives.

(NOTE.—The foregoing is essentially a reaffirmation, with slight modifications and extensions, of a similar resolution first adopted by Washington and Cleveland chapters in November 1949 and by the annual convention at Cleveland in May 1950.)

RESOLUTION NO. 5—OPPOSING DISTRIBUTION OF THE U. S. S. R. INFORMATION BULLETINS

(Distribution prohibited.)

RESOLUTION NO. 6—OPPOSING THE GENOCIDE CONVENTION

Whereas the President of the United States sent to the United States Senate on July 16, 1949, a proposed treaty or convention entitled "Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide," with a recommendation for ratification; and

Whereas genocide is defined in the proposed treaty as "any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group, as such:

"(a) Killing members of the group;

"(b) Causing serious bodily and mental harm to members of the group;

“(c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;

“(d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;

“(e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group”; and

Whereas article VI, clause 2, of our Federal Constitution provides that all treaties made under the authority of the United States shall be the supreme law of the land and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding; and

Whereas the Genocide Convention undertakes to create a whole category of new crimes as above indicated, most of which are unknown and repugnant to American jurisprudence, for the violation of which it is proposed that public officials as well as private citizens shall be tried and punished by international courts located presumably beyond the territorial limits of the United States, presided over by judges for the most part not citizens of the United States, not bound by the Constitution and statutory laws of the United States, and not required to grant to citizens of the United States all or any of the rights and immunities guaranteed them in the Constitutional Bill of Rights; and

Whereas the Genocide Convention would expose citizens of the United States to criminal prosecution for offenses not recognized or denounced as crimes by the Constitution and statutory laws of the United States, would deprive them of important constitutional rights, and would cause them to be tried by a court other than that of the United States, thus constituting an abandonment by the United States of its duties to its citizens; and

Whereas the United States can be kept strong only by continuing to follow the present form of government, based on the Constitution, inclusive of the Bill of Rights: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the National Sojourners, Inc., assembled in the thirty-second annual convention, at Baltimore, Md., on May 23, 1952, That notwithstanding the sympathy of National Sojourners with the broad objectives sought to be accomplished by the Genocide Convention in suppressing activities that are immoral and shocking to the conscience of all decent mankind, it is the considered opinion of this body that, not only is the detailed definition of “genocide” as stated in the convention susceptible to serious abuse and extension far beyond the meaning of the word as commonly conceived by the American public, but the criminal procedure prescribed for enforcement and punishment is un-American and entirely unacceptable; therefore, be it further*

*Resolved, That this organization reaffirms its unqualified opposition, set forth by resolution adopted at its annual convention at St. Louis, Mo., in May 1951, to the ratification of the convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide, now before the United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations; and be it further*

*Resolved, That the national president of National Sojourners be directed to cause copies of this resolution to be transmitted to the President of the United States, the President of the United States Senate, the Secretary of State, and the chairman and each member of the United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.*

(NOTE—The foregoing is essentially a reaffirmation, with minor modifications, of the similar resolution adopted at the St. Louis convention in May 1951.)

#### RESOLUTION NO. 7—SUPPORTING CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT REGARDING TREATIES AND EXECUTIVE AGREEMENTS

Whereas there was introduced in the Senate of the United States on February 7, 1952, by Senator Bricker of Ohio, with 58 other Senators as sponsors, a joint resolution (S. J. Res. 130) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to prevent treaties and executive agreements from being used to abridge individual rights and undermine the sovereignty of the United States, and to prevent such treaties and agreements from destroying the Constitution; and

Whereas, the Constitution of the United States provides in article VI, clause 2, that treaties made in accordance with its provisions shall be the supreme law of the land; and

Whereas the effect of treaties thus ratified could be to override our Constitution, Federal statutes, State constitutions and State laws when such treaties might not have that intended purpose; and

Whereas the effect of such treaties as thus ratified could result in the destruction of life, liberty, or property as protected by our Constitution, State constitutions and the laws made under them; and

Whereas there was adopted at the annual convention of National Sojourners, at St. Louis, Mo., in May 1951, a resolution favoring adoption of a constitutional amendment to safeguard against such use of treaties: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by National Sojourners, Inc., assembled in the 32d annual convention, at Baltimore, Md., on May 23, 1952,* That this organization strongly reaffirms its position, set forth by resolution adopted at its annual convention at St. Louis, Mo., in May 1951, that the Constitution of the United States should be amended so as to provide that treaties which affect individual rights or infringe upon or alter the Constitution or other domestic law of the United States or of any State shall not become the supreme law of the land unless duly implemented by act of Congress; that no law implementing a treaty may be passed by the Congress which would, in the absence of such treaty, be unconstitutional; and that no change in our form of government may be made by the device of treaty ratification; and be it further

*Resolved,* That this organization endorses the principle of the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 130), introduced in the United States Senate by Senator Bricker, and that we urge the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate to take early action thereon; and be it further

*Resolved,* That the national president of National Sojourners be directed to request the chapters and individual Sojourners in the States of the Senators who have sponsored Senator Bricker's resolution, to communicate to their Senators their approbation of the patriotic action taken by them and to urge them to press for final adoption of an amendment to the Constitution which will accomplish the purposes of the resolution they have sponsored; and also to request chapters and individual members of National Sojourners to urge all other Senators and the Representatives in Congress to support the adoption of such a constitutional amendment; and be it further

*Resolved,* That this body reaffirms the position of National Sojourners, adopted at the annual convention at St. Louis, in May 1951, that, until the foregoing steps—or equally acceptable safeguards—are adopted to prevent the destruction or infringement of our Constitution and liberties through government by treaty, the Senate of the United States should summarily reject any treaty which may be construed as invading our domestic law or as containing restrictions upon or derogations of our rights as free Americans; and be it further

*Resolved,* That the national president of National Sojourners be directed to cause copies of this resolution to be transmitted to the President of the United States, the President of the United States Senate, the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, the Secretary of State, and the appropriate committees of the Congress, with the recommendation that the Congress adopt necessary steps looking to an amendment of the Constitution as herein proposed and that the Members of the United States Senate, in acting upon the ratification of any proposed treaty, conform to the principle set forth in the preceding paragraph of this resolution.

(NOTE.—The foregoing combines the substance of the resolution adopted by Washington Chapter No. 3, on March 12, 1952, in support of S. J. Res. 130, with a reaffirmation of the resolution regarding treaties, adopted by the annual convention at St. Louis, May 25, 1951.)

#### RESOLUTION NO. 8—REGARDING THE FLYING OF THE UNITED NATIONS FLAG

Whereas the flag code issued by the Secretary General of the United Nations on the display of the United Nations flag with respect to the position of flags of other nations is in some particulars in conflict with Public Law 829 of the United States, of December 22, 1942, which governs the display of the United States flag with respect to other flags in the United States; and

Whereas there was passed by the Senate of the United States on October 19, 1951, a resolution (S. 2039), introduced by Senator Martin, of Pennsylvania, to prohibit the display of flags of international organizations or other nations in equal or superior prominence or honor to the flag of the United States, or in place of the flag of the United States; and

Whereas in connection with the observance of the United Nations anniversary on October 24, 1950, there were evidenced concerted and widespread efforts to



secure the flying of the United Nations flag alongside the flag of the United States over schoolhouses and other public buildings in the United States; and

Whereas the National Citizens' Committee for United Nations Day, in connection with such celebration, launched a United Nations flag-making project, familiarly known as the Betsy Ross plan, and the Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture, in furtherance of such plan, did distribute quantities of materials and directions for the making of United Nations flags, to its agents in the various States, with the view that they in turn instruct the youth of the land in 4-H clubs, as well as homemakers in the rural districts, in the hand-making of the United Nations flags to be flown from schoolhouses and other public buildings on such United Nations Day; and

Whereas the flag of the United States, the Stars and Stripes, is the revered symbol of the sovereignty of our country, the symbol of liberty and democracy throughout the world, and the only flag to which American citizens owe and may pay allegiance; and

Whereas the general and promiscuous flying of the United Nations flag on United Nations Day or at other times, and the effort to popularize the United Nations flag through the Betsy Ross or any similar plan for the widespread handmaking of United Nations flags by the youth and womanhood of America, can but tend to lower the patriotism of our American youth and citizenry; to elevate the United Nations and its emblems to a spurious position of super-government, a status not intended by the United Nations Charter; to make the American flag subservient to, if not actually to supplant it with, the banner of the United Nations; to subvert the high traditions of American pride in and loyalty to flag and country; and to weaken and undermine the independence and sovereignty of these our United States; and

Whereas the National Sojourners, consisting of loyal American citizens, was formed with the purpose of developing true patriotism and Americanism throughout the Nation and of opposing any influence whatsoever to weaken the national security: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by National Sojourners, Inc., assembled in the 32d annual convention, at Baltimore, Md., on May 23, 1952,* That this organization strongly supports the enactment of the resolution (S. 2039), introduced by Senator Martin, of Pennsylvania, on August 22, 1951, and passed by the United States Senate October 19, 1951, to prohibit the display of flags of international organizations or other nations in equal or superior prominence or honor to the flag of the United States, or in place of the flag of the United States; and be it further

*Resolved,* That this organization hereby reaffirms its position, as set forth by resolution adopted at its annual convention at St. Louis, Mo., in May 1951, that, while giving full support to all proper and legitimate aims and purposes of the United Nations in their efforts to bring about and maintain world peace and security, National Sojourners vigorously opposes:

(1) Any movement, whether on the part of a governmental agency or of misguided citizens of the country, to fly the United Nations or any foreign flag above our schoolhouses or other public buildings, on United Nations Day or at other times; or to obtain the general and promiscuous use of the United Nations or any foreign flag in the United States or its possessions, either in conjunction with or as supplanting the flag of the United States.

(2) Any movement, whether on the part of a governmental agency or of misguided citizens of the country, to confuse the loyalties of the youth and citizens of the country and to elevate the United Nations and the United Nations flag to a spurious position of supergovernment in the minds of American citizens and schoolchildren through any program which may diminish the high place of the Stars and Stripes in the hearts of Americans; and be it further

*Resolved,* That the national president of National Sojourners be directed to cause copies of this resolution to be transmitted to the President of the United States, the President of the United States Senate, the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of Agriculture, and the appropriate committees of the Congress of the United States, with the recommendation that the Congress implement this resolution through appropriate legislation.

(NOTE.—The foregoing is essentially a reaffirmation of the similar resolution first adopted by Washington Chapter No. 3 on December 13, 1950, and by the annual convention at St. Louis in May 1951, modified to include specific support of the Martin resolution (S. 2039).

RESOLUTION NO. 9—SUPPORTING THE MCCARRAN-WALTER BILL (BILL ENACTED OVER PRESIDENTIAL VETO.)

RESOLUTION NO. 10—OPPOSING UNESCO PAMPHLETS, "TOWARD WORLD UNDERSTANDING"

Whereas the series of pamphlets, *Toward World Understanding*, published by UNESCO (United National Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization), an agency of the United Nations and supported largely by the American taxpayer, is apparently designed to poison the minds of our youth beginning at the earliest period, in kindergarten or infant school; to insidiously belittle and undermine love and pride of country, its ideals and traditions, on the part of the school-children of America; and to secure the internationalizing of education and the teaching of ideas in the classroom to educate the child to be a citizen of the world, in preparation for world government; and

Whereas these pamphlets are being circulated among public schoolteachers and for use in public libraries; and

Whereas the purposes of the said pamphlets are diametrically opposed to the position of National Sojourners with respect to world government and to the purposes of National Sojourners of developing true patriotism and Americanism and of opposing any influence to weaken our national security: Now therefore, be it

*Resolved by National Sojourners, Inc., assembled in the 32d annual convention, at Baltimore, Md., on May 23, 1952*, That it is the sense of this body that the UNESCO pamphlets, *Toward World Understanding*, are seriously harmful as being destructive of good citizenship and the inculcation and maintenance of the high ideals and traditions of America among the school children of the land, and this organization therefore condemns and strongly opposes the use of such pamphlets in the public schools and their distribution in the public libraries; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the national president of National Sojourners be directed to urge upon the individual chapters and members to be alert in their respective States and communities to vigorously oppose the use of said UNESCO pamphlets in the schools and libraries, and to communicate to the State and national legislators their opposition to such pamphlets, with the request for appropriate remedial action against the publication by UNESCO of said or similar pamphlets or literature and against the distribution and use thereof in the schools and libraries of the country; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the national president of National Sojourners be directed to cause copies of this resolution to be transmitted to the President of the United States, the President of the United States Senate, the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, the Secretary of State, the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate, and the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives.

RESOLUTION NO. 11—SOVEREIGNTY OVER ANTARCTIC

Whereas Americans have explored areas of the Antarctic Continent and have thereby established claims of United States sovereignty thereon; and

Whereas failure to assert sovereignty promptly is neglectful of the right and interests of future generations of Americans; be it

*Resolved*, That National Sojourners in convention assembled May 23, 1952, urges the Congress of the United States to pass House Joint Resolution 291 introduced by Representative Tollefson, or similar legislation, declaring the right of sovereignty of the United States over certain areas of the Antarctic Continent.

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RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY NATIONAL SOJOURNERS, INC., AT THE 33D ANNUAL CONVENTION, LOS ANGELES, CALIF., MAY 23, 1953

RESOLUTION NO. 4—REAFFIRMING THE POSITION OF NATIONAL SOJOURNERS WITH RESPECT TO WORLD GOVERNMENT AND OTHER FORMS OF SUPERGOVERNMENT, THE GENOCIDE CONVENTION, A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT REGARDING TREATIES, THE UNITED STATES FLAG, THE MCCARRAN-WALTER ACT, UNESCO PAMPHLETS, AND SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE ANTARCTIC

Whereas the position of National Sojourners with respect to world government and certain other matters of vital importance in the preservation of our national sovereignty and individual liberties was set forth in various resolutions adopted at the 32d annual convention, at Baltimore, Md., May 22-24; and

Whereas there is pressing need for continuing and vigorous action on the part of Sojourners and other patriotic Americans to strengthen the national security, to aid in developing true patriotism and Americanism, and to combat the forces which wittingly and unwittingly would destroy our sovereignty, weaken or abrogate the Constitution of the United States, rob us of our freedoms, and undermine the traditions and loyalties of our citizens: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by National Sojourners, Inc., in the 33d annual convention, at Los Angeles, Calif., on May 22, 1953, That, for the reasons stated in the resolutions adopted at the Baltimore convention in May 1952 we hereby reaffirm:*

(1) Our strong opposition to world government, Atlantic Union, or any form of supergovernment;

(2) Our opposition to the ratification of the Genocide Convention, for the reasons and considerations stated heretofore, notwithstanding our sympathy with the broad objectives sought to be accomplished in suppressing activities that are immoral and shocking to the conscience of all decent mankind;

(3) Our support of the adoption of a constitutional amendment to provide that treaties which affect individual rights or infringe upon or alter the Constitution shall not become the supreme law of the land unless duly implemented by act of Congress, that no law implementing a treaty may be passed by the Congress which would, in the absence of such treaty, be unconstitutional, and that no change in our form of government may be made by the device of treaty ratification; and our position that, until the foregoing or equally acceptable safeguards are adopted, there should be summarily rejected by the Senate of the United States any treaty which may be construed as invading our domestic law or as containing restrictions upon or derogations of our rights as free Americans;

(4) Our condemnation of and opposition to the flying of the United Nations flag above our schoolhouses or other public buildings on United Nations Day or at other times; or the general or promiscuous use of the United Nations or any foreign flag in the United States or its possessions, either in conjunction with or as supplanting the flag of the United States; or any movement to confuse the loyalties of the youth and citizens of the country and to elevate the United Nations and the United Nations flag to a spurious position of supergovernment in the minds of American citizens and schoolchildren, while diminishing the high place of the Stars and Stripes in the hearts of Americans;

(5) Our support of the McCarran-Walter Immigration and Naturalization Act, adopted after long study by the 82d Congress as a much-needed codification and improvement of our immigration and naturalization laws;

(6) Our opposition to the distribution and use of the UNESCO pamphlets, *Toward World Understanding*, as being destructive of good citizenship and of the inculcation and maintenance of the high ideals and traditions of America among the schoolchildren of the land; and

(7) Our support of the passage of legislation by the Congress looking to the assertion of United States sovereignty over the areas of the Antarctic which have been explored by Americans; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the national president of National Sojourners be directed to urge upon our chapters and individual members the need for continuing and energetic action in their respective States and communities, and by communication with their State and National legislators, in support of the purposes of this resolution; and be it further

*Resolved*, That copies of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States, the President of the United States Senate, the Speaker, and the appropriate committees of the Congress.

Captain WILLENBUCHER. Mindful as it is of the necessity for international understanding and cooperation, the pacific settlements of disputes, and the establishment through peaceful agreements of proper standards of world conduct: National Sojourners opposes attempts to extend additional power to the United Nations organization, however sincere the purpose might be, at the expense of weakening the security of the United States.

National Sojourners opposes any plan or proposal which would restrict or reduce in any way the sovereignty and independence of the United States. It is deeply convinced that many of the current plans and proposals would, if adopted, have that result and that they would

retard rather than advance the very objectives sought to be accomplished by their proponents.

Among such plans which would, in the opinion of National Sojourners, have that effect, are proposals for the establishment of a world government or other type of supergovernment. Proponents of such plans recommend, among other things, that such a supergovernment be based upon the following principles: (1) that membership be open to all nations without the right of secession; (2) that world law should be enforceable directly upon individuals; and, (3) that such a government should have direct taxing power independent of national taxation. They advocate that one of its powers should be a provision prohibiting the possession by any nation of armaments and forces beyond an approved level required for national policing.

These same advocates of world government attempted first to achieve national approval of their plan at the grassroots in the State legislatures. That was their right under the Constitution, as one of the methods openly to accomplish the constitutional amendment necessary for their purpose. Their efforts quickly resulted in the adoption by 23 States of resolutions supporting this proposal, some of them requesting Congress to call a national convention to consider constitutional revision to permit world government. Twenty-one of these 23 States have since rescinded their resolutions, while other States have rejected proposals to adopt world government resolutions.

This reversal has resulted from the opposition of the people when they became conscious of what was being developed, contrary to their will and detrimental to their best interests. Now the attention of world-government proponents has focused itself upon the Congress and among these proponents are those who believe that their purpose can gradually, if not precipitously, be accomplished through revision of the United States Charter, even without the necessity for constitutional amendment.

Review of the United Nations Charter is contemplated in article 109 (3) which provides that a call for a conference shall be on the agenda of the tenth annual session of the General Assembly, that is in 1955. Our Government has indicated it will favor such a conference.

Under the circumstances, our political leaders will be importuned to stand for: (1) An elimination of or restriction upon the "veto power;" (2) the admission to membership in the United Nations of all nations, regardless of the principles under which they are governed; (3) the establishment of so-called world law, enforceable directly upon individuals; (4) to vest in a world organization the power to tax; (5) the power to establish, maintain and use military forces to enforce world law with a prohibition against the maintenance of such forces by sovereign nations, except for police purposes; and (6) the adoption of a Convention on Human Rights.

#### 1. THE VETO POWER

At the keystone of the arch of sovereign independence lies the veto power. If exercised wisely and with justice, it is an aid, rather than a detriment, to international progress. Elimination of, or restriction upon, its proper use in the national interest would be entirely, or pro tanto, to relinquish the rights of our citizens guaranteed by the Con-

stitution. It would vest authority in the United Nations organization, under certain circumstances to subjugate our country to determinations in governmental matters by foreign nations, many of which are now unable to govern themselves under comparable democratic principles to our own.

That this is now actively under consideration and that, if established, it would have that effect, is outlined in the committee print of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations—83d Congress, 2d session—on The Problem of the Veto in the United Nations Security Council.

In the preface, pages III and IV, is found the following:

Before Americans take a position with respect to abolishing or limiting the veto they must answer some hard questions, including the following:

1. Should the United States be willing to give up the veto over United Nations use of American Armed Forces without our consent?
2. If the veto were abolished in this respect, would a constitutional amendment be necessary to enable us to give effect to a revised charter?
3. Should the United States be willing to relinquish the veto with respect to the admission of new members to the United Nations?
4. If the veto were relinquished with respect to membership, should we still seek its retention with respect to the matter of who should represent China in the United Nations?
5. Should the United States be willing to give up the veto with respect to the international control of atomic energy in the event a feasible control plan is devised?

Each of these questions, and many others which will occur to the reader of this study, must be considered by members of this subcommittee if they are to submit constructive suggestions to the Senate. The questions must be answered in terms of what is best for the United States. What course of action with respect to the veto provisions of the United Nations Charter will best assure the security and national interests of the United States?

This study provides a broad framework for a consideration of the veto power and the various proposals which have been made to alter it. Its publication does not indicate either the subcommittee's acceptance or rejection of any of the views which are expressed. Before reaching any conclusions, the subcommittee will want to obtain the thinking of the American people on all the aspects and ramifications of the problem.

In the text, at page 13, is the following:

Whenever the United States finds itself at variance with the views of the Council's majority, the veto, whether utilized or not, offers a safeguard to the American position. Abolition of the veto would mean giving up that safeguard in matters which heretofore have generally been considered the exclusive concern of the Nation. The Security Council, for example, could order the armed forces of member nations into action provided the military agreements envisioned in article 43 were concluded. If the veto were abolished, United States troops might conceivably be called upon to support a United Nations decision which the United States opposed.

Concern regarding the "veto power" cannot reasonably result from dissatisfaction as to its existence, but can and should stem only from its improper use.

Consequently, we are surprised and deeply concerned that it is referred to in the preface of the document from which we have just quoted as a "kind of monkey wrench in the machinery of the (United Nations) organization" and characterized in the document as an "evil."

We maintain that it is not an evil, but that it is our most valuable sovereign right and the basis upon which our independence and security rest. Efforts to limit its abuse should, of course, be made through persuasion; but it should not be eliminated or restricted.

National Sojourners opposes any such action.

Elimination in, or restriction upon, the veto power would inevitably affect the following matters. Some, if not all of them, might well be advocated in connection with United Nations Charter revision itself.

#### (2) MEMBERSHIP IN THE U. N.

Nations of the world should not, merely because they have reasonably stable governments and regardless of the political principles under which they govern, be admitted into the United Nations organization. We should maintain our right of veto in such matters.

While the Soviet nations have vetoed the admission of some 14 nations, which might otherwise have been admitted, the United States and other nations have opposed the admission of the mainland Government of China.

It is interesting to note that in our domestic consideration as to the admission of States to the Union, our Constitution requires that they have a republican form of government.

#### (3) WORLD LAW, ENFORCEABLE UPON INDIVIDUALS

Any such proposal, presupposes (a) the establishment of international courts with criminal jurisdiction; (b) the enactment of a body of international law, defining new offenses; and (c) the trial of alleged offenders under an international system which would differ from and deprive our citizens of the "due processes" guaranteed under our Bill of Rights.

We oppose any such suggestion.

#### (4) THE POWER TO TAX

One need hardly comment upon this suggestion. The people of the United States, and of some other countries, are adequately taxed now. It is one thing, within our willingness and by our own choice, to bear the major portion of the costs of joint international enterprises, but the thought of vesting the power to tax in a world federal government is quite another. This would convert voluntary contribution, over which we have control, into a compulsion which could hardly be expected to be found acceptable to our citizens.

We should always be conscious of the truism, pronounced by Chief Justice Marshall in *McCullough v. Maryland*, that "the power to tax is the power to destroy." In fact taxation was one of the main causes of the Revolutionary War. We should not easily surrender that which our forefathers fought to gain.

#### (5) WORLD MILITARY FORCE

At present there is provision for the contribution of military forces to the United Nations for "police" purposes.

The proposal that the United Nations should be empowered to raise, maintain and use a world military force which might well be used against us is obviously dangerous in the extreme. Coupled with that is the suggestion that sovereign nations be prohibited from maintaining independent national forces of their own, except for police pur-

poses. That would convert the danger into a reality of complete subjugation.

We oppose this.

#### (6) CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

The proposed Convention on Human Rights purports to establish something comparable to our Bill of Rights, but to which it is repugnant and which, if adopted, it would supersede. It is repugnant because it does not contain a protection against the taking of private property without "due process of law" which our fifth and fourteenth amendments guarantee. It is repugnant in that it would create rights without recognition of obligations and it is repugnant because, insofar as it appears to guarantee rights, comparable to some of our own, it is hedged with vague language suggesting that these rights might be suspended by governmental fiat. Indeed, it has been said that substantial portions have been taken verbatim from the Soviet Constitution.

It appears clear that there are those, many of whom have the best of intentions, who would involve the United States in a world government or other type of supergovernment.

In the main they are the same groups and individuals who oppose an amendment to our Constitution to protect our internal law against encroachment by treaty or executive agreement. We support such an amendment.

Those who oppose it, since its purpose is solely to protect our own domestic affairs, should be asked what it is they seek to regulate through international agreement which might even be beyond the powers of our own Federal Government as granted it by the Constitution.

National Sojourners, consistent with its recognized patriotic purposes and its opposition to any form of world or other supergovernment, urges the rejection by our Government of the various proposals outlined in this statement, and any others, which would alter the United Nations Charter so as to abolish or restrict the sovereignty and independence of the United States, as being detrimental to the security of our country.

Such plans are, likewise, opposed by many organizations in this country, including the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Military Order of the World Wars, the Daughters of the American Revolution, and the Sons of the American Revolution, to mention a few, and we are convinced that they are opposed by the vast majority of our citizens.

Our leaders, and we as individuals, should be constantly aware of the dangers which beset us. We should be vigilant to guard against the entrapment of our country in the pursuit of elusive panaceas of false prophets, lest constitutional government become a mere memory in America.

Now, Mr. Chairman, this morning I listened and we all listened for over an hour to the first witness who came from the State Department, and I am sure in all complete confidence and good conscience he outlined UNESCO, which is one of the things our organization passed a resolution opposing, namely, the distribution of its pamphlets. The State Department witness this morning outlined that

there was no direct or indirect desire by UNESCO in any way to influence education.

I would like to make this statement for the record.

Milton Eisenhower, in 1947, in Kansas, while he was Chairman of the United States UNESCO Commission, is quoted in State Department Publication 3378, entitled "The Kansas Story for UNESCO," at page 23, as having said:

One can truly understand UNESCO only if one views it in its historical context, and viewed in this way, it reveals itself as one more step in our halting, painful, but I think very real progress toward a genuine world government.

Now, I just submit that as one example of a thought that it would be a good thing for the establishment of a world government, and I understand that is quoted in that document.

Also, I should like to submit for the record this paper which was prepared by the American sovereignty campaign, Veterans of Foreign Wars, in review of a UNESCO booklet, A Guide for Teachers—In the Classroom With the Children Under 13 Years of Age, booklet V of the series, Towards World Understanding.

Now, it is something that is not too long but I think we ought to go over part of it to see what it says. I am reading from the document. The introduction, page 4, states:

The views expressed are not the official views of UNESCO, nor are they necessarily acceptable to all of the members of the group.

To go on it says:

If this weak-kneed attempt to avoid responsibility is brought to your attention by a UNESCO apologist, it would be quite proper to inform him that anyone who administers poison to a nation's youth is guilty of a crime, whether the prescription is official or not. Furthermore, if any objections were made to the prescription they are unknown, for there was no minority report. On the same page, after the introduction the reports adds, "The report will give the reader some impression of the UNESCO seminar."

To continue in this paper:

This seminar, sponsored by UNESCO, was held during the summer of 1948 in Podebrady, Czechoslovakia. There were 44 participants, all "expert educationalists," who had been selected by their governments. They represented 16 countries. Of the 44, 5 were from the United States, one staff member—and then it gives the names. I shall not read them.

The next paragraph says, on page 7, part 1, the problem in general, the first subtitle is "Toward Education for World-Mindedness." The conclusions of the seminar follow:

The task to which the group applied itself was a study of the role of the school can play in developing among children a sense of international understanding. Before the child enters school his mind has already been profoundly marked and often injuriously by earlier influences.

That probably has reference to the parents.

Our inquiry was limited to children between 3 and 13 years of age. These earlier years may be indispensable to the education of children for world citizenship. The kindergarten and infant school has a significant part to play. Not only can it correct many of the errors of home training but it can prepare the child for membership in a world society.

That is from page 7 and 9 of this UNESCO document.

To go on it says:

Removing the child from the parents' influence for the purpose of indoctrination is not an idea original with this group, they are only echoing the old thought-



control concept which is inherent in all totalitarianism. Somehow the thought of taking mere babies away to "correct the errors of home training" and indoctrinate them with international ideology runs counter to our ideas of not only molding loyal American citizens but well-adjusted happy adults.

This is part of it. I have been quoting directly from the UNESCO paper and I have tried to indicate that as I go along.

There are some quotes here that will be very interesting. Let us go on.

This paper now says:

The seminar was of the opinion that attendance at kindergarten should be compulsory for all children but did concede that "such a policy might antagonize parents by seeming to encroach upon their rights and duties."

Now, on the next paragraph—this is from the paper again, on page 11, under subtitle of "The Influence of the Teacher," it sums up with:

no matter how carefully we plan the curriculum nor how much we provide opportunities for our pupils to cultivate the group sense, we come back in the end to the incontrovertible fact that it is the teacher's attitude towards the world society which has the strongest influence on the pupil's mind." In other words, our teachers must believe in the one-world idea and impose it on their pupils.

Continuing on page 11 it says, "The Teaching of Geography," the report reads:

In our view, history and geography should be taught at this stage as universal history and geography.

This is a quote from page 11 of this UNESCO document which is booklet IV of the series called Toward World Understanding.

Mr. CARNAHAN. Booklet V, In the Classroom with the Children Under 13 Years of Age.

What is that quote again?

Captain WILLENBUCHER (reading):

"In our view, history and geography should be taught at this stage as universal history and geography. Of the two, only geography lends itself well to study during the years prescribed by the present survey. The study of history, on the other hand, raises problems of value which are better postponed until the pupil is freed of the nationalistic prejudices which at present surround the teaching of history."

Now here is another quote:

"The study of universal geography can profitably begin about the age of 8. It would need to be planned on a very different basis from the customary practice. One method now in use is to teach geography in a series of widening circles, beginning with local geography and proceeding to the study of the Nation and continent. Only when that routine has been accomplished is the child introduced to the rest of the world. Would it not be better if the first map constantly before the child were a map of the world? This seemed to us so important that we were led to hope that UNESCO might persuade a publisher to prepare a world map that would really touch the child's imagination, and later when the child began the study of national geography, he would be already partly immunized against an exaggerated sense of the importance and beauty of his own country, that is to say, against the error of perspective which is the root of jingoism and nationalism. We propose there ought to be a UNESCO Atlas."

Now, I won't go all through this paper but I would like to submit this for the record. I do not vouch for the accuracy of the quotes. I simply take this paper as one that appears to indicate that there are two sides to the question of the factual analysis of whether UNESCO has or has not, through its pamphlets, influenced, or tended to influence the education of children toward internationalism versus

nationalism. I merely offer it to the committee with the thought that it might well wish to go into these phases of it to ascertain whether what was undoubtedly honestly presented here as the facts of the situation might well—there might be well another side to the same problem.

Mr. MERROW. We are interested in getting all the facts and without objection that will be included in the record.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

(Prepared by American Sovereignty Campaign, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States)

A REVIEW OF UNESCO BOOKLET, A GUIDE FOR TEACHERS, "IN THE CLASSROOM WITH THE CHILDREN UNDER 13 YEARS OF AGE"<sup>1</sup> (BOOKLET V OF THE SERIES "TOWARDS WORLD UNDERSTANDING")

The introduction (p. 4) states "the views expressed are not the official views of UNESCO nor are they necessarily acceptable to all the members of the group" (seminar). If this weak-kneed attempt to avoid responsibility is brought to your attention by a UNESCO apologist, it would be quite proper to inform him that anyone who administers poison to a nation's youth is guilty of a crime whether the prescription is official or not. Furthermore, if any objections were made to the prescription they are unknown, for there was no minority report. On the same page, after the introduction, the report adds, "the report will give the reader some impression of the UNESCO seminar."

This seminar, sponsored by UNESCO, was held during the summer of 1948 at Podebrady, Czechoslovakia. There were 44 participants, all expert educationists who had been selected by their governments. They represented 16 countries. Of the 44, 5 were from the United States, 1 staff member, Dr. Daniel Alfred Prescott (University of Maryland), 2 consultants, Mrs. Ruth Bendict (Teachers College, Columbia University), Miss Frances L. Ilg (Yale), 2 participants, Miss Hazel Gabbard (United States Office of Education), and Miss Rebecca Simonson (vice president of American Federation of Teachers).

On page 7, part 1, The Problem in General, the first subtitle is: "Toward Education for World Mindedness." The conclusions of the seminar follow: "The task to which the group applied itself was a study of the role the school can play in developing among children a sense of international understanding. Before the child enters school his mind has already been profoundly marked and often injuriously, by earlier influences. \* \* \* Our inquiry was limited to children between 3 and 13 years of age. \* \* \* These earlier years may be indispensable to the education of children for world citizenship \* \* \* the kindergarten and infant school has a significant part to play. Not only can it correct many of the errors of home training but it can prepare the child for membership in a world society" (pp. 7-9).

Removing the child from the parent's influence for the purpose of indoctrination is not an idea original with this group; they are only echoing the old thought control concept which is inherent in all totalitarianism. Somehow the thought of taking mere babies away to "correct the errors of home training" and indoctrinate them with international ideology runs counter to our ideas of not only molding loyal American citizens but well adjusted, happy adults.

The seminar was of the opinion that attendance at kindergarten should be compulsory for all children, but did concede that "such a policy might antagonize parents by seeming to encroach upon their rights and duties." To the average American parent this should rank as the understatement of the week.

On p. 11, under subtitle of "The Influence of the Teacher," it sums up with, " \* \* \* no matter how carefully we plan the curriculum nor how much we provide opportunities for our pupils to cultivate the group sense, we come back in the end of the incontrovertible fact that it is the teacher's attitude toward the world society which has the strongest influence on the pupil's mind." In other words, our teachers must believe in the one world idea and impose it on their pupils.

On page 11, under the title of "The Teaching of Geography," the report reads: " \* \* \* In our view, history and geography should be taught at this stage as universal history and geography. Of the two, only geography lends

<sup>1</sup> Distributed by UNESCO in 43 countries. Published by Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

itself well to study during the years prescribed by the present survey. The study of history, on the other hand, raises problems of value which are better postponed until the pupil is freed of the nationalistic prejudices which at present surround the teaching of history.

"The study of universal geography can profitably begin about the age of 8. It would need to be planned on a very different basis from the customary practice. One method now in use is to teach geography in a series of widening circles, beginning with local geography and proceeding to the study of the nation and continent. Only when that routine has been accomplished is the child introduced to the rest of the world. \* \* \* Would it not be better if the first map constantly before the child were a map of the world? \* \* \* This seemed to us so important that we were led to hope that UNESCO might persuade a publisher to prepare a world map that would really touch the child's imagination \* \* \* and later when the child began the study of national geography, he would be already partly immunized against an exaggerated sense of the importance and beauty of his own country, that is to say, against the error of perspective which is the root of jingoism and nationalism. We propose there ought to be a UNESCO Atlas" (pp. 11-12).

In other words, destroy the faith of the child in his own country by either belittling or ignoring its greatness and the heritage bequeathed us by our forefathers.

And then on page 15 under the "Teaching of History," it goes on to say. "The study of history may also usefully contribute to the development of world mindedness, but precaution must be observed, especially in modern history. \* \* \* We therefore recommend that the study of modern history should be undertaken only with young people whose critical objectivity and world mindedness have already been well developed."

Under "The Problem of Textbooks" on page 16, "There is another danger to be faced in teaching history. School textbooks have, as a rule, been written with so little objectivity and integrity that history, as generally taught up to now, has been an obstacle to international understanding."

If this obstacle has been caused by teaching American history so that the younger generation can take justifiable pride in our leaders and their achievements, achievements that have made America the greatest and strongest country in the world, then we insist that this obstacle be maintained. There must be no divided sense of loyalty toward our country.

In order to give coherence to particular events the Seminar recommends a time chart of events and figures of humanity. In the historical period it shows "the construction of the Pyramids and the Parthenon, Expedition of Alexander, Buddha and Confucius, the Vikings, the Crusades, Magna Carta, Christopher Columbus, American Declaration of Independence, French Revolution, Red Cross, League of Nations. In this way the children get used to seeing history as a series of parallel movements, all leading toward the same thing, the unity of peoples" (pp. 17-18).

One knows that the historic events and figures of humanity used in this illustration had to be limited but we cannot help but wonder if it was deliberate or through oversight that when Buddha and Confucius were included, Jesus Christ was excluded from a group of figures of humanity contributing to the unity of the people, or why Mohammed was also excluded; as if Christ or Mohammed and their teachings had no influence whatsoever on the history of the world. Yet this Seminar had much to say about "objectivity."

"UNESCO," observes the Seminar, "would be doing a great service if it were to appoint a committee of education (rather than historians) (that is their insert)—for the purpose of compiling a satisfactory table of this kind. There would then be in every classroom, in addition to the UNESCO map, a UNESCO time chart of the history of humanity constituting yet another bond between children throughout the world \* \* \* when at a later age when the child comes to the study of more complex civilizations such as Egyptians, Chinese, Pre-Columbian he will bring to them the benefit of intellectual habits and an emotional maturity more precious to learning than anything to be found in the premature and bookish teaching of history as practiced until now" (p. 18).

This would imply that studying under history professors was a pure waste of time even though some of these professors were and are some of the most outstanding men in America. It is too bad that we did not learn at an earlier age of the superiority and infallibility of the educators.

It would be well to examine the second report of the Seminar (p. 25), so that we may gather up a few more points of wisdom. It deals with education of the

critical sense and the feeling of belonging to humanity. They define the problem thus: "The critical sense is a very complex conception in which it seems possible to distinguish an intellectual component and a moral component" and add "the ability to distinguish between truth and falsehood, and between the constructive and destructive, is vitally necessary to clear thinking on international subjects" (p. 25). There then follows several pages on "objectivity," which when judged by the complete Seminar report seems much more theoretical than practical, for propaganda is hardly objective.

On page 37, under "The feeling of belonging to humanity," "To feel toward mankind in general as one does toward one's family, comrades, and country is what may be called the 'feeling of belonging to humanity.' Several means of bringing about 'international understanding' and 'a feeling of belonging to humanity' among children under 13 years of age are suggested, exchange visits between children of other countries where each child would live with the other's family for several weeks or months, international jamborees, showing children in the classroom the similarity of family names among different nationalities." On the latter the report comments, "In this way the teacher sets a flow of ideas in motion that will tend to bring home to the children the common origin of all human beings \* \* \* When the teacher thus draws the attention of the children to the composite character of modern nations he helps to eliminate one of the most powerful obstacles to international understanding; the national ideology which has poisoned international relations since the beginning of the 19th century" (pp. 37-40). This would imply that there were no misunderstandings, no wars before 1800. The Seminar might have considered this under their concern for "factual history" and "objectivity."

"If all people possess a common heritage they also have common enemies \* \* \* the child will feel much more united to the human family when he has become aware of the dangers that threaten all its members. The teacher will have occasion to suggest, without insisting on it, that men have natural enemies on which to exercise their aggressiveness, and that they would be better advised to declare war upon their natural scourges such as famine and plague than to fight their fellow men; that they would do better to encourage the invention of new industrial methods which would eliminate dangerous trades than to devise new weapons of destruction" (p. 41). The Seminar advocates pacifism and believes that the children should so be indoctrinated. A pacifism that would teach them their country was not important enough to defend.

On page 51 under "An International Anthem," we observe an interesting suggestion, or rather question \* \* \* "would it not be desirable for all the children of the world today and tomorrow, all the inhabitants of the world to have an anthem expressive of belonging to the human community." The Seminar on pages 53-54 complains: "There are people who see only a small number of people of their own sort. \* \* \* In many cases, however, nature would assert itself and children would unite with this richer, more varied group if their parents did not say, 'I don't want you to play with those children, they are not our sort.' The integration of the children in the school community then becomes impossible because of the narrow family spirit of parents." The Seminar apparently does not believe that the parent has the right to guide the child in his discriminating taste and is not competent to direct the child in his choice of friends and associates, or may not suggest the invitation list for his child's birthday party or even whom the child may bring home after school to play. The teacher with his "feeling of belonging to humanity" shall be the sole judge. Most of us are old fashioned enough to wish to retain the prerogative of being the judge of our child's associates.

On page 54 the report resumes on "Family pressures." "\* \* \* The family may, in fact, not only compromise indirectly, and in some degree unconsciously, the eventual integration of the child in the human community by preventing him from joining the group of his peers in a normal way, but it may also cultivate attitudes running directly counter to the development of international understanding \* \* \*. We shall come to nationalism later on. For the moment, it is sufficient to note that it is most frequently in the family that the children are infected with nationalism by hearing what is national extolled and what is foreign disparaged. As chauvinism, this may be more ridiculous than dangerous but it must, nonetheless, be regarded as the complete negation of world mindedness. We shall presently recognize in nationalism the major obstacle to the development of world mindedness."

On page 55 under "The teacher-parent relationship," "How can parents be persuaded to adopt an attitude so different from that of the great majority of

adults? It has been said that it is the children who educate the parents. Let the school then make use of this leverage \* \* \*. If the teacher can persuade the parent that the child's interest is at stake \* \* \* the odds will be greatly in the teacher's favor." This would seem to imply that the student should be almost intimidated into advocating world citizenship or you, the parent, will be told that your child's interest is at stake.

On page 58, under "Nationalism," "As long as the child breathes the poisoned air of nationalism, education in world-mindedness can produce only rather precarious results. At we have pointed out, it is frequently the family that infects the child with extreme nationalism. The school should therefore use the means described earlier to combat family attitudes that favor jingoism. \* \* \* The teachers should direct their teaching toward international solidarity and understanding." By the standards of this group we must presume that we are displaying chauvinism or exaggerated patriotism if we read to our small children the story of the Pilgrims, children's stories of the lives of our national heroes—in fact, any stories about America—they must be stories about the world; otherwise we infect our children with nationalism.

On page 60 the report concludes with, " \* \* \* Education for world-mindedness at present encounters obstacles outside the school. The principal one certainly is nationalism. If the feeling of belonging to the human community develops normally by an extension of the feeling of belonging to the national community, it cannot possibly develop from that caricature of patriotism which is extreme nationalism. If the integration of the child in the national group takes place in the atmosphere of pride and contempt characteristic of this attitude, the efforts of the teachers, no matter how judiciously concerted they may be, will in most cases remain barren. \* \* \* In our opinion it is essential that, on the one hand, a children's charter should secure for all children such education as is summarized in this report, which alone can create the atmosphere in which development of world-mindedness is conceivable; and that, on the other hand, a teacher's charter should secure for all members of the teaching profession the liberty to provide such an education by the means they decide upon, as well as the right of access to commissions and councils responsible for the organization of public education. \* \* \* Finally, we expressed the wish that UNESCO would persuade not only governments but also public opinion, that the most urgent problem in the political field is the educational one and, more particularly, that an intellectual and moral attitude favorable to international understanding and co-operation (which is civilization's only hope) can be promoted only by a school reorganized to this end and equipped with everything that is indispensable to its efforts; that, consequently, the cost of such an enlightened education is a wise investment of the national income; and that the activity of the school cannot bring about the desired result unless, repudiating every form of nationalism, the policy of the nation itself is one of international understanding and cooperation."

We have no objection to UNESCO or any other organization telling its story to the schools. But when it proposes to influence, guide, and propagandize American teachers on what should be taught in schools, we object strenuously. For many years we have had the greatest school system in the world. It is one that teaches and molds our children to become good loyal Americans, intensely proud of their great heritage. We propose to keep it that way.

Mr. CARNAHAN. I might add at this point that I couldn't follow those quotes and I have the pamphlet here. If they purport to be continuous quotations, I don't believe they are correct.

Captain WILLENBUCHER. They do not purport to be continuous quotations. They are quotations which were taken from here and there, from the original document, and the paper itself will indicate which are direct quotes, or purport to be direct quotes, and which are not.

Mr. MERROW. That is indicated clearly in the paper.

Captain WILLENBUCHER. That is indicated in the paper; yes, sir.

Also I should like at this time to put in the record in support of our own conclusions, a quote from the address of Senator Bricker, in a speech which he made in Atlanta, Ga., "The fight for a treaty-control amendment, round 1. Address by Senator John W. Bricker before the Regional Conference of the American Bar Association at Atlanta, Ga., March 4, 1954."

Prior to the formation of the United Nations, we all thought that the treaty-making power was fairly well protected despite the potentially dangerous doctrine of *Missouri v. Holland* (252 U. S. 416). The real impetus for a constitutional amendment came from revolutionary doctrines propounded in the U. N. and its specialized agencies. Their revolutionary doctrine was candidly explained in 1948 by Mr. John P. Humphrey, then the Director of the Division of Human Rights of the United Nations. Writing in the January 1948 issue of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Mr. Humphrey said: "What the United Nations is trying to do is revolutionary in character. Human rights are largely a matter of relationships between the state and individuals, and therefore a matter which has been traditionally regarded as being within the domestic jurisdiction of states. What is now being proposed is, in effect, the creation of some kind of supernational supervision of this relationship between the state and its citizens."

Mr. Chairman, we appreciate the opportunity of having appeared here. Nothing we have said here is intended to do anything but present facts as we understand them and certainly not to be critical of anyone. The statement sought to avoid using names wherever it could. That is our statement and if you have any questions I shall try to answer them.

Mr. MERROW. I think there will be several questions. You have given a comprehensive statement and a good analysis of the various points which you have made. I want to ask this at the beginning: You are not opposed to the United Nations as it is now. You have raised these questions in reference to revision and you have stated your position very clearly, but you are not opposed to the organization, I take it?

Captain WILLENBUCHER. We are not opposed to the assembling of nations in an aggregate group for the purpose of discussing international problems and solving international differences, and certainly we are for every peaceful means of the solution of disputes. Or rather the settlement of disputes.

Mr. MERROW. Although there is considerable controversy in reference to some of the activities of UNESCO—particularly the pamphlets that you have discussed—you are not opposed to the specialized agencies, I take it.

We said in the report of the study mission—and I just quote one sentence:

However, since the pamphlets have created such an unfavorable reaction it is questionable whether UNESCO should seemingly endorse and actively publicize such literature in the future.

And we did point out in all fairness that UNESCO wasn't pushing them into various schools but whatever was done rested with the decision of the local authorities.

Now, if the facts show that some of these criticisms are valid, and if they could be remedied you wouldn't be opposed to UNESCO, as such, or the World Health Organization—you didn't mention these—Food and Agriculture, and so on, I take it?

Captain WILLENBUCHER. I would have to answer that, Mr. Chairman, more as an individual. The organization, National Sojourners, has not taken a position on that, as such. Another thing I would have to say is that I am not sufficiently familiar with the details of the efforts to be able to express a personal opinion. I would say we are neither for nor against it because we haven't taken a position on it.

Mr. MERROW. Mrs. Bolton.

Mrs. BOLTON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would like to ask you, if I might, do any of your members sit through the United Nations meetings, the UNESCO meetings, and the various specialized agency activities?

Captain WILLENBUCHER. I would believe that they do because our organization has over 18,000 members, many of whom live in New York.

Mrs. BOLTON. Do you get the reports from them of the discussions and so on?

Captain WILLENBUCHER. Not as such, no.

Mrs. BOLTON. It would seem rather valuable, if you are feeling as strongly as you seem to about some of the matters taken up. From my own angle—and I sat 3 months in the United Nations this fall as the delegate from the United States, and found that my preconceived ideas of what actually went on were, in many cases, very much at fault. Some of the material I had been given which I read very assiduously, along this line, didn't quite fit into the picture accurately.

Captain WILLENBUCHER. I would think that would be very true, Mrs. Bolton, because anyone who wants to be fair would find that preconceptions are frequently wrong.

Mrs. BOLTON. I always think it is unfortunate for organizations to come out with these very strong resolutions about things that perhaps a small group of people are considering, but which the larger group is not considering. It may be a good way to form public opinion and get all sides of it, but I think often, there are very grave misconceptions that arise which are most unfortunate. After all, the world has become very small and I am very happy to have you say that you believe in a gathering of the nations for better understanding, for discussion and for the things that the United Nations have accomplished, and they are many.

I was happy to know that your organization agrees that such a shall I say, convocation of the nations, is an important part of our rapidly shrinking world. If we are going to be able to live beside our brethren across the sea, no matter in what direction, we must have an understanding, each of the other, far greater than we have ever been able to have before.

Captain WILLENBUCHER. Of course, Mrs. Bolton, the meeting of more than two nations around the table in the diplomatic field is certainly a means of the reaching of understanding and there is no objection to that but our organization has taken a very strong position against granting any powers of sanction to any organization, any world organization of any kind.

Mrs. BOLTON. The assembly is merely one of recommendation.

Captain WILLENBUCHER. At the present time.

Mrs. BOLTON. I think if you had sat through it as I did, you would feel that it was far more secure than perhaps some of your membership feel that it is.

The feeling is very strong against any relaxing of the veto power, for instance, and I think that is what you feel.

Captain WILLENBUCHER. You mean you personally feel—

Mrs. BOLTON. The feeling at the United Nations is against relaxing the veto power, as I contact the members of the 60 nations. Of course, they don't all feel that way. Some of the newly freed nations like

India and some of the smaller nations are very anxious—they feel their oats and they are very anxious to show how big they are. It is a very complex world we live in and this seems to be a very honest effort on the part of most of them to make it a better world.

I agree that there could be danger within the United Nations, but the world is a place of danger today.

Captain WILLENBUCHER. Of course, Mrs. Bolton, our organization, National Sojourners, has taken a strong position against the creation, whether within the framework of the United Nations or otherwise, of a world government or a regional government with governmental powers namely legislative, executive, and judicial powers and with a military force to enforce compliance of nations of the world, or people within such nations.

Mrs. BOLTON. There was no tendency along that line in the United Nations that I could find, and I was looking for it.

Captain WILLENBUCHER. I am very happy to hear that.

Mr. HAYS. All the members of your organization have to be free masons?

Captain WILLENBUCHER. That is correct.

Mr. HAYS. As a Mason of 35 years' standing, I appreciate that phase of your work.

One of the things that impressed me as a young Mason was the universality of the principles of Masonry. Now the Fulbright resolution to seek peace through international cooperation is acceptance of universal rules of right dealing and that would fit in with Masonry's ideas, wouldn't it?

Captain WILLENBUCHER. Positively.

Mr. HAYS. So there is nothing wrong about the United Nations in its universal character, its spiritual aspects, on the side of moral law. As something that applies to all nations for free Masonry is itself an international organization.

Captain WILLENBUCHER. I think any teaching of moral law is a good thing. I would personally say "Yes." We have taken no position on these things, but if you ask me personally, I think that the answer would be "Yes," Mr. Hays.

Mr. HAYS. Well, you and I, as Masons, have to recognize that as one of the great contributions of Masonry to world thought and world culture. Our emphasis upon moral law.

Captain WILLENBUCHER. That is correct.

Mr. HAYS. When President Eisenhower speaks of world law, he is probably speaking of the same thing, I would assume.

Captain WILLENBUCHER. You know the words "world law" can be used in quite different senses, if one speaks of it as you have, referring to moral obligation and moral forces, in that case the answer is "Yes." But many of these advocates speak of the establishment of world law, a law which would be created by an international legislative body, behind which would be courts to try offenders for the violation, and armed forces to require nations and peoples to abide by them. That is the creation of a governmental device, which is quite another thing. We are opposed to that.

Mr. HAYS. I think I do understand you, and yet I think there is enough in common between some of the people whose views you have criticized, and yourselves to become important in this process. You



may not be as far apart as you appear to be. I am pursuing this because this subcommittee is eager to help the cause of peace. I know you want peace.

Captain WILLENBUCHER. And certainly military men, many of whom have been on the battlefield, would prefer to have peace rather than war.

Mr. HAYS. Those of us with responsibilities for peace want all the help we can get in molding sentiment for policies that are practical and sound.

I think this aspiration for peace is the thing we have in common that is so valuable and at least we can cultivate that and find ways of implementing it. That is the reason that we are eager to see just how far groups like your own, that are a bit critical of present trends, are willing to go, because you would certainly agree that to the extent that a treaty, properly adopted by the United States upon an executive proposal and through Senate approval, in the constitutional way, by two-thirds of the Senate voting, that a treaty which commits this Nation to a certain program for peace through mutual commitments with another nation, is a sound idea.

Captain WILLENBUCHER. Once a great treaty has been adopted by the United States we are an honorable people. We would stand by the treaty, I would want to stand by the treaty and so would any right thinking person, once it has been adopted.

Mr. HAYS. I am talking about the process. I am talking about measures properly pursued under the Constitution, to commit other nations to the pursuit of peace and specific methods of getting it.

I am not talking about a consummated treaty; I am talking about the process of treatymaking. There is nothing wrong with the treatymaking process. You supported the Bricker amendment and that is quite understandable. That is in current discussions but I am not talking about that. Whatever the procedures laid down, either under the present Constitution or under the Constitution as amended by the Bricker amendment, the treatymaking process is essential to the preservation and promotion of peace; you would agree?

Captain WILLENBUCHER. I would agree with that.

Mr. HAYS. That is where two nations are involved. But suppose we find that we two, who are entering into a treaty, are frustrated by a third nation, so we must not content ourselves with a bilateral arrangement, we must make it multilateral in order to commit these other nations. There is nothing wrong with that; is there?

Captain WILLENBUCHER. Nothing at all. That has been understood for many, many years and centuries. It would be in proper fields, things pursued constitutionally, resulting in a multilateral arrangement is certainly all right.

Mr. HAYS. Some people misunderstand presentations such as your own as indicating that you are against the treaty process. Of course, you are not.

We had a good illustration of it in the Caracas Conference where Mr. Dulles induced practically all to stand by the proposition of acting unitedly, if the Communists try to get into any one of our countries. That is sound; isn't it?

Captain WILLENBUCHER. I certainly would think so.

Mr. HAYS. If someone wants to call that hemispheric government, we are still for it; aren't we?

Captain WILLENBUCHER. A mutual resistance against the communizing of any, or the infiltration of communism into any of the nations of the Americas?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Captain WILLENBUCHER. Certainly we would be against that.

Mr. HAYS. Suppose our educational penetration of the Iron Curtain became effective and we were able some day to help produce within the Soviet orbit a democratic, decent government and they got on our side in this idea of world peace with justice, but the remnants of communism and totalitarianism remained in some country and we couldn't stamp it out altogether, but Russia became an advocate of these things that we believe in and was on our side, and we proceeded globally against a group over in the Eastern Hemisphere, as we would proceed against Communists, in this hemisphere, then couldn't we do it without violence to American principles?

In other words, by treaty process, proceeding in the world as we would proceed under the Monroe Doctrine, if you please, and under the Caracas agreement, if we can do that on a world scale we ought to be practical enough to do it, don't you think?

Captain WILLENBUCHER. You are getting pretty hypothetical now, Mr. Hays, because you are talking about proceeding against nations in every part of the world. If that were a matter of compulsion, of course, if we made treaties to agree to do that sort of thing, of course, we stand by our treaties. That is the very reason that persuades many of the people who advocate the Bricker amendment, but when you talk about "proceed against," if you mean with the Armed Forces of the United States all over the world, I don't know exactly how far I would go. I would have to know more details about it. That is the trouble. We are dealing with the general principles and trying to carry general principles to include all specific situations which might arise, and that would be a little too difficult for me to answer that categorically.

Also, Mr. Chairman, I would like to say that I am very happy to enter into this discussion, and this part of it—I am now expressing my own views, except where I said where I thought our organization was for this or that, because these are matters on which our organization has not taken a formal position. It has its conferences, you know, and its conventions and it takes positions at the conventions.

I am very happy to talk about these things. They interest me very much, and I am sure, Mr. Hays, that you and I feel very much the same about most of these things, but the questions can become so large and the premises so very general that it would appear to take in every particular situation, and I get to the point where I would like to say, "Well, I think I would like to know what the specific case was, rather than to try to answer it generally."

Mr. HAYS. I appreciate that and if I didn't respect your organization I wouldn't be pursuing this. I am simply trying to get the disagreements properly defined and narrowed, and then, of course, they can be entertained with mutual respect.

But let me pursue this just a bit further. If I used the word, "proceeding," "proceeding against a Communist threat," I am speaking defensively.

Our action in the case of Guatemala must be interpreted as strictly defensive. Our attachment to moral principle is such that Guatemala knows she is entirely safe from attack by us. Only the threat to freedom cropping out somewhere as part of a world conspiracy could be the basis for action by the American republics under the Caracas resolution.

And when I speak of a global defense against communism, I again am speaking not with the idea of imposing our patterns of economic and political life upon any nation, I am talking about a defense operation. But I am speaking of the treaty-making processes by which you get that strength to administer world law and moral law.

Captain WILLENBUCHER. Well, Mr. Hays, you and I had the pleasure of discussing this same sort of thing once before, when you, Admiral Hamlet, Mr. Teague, and I sat down, and when we found that philosophically the things you are talking about now are things upon which we four were in pretty common agreement. There is no doubt about that. It is when it comes to take forms of international organizations with governmental power and fiat, that our organization has taken a position. I think you'll find that uniformly in our organization are people who have traveled a great deal, and they have served their country and they are governed by the principles of Freemasonry which we have discussed, and I think you would find that nearly all of them have the same general philosophical concepts you and I have been talking about.

But when we come down to specific questions, whether or not under certain circumstances you would take troops of the United States and plant them all over the world, that is a question where we would have to look at each specific case, just like our leaders would have to.

I have no difficulty, personally, in rather rapidly coming to agreement on matters of high principle, because I certainly believe that my background and teaching and patriotism and military service, including the Naval Academy and my study in the law—and I took my doctorate in Georgetown University—I would have little difficulty in coming to agreement on the matters of principle involved. I think that all right-thinking Americans want to achieve peace, and they want to do it through peaceful agreements with foreign nations. It is only when we talk about the various devices that have been suggested, and in many cases by people who are very, very zealous to accomplish them and accomplish them quickly.

Now, personally, I think that many of them with those conclusions fly—I mean, they disregard the whole history of the world and they conclude that a device or form of government can be a solution to something that has to be approached with the same high-minded principles of philosophy which you are expounding, here—if I make myself clear.

Mr. HAYS. I appreciate your statement, and I apologize for having asked a very involved question. It was too hypothetical, I agree. But what I am getting at is the matter of operating on the world level if possible as we have operated on the hemispheric level. All of which is to be by treaty. This is all. I appreciate your patience with me for asking that kind of question. But I do hope that the target will be carefully defined when you pick up some of these highly theoretical, grandiose schemes that you wish to condemn, and that those of us

who still believe in the Fulbright resolution, and the United Nations, are not victims of the shot that you are taking at the impractical proposals.

Captain WILLENBUCHER. Well, of course, some of the things that we have passed resolutions opposing, and that we have testified to, are beyond the mere realm of fantastic theory. They are not so theoretical because, if I am informed correctly, they are the very things which the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations is going to consider with reference to possible revision of the United Nations Charter, and as I understand them, they include this question of the veto power and whether the United Nations should have a police force, whether it should have the power to levy tax assessments upon nations, and whether its judicial powers should be extended.

Now, those are quite in line with the things that were contained in our statement.

Mr. HAYS. Yes, I admit those are very specific; I agree.

But on UNESCO, though, let me ask a specific question about that: You say you oppose the distribution of any UNESCO pamphlets in the schools. Is that correct?

Captain WILLENBUCHER. We certainly oppose the distribution of those pamphlets which would directly substitute and, in fact, even encourage the teaching of international concepts to the playing down of teaching our own nationalism, I mean, teaching the United States and its position in the world first. Yes, we are opposed to the distribution of such pamphlets and we have a resolution which I will be glad to read. That statement came as a result of a resolution. The resolution is in the record.

I would like to be specific about it, because here it is.

Mr. HAYS. You are not advocating the adoption of a Federal law to prohibit that by the local school districts; are you?

Captain WILLENBUCHER. Well, we would like to see effective means to stop it.

Mr. HAYS. You don't mean Federal law, though?

Captain WILLENBUCHER. I don't know that this resolution specifically speaks in terms of a Federal law. I suppose our delegates in the United Nations could prohibit those sort of pamphlets. Now, the State Department could prohibit those pamphlets from being distributed to the schools. Maybe I'd better read the resolution to you.

Mr. HAYS. No, if you don't mind, sir. I am unduly prolonging it, but I wanted to be clear on it.

Captain WILLENBUCHER. Here is the resolve part of the resolution. It is very short.

*Resolved, By National Sojourners, Inc., assembled in the 32d Annual Convention at Baltimore, Md., on May 23, 1952, That it is the sense of this body that the UNESCO pamphlets Toward World Understanding are seriously harmful as being destructive of good citizenship and the inculcation and maintenance of the high ideals and traditions of America among the school children of the land and that this organization, therefore, condemns and strongly opposes the use of such pamphlets in the public schools, and their distribution in the public libraries; and be it further*

*Resolved.* That the national president of the National Sojourners be directed to urge upon the individual chapters and members to be alert in their respective states and communities to vigorously oppose the use of said UNESCO pamphlets in the schools and libraries and to communicate to their State and National legislators their opposition to such pamphlets, with the request for appropriate remedial action against the publication by UNESCO of said or similar

pamphlets or literature, and against the distribution and use thereof in the schools and libraries of the country; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the national president of National Sojourners be directed to cause copies of the resolution to be transmitted to the President of the United States, the President of the United States Senate, the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, the Secretary of State, the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate, and the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House."

And that was done, so you will no doubt have that.

Mr. HAYS. Well, sir, my point is, and I feel it must get into the record in this discussion, I would vigorously oppose any Federal law requiring the distribution of UNESCO pamphlets in the schools. It might be unconstitutional in the first place, but just as I would oppose a Federal statute telling the local school districts what to teach, I would equally oppose the suggestion that we could prohibit their action and their decisions. The curriculum of the local school district is peculiarly, under our system of Government, a matter for local determination and for State determination. It just seems to me that that is one thing that we should hold onto as an important part of our policy.

Captain WILLENBUCHER. I see.

My function here with reference to that resolution is merely to present it. I did not write that resolution, and the resolution will have to speak for itself.

I assume that you feel that insofar as any control over that type of pamphlet would be possible, if it were found necessary, would be through the control of our delegation, perhaps, in the United Nations and the State Department distribution of the pamphlets in the United States?

Mr. HAYS. I feel that that is something that the local school districts and the State authorities should handle.

Captain WILLENBUCHER. Whether they accept it or not?

Mr. HAYS. Yes; that is the place to carry on that fight.

Captain WILLENBUCHER. I just wanted to have your view on that. It interested me very much.

Mr. HAYS. I am very sorry to have taken so much time.

Mr. MERROW. It has been very interesting. We want to get all points of view.

Mr. Carnahan?

Mr. CARNAHAN. Your organization, of course, is dedicated to just peace?

Captain WILLENBUCHER. Beg pardon?

Mr. CARNAHAN. Your organization is dedicated to just peace throughout the world?

Captain WILLENBUCHER. We certainly feel that we are; yes, sir.

Mr. CARNAHAN. That is a cardinal principle of your organization?

Captain WILLENBUCHER. We certainly would want this; yes, sir.

Mr. CARNAHAN. Does your group contain membership just within the United States?

Captain WILLENBUCHER. Our own forces; yes. Just people who have served as officers or warrant officers in the United States forces; yes.

Mr. CARNAHAN. Do you have any type of association which would involve membership in similar organizations outside of the United States?

Captain WILLENBUCHER. No, sir.

Mr. CARNAHAN. I am reading here from your statement.

Captain WILLENBUCHER. Those are our own officers where they happen to be abroad or congregated abroad or serving abroad.

Mr. CARNAHAN. You have chapters outside of the United States?

Captain WILLENBUCHER. That is true.

Mr. CARNAHAN. Of our own nationals?

Captain WILLENBUCHER. That is correct.

Mr. CARNAHAN. Are you encouraging the formation of such groups in other countries?

Captain WILLENBUCHER. The answer to that is "Yes"; we would like to see as many chapters as the concentration of people who are eligible to membership in National Sojourners could provide. We would like to see the organization grow, like any other organization.

Mr. CARNAHAN. Would you encourage any type of organization involving the different national organizations?

Captain WILLENBUCHER. Our organization is only interested in the creation of members and chapters of members who are eligible under our National Sojourners constitution; namely, our own people.

No; if you are thinking about foreigners or other nationals, the answer would be "No."

Mr. CARNAHAN. You, of course, believe that the principles upon which you stand would be good for any nationals; not only just us?

Captain WILLENBUCHER. An organization, like the American Legion, is composed of people who are citizens of the United States, and whether what you say is correct or not, our organization, at least at present, is composed only of people who are citizens of the United States and who have served in the Armed Forces of the United States.

Mr. CARNAHAN. And, of course, you would say that it is the hope of your organization that the principles that you are built upon, and that you advocate, will be shared by people throughout the world?

Captain WILLENBUCHER. Well, they, each to their own country and nation; yes. As individuals and citizens of their own nation, yes; but we haven't moved in that direction. From a philosophical point of view, we certainly hope that each country is composed of people who have the same ideals as we, but we realize that isn't so, at the present time. Our organization hasn't gone into that, specifically.

Mr. CARNAHAN. If we might get back to the pamphlets, again, Toward World Understanding, Are we to understand that your group has officially stated that this series of pamphlets is detrimental?

Captain WILLENBUCHER. That is what our resolution concluded; yes, sir.

Mr. CARNAHAN. Do you think that decision was made after a thorough study of the content of the pamphlets?

Captain WILLENBUCHER. I did not write the resolution, and I do not know how extensively the committee that wrote the resolution may have. I would assume yes.

Mr. CARNAHAN. I have here pamphlet No. 12, and the title of this pamphlet is, "Around the World With the Postage Stamp," a book for teachers and children about the Universal Postal Union. I am wondering if your organization believes that a pamphlet of this type would have a bad effect on our own schoolchildren?

Captain WILLENBUCHER. From its title, I can't answer the question, Mr. Congressman. From the title, I would think no, but I don't know that that is one of the pamphlets that was covered here. Let me see. Is that one of the pamphlets—may I see it? I thought there were five specific pamphlets. No; this is one of those pamphlets.

Mr. CARNAHAN. That is one?

Captain WILLENBUCHER. Certainly the resolution would include this pamphlet. Whether this particular one would contain matter that is objectionable, I don't know.

Mr. CARNAHAN. Of course, it could be that this one was issued after your statement.

Captain WILLENBUCHER. It could be, so I can't tell, really.

Mr. CARNAHAN. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MERROW. Just one thing more. On page 4, you have stated, "Under the circumstances, our political leaders will be importuned to stand for," and you have listed—and then you have gone on in your statement citing those various items that you are opposed to.

Now, I take it you have a great fear that there is a movement to accomplish the things you are afraid are going to be done.

Captain WILLENBUCHER. Mr. Chairman, perhaps it would have been better to say, "will be importuned to stand for some or all." I do not know how many. And it isn't exactly a fear, it is an apprehension and an awareness that these things are being recommended by very strong organizations with large funds.

Mr. MERROW. Do you know of some of these organizations to which you make reference, or which you fear may do this?

Captain WILLENBUCHER. Well, again—concerning which we have apprehensions?

Mr. MERROW. Yes.

Captain WILLENBUCHER. I would think basically those are the things which are the objectives of the United World Federalists, the Atlantic Unionists, and other organizations. Some of them were maintained in a proposal that came from the Chicago University group as being the structure for a constitution for a world government, and this statement was written based upon what actually had come to our attention, without using the names of any organizations, since you asked about the organizations I have given you some.

Mr. MERROW. If there is a large number, you have named some of them, we would be glad to have them, if they come to your attention.

Captain WILLENBUCHER. Those, roughly, are the ones that I had in mind.

Mr. MERROW. You have a gentleman on your right.

Captain WILLENBUCHER. General Schulz is chairman of the national Americanism committee of National Sojourners.

General Schulz would have presented this statement, but he asked me to do it. Really, the statement would have been present by Colonel Copp, our president, has he been able to be present.

Mr. MERROW. Do you wish to say anything, General.

General SCHULZ. I think the position of the National Sojourners has been well presented by Captain Willenbucher, and I have nothing to add, unless the committee has questions to ask. I think those questions have also been answered very well by Captain Willenbucher.

Mr. MERROW. If there is nothing else, we thank you very much.

Our next witness will be Mr. E. Raymond Wilson, executive secretary, Friends Committee on National Legislation.

Mr. Wilson.

**STATEMENT OF E. RAYMOND WILSON, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY,  
FRIENDS COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL LEGISLATION**

Mr. WILSON. My name is E. Raymond Wilson. I am executive secretary of the Friends Committee on National Legislation, 104 C Street N.E., Washington 2, D. C.

Our organization is deeply concerned that continued and expanded support be given by the people and the Government of the United States to the work of the United Nations and to the specialized international agencies. This work of the U. N. specialized agencies is, and has been, one of the most constructive approaches to building international understanding and cooperation between peoples. In addition, the United Nations agencies are a positive force both in allaying and preventing those conditions and circumstances which lead to poverty, sickness, discontent, and war.

I should like to raise a number of general questions regarding United States participation in, and policy toward, this work. I hope that this committee will continue to seek testimony from officials and other witnesses directly connected with the international agencies, whose knowledge and experience in the field will enable competent and thorough answers to such questions.

1. How could authorization and funds be made available on a longer time basis so that more adequate planning for programs and personnel could be undertaken?

That is particularly true of technical assistance efforts which need to take into account the culture and psychology of the people who are being assisted and the interrelatedness of various factors in raising standards of living and improving the welfare of people. How much more effective the U. N. expended technical assistance program could be if it could be assured of a modestly increasing sum for a period of 5 years. The Congress does that, at least to a considerable extent, with battleships, air bases, bombing planes, and atom bombs.

2. Shouldn't the United States and the other members of the United Nations settle into our worldwide tasks with a considerably longer timetable?

In the field of work with refugees, some of the work of UNRRA was turned over to the International Refugee Organization. Before the refugee problem was fully solved, the IRO was liquidated, and the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees was created. At the present time, the United States and many countries of Europe are turning more attention—and more funds—to the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration and the United States escapee program than to the United Nations program, exclusive of Palestine and Korea. Should the United States support bilateral and intergovernmental agencies in preference to, and almost to the exclusion of, United Nations undertakings?

Economic aid has gone through the transition from UNRRA to the temporary aid, to the Marshall plan, MSA, ECA, and now FOA. This is not to say that institutions shouldn't be changed or closed



down or that new ones shouldn't be created to meet new needs, but it does point to the problem of continuity of effort and the question of international participation in undertakings of such magnitude.

3. Would there be an advantage in dividing the budgets of some of the specialized agencies into two parts, one covering administrative expenses, and the other for operations?

This would make it possible for the United States to contribute its normal percentage for the administrative budget, and observe a limitation which would insure that no one country could dominate the work of specialized agencies. Because of our large national income, and our deep interest in world recovery and in advancement for the underdeveloped areas, a division of budgets would provide an opportunity for the United States to take a much larger share of the underwriting of the actual operation programs. In fact, that is about what happens now, in the U. N. technical-assistance program, and in caring for refugees in Palestine and Korea.

4. What would be a desirable rate of transfer of emphasis from United States programs to those carried out by the U. N. agencies?

Programs which are operated under United Nations auspices can draw on technical personnel from all over the world, and are less suspect in regard to fears of political or economic exploitation in the minds of people living in underdeveloped regions. Naturally, U. N. programs still face difficulties in finding available people who are qualified and in securing adequate financing. Many people think the soundest way to develop the United Nations is through increasing cooperation and understanding created by common effort in the specialized agencies.

5. Couldn't the United States join with other countries in a more vigorous attack on world hunger, specifically through the Food and Agriculture Organization?

Officials of the FAO estimate that some 6 out of 10 of the human race still go to bed hungry every night. United States agriculture has been revolutionized in the last half century, and has many skills and methods to share in the science of food production. Since the United States delegation was active in turning down 2 proposals made in the FAO, 1 the World Food Board proposal, and the other for an International Commodity Clearing House, has our Government not a peculiarly heavy responsibility to see that more effective plans for production and distribution of food are evolved on a world scale?

6. What part could the United States play in a truly global attack on the major diseases which could be readily controlled with the scientific information now in our hands?

No effective cure has yet been found for such problems as cancer and heart disease—but there is little excuse for the continued ravages of malaria, syphilis, yaws, rickets and the other scourges which could be, for the most part, prevented and cured through such a long-range effort. If such advances could be made in the field of health and sanitation, coordinated efforts would also have to take place in terms of industrial and agricultural progress, and just as important, educationally, to prevent a rising birth rate and decreasing death rate, causing a population problem of the first magnitude.

7. Shouldn't the United States look forward to more public investment in many areas?

There are many situations where private industry and businessmen will not fill the need for overseas investment, because of the lack of immediate returns on these investments. I am referring to such fields as education, health, public administration, and the building up of transportation and communication facilities. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development is too limited in its activities, and in terms of the guaranties which it exacts, too restricted to solve the whole problem here.

The United States Export-Import Bank can provide some of the funds, but, again, has operated on a limited scope.

Admittedly, this situation would be improved as far as private investors are concerned if such guaranties as that of exchange convertibility, and also the guaranty against expropriation or loss through political changes, could be achieved, as recommended in the Randall Commission report.

In addition, however, there is need for government-to-government investment to supplement programs in those areas where immediate returns are scanty, but where such progress is a necessary condition for advances in the industrial or other fields which could attract private capital.

So far, the United States has not given its endorsement to SUNFED, the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development, which we believe would be one means of providing such capital.

In the countries just emerging into self-government or seriously undertaking democracy for the first time, there is an especial need for training teachers and public officials, for developing sanitation and public health measures, for general education, for agricultural education, and the development of new industries, if these governments are going to have the political and economic stability to survive, and if their peoples are to enjoy increasing standards of living. What better investment could the United States make than to help in the healthy development of countries like India, Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia, Japan and Korea, to name only a few?

There are two United Nations activities to which I would like to give particular stress, since we hope this Congress will act favorably this year on both of them, the Emergency Fund of the Office of the High Commission for Refugees, and the United Nations Children's Fund.

I want to make a special appeal for United States participation in the Emergency Fund for the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees.

This office was continued for a period of 5 years from January 1, 1954, by action of the U. N. General Assembly in October 1953. The mandate of this office covers approximately 1½ million refugees, more than a million of whom are in Europe. This worldwide responsibility includes all refugees except those who are assisted by the other two agencies of the United Nations, the U. N. Korean Reconstruction Agency and the U. N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East.

The major responsibility of the High Commissioner's office includes working for legal protection by encouraging laws and international conventions; for measures designed to improve the situation of refugees; and in assisting governmental and private efforts to promote settlement of refugees. The general budget for 1954 for the High

Commissioner's office, passed by the General Assembly, is \$685,000, which is exclusively for the administrative costs of the office itself, and its branches, and not for the direct care and maintenance of refugees themselves. Of this sum, the United States contributes its regular percentage for United Nations organizations.

The Emergency Fund of the Office of the High Commissioner, however, is a different story. In spite of appeals by the High Commissioner, no contributions have been made by the United States so far, nor was such a request included in the President's budget message. Because the International Refugee Organization was laid down before all the refugees resulting from the Second World War and the ensuing political upheaval were resettled, there have been left the so-called hard core cases and special groups of refugees which do not fall within the jurisdiction of the other two U. N. refugee programs, nor the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, nor the United States escapee program.

For calendar 1954, the High Commissioner, according to established United Nations procedure, has addressed letters to 37 governments, requesting further contributions to the Emergency Fund of \$1,084,000. The first three to respond were Switzerland, Australia, and the Holy See.

Available funds will be exhausted before the end of April. These unfortunate people involved include about 15,000 European refugees in China, and refugees of European origin in the Middle East who are entirely dependent on such help as can be given from the U. N. Refugee Emergency Fund and by the voluntary agencies.

In Greece, while the distress among Greek nationals may to some extent be met through public assistance and the help given by religious and voluntary agencies, yet the foreign refugees find themselves mainly dependent on aid from international sources, because of the strict policy of economy imposed by the low national income in Greece. Serious emergency refugee problems exist in Turkey, also, as well as in Austria, Iran, and Italy.

We would like to recommend that the United States Government make available a sum of at least \$500,000 which would be around 25 percent of what governments have been asked to contribute in 1953 and 1954. This money could be allocated from appropriations already made, or by a special authorization. This would be tangible evidence of the willingness of the United States to follow through with the problems left upon the dissolution of the U. N. International Refugee Organizations.

Such a contribution would be another concrete expression of the concern of our great democracy for the plight of unfortunate people who are suffering because of the ravages of war and the tides of political persecution. It would be another denial to any possible claim that our Government is cold or heartless to distressed people, or that we are indifferent to the adequate functioning of any U. N. organization.

For a country that, itself, was not overrun and destroyed by war, and which enjoys the highest standard of living in the world, it would answer the cynicism and paganism now too widespread. It would demonstrate that we stand ready to help our displaced fellowmen find new homes and a new start, and it would guarantee that in their

plight and sickness they should not die because we had withheld some of the bounty with which God has blessed us.

I think the United Nations High Commissioner is in Washington the rest of this week renewing his appeal to the United States Government that such a contribution might be made.

Mrs. BOLTON. What is his name, do you know?

Mr. WILSON. Dr. G. J. Van Heuven Goedhart, from Holland, and his deputy is Mr. James Read, whom many of you have met, an American citizen.

Another one of the specialized agencies which deserves the continuation of the extensive support which the United States has given it is the United Nations Children's Fund—UNICEF.

The Children's Fund was established in December 1946 to aid needy children, particularly in the devastated areas of Europe. Then, in 1950, when these emergency needs had largely passed, the emphasis was shifted to long-range child welfare programs in Asia, Africa, and South America. UNICEF now operates in 69 countries and territories, and is estimated to have helped over 60 million children. By the end of 1952, the number of beneficiaries in various UNICEF programs was 25.5 million tested for tuberculosis; 8.6 million vaccinated; 9.0 million examined for yaws, bejel, and prenatal syphilis; 2.5 million treated for yaws, bejel, and prenatal syphilis; 10 million protected against malaria and other insect-borne diseases; and 680,000 immunized against diphtheria and whooping cough.

The support rallied about the work of the Children's Fund has been a remarkable expression of the interest of large numbers of nations in such an international welfare program. UNICEF is supported entirely by voluntary contributions, from governments, organizations, and individuals. Of the \$439,933,000 which has been contributed, \$174,909,000 has come from contributing peoples and governments, while \$267,268,000, a much greater sum than the required dollar-for-dollar matching funds, has come from recipient countries.

One of the real reasons for the success of the Children's Fund in the past is the part which the United States has played in appropriating \$96 million by the summer of 1953, or about 20 percent of the gross expenditures of the fund. The Eighth General Assembly of the United Nations has changed the status of the Children's Fund from an emergency operation to a continuing agency. May we earnestly suggest that the United States continue to support wholeheartedly the United Nations Children's Fund—and give sustained encouragement to what is now an ongoing organization?

There hasn't been any more loyal or eloquent supporter of the Children's Fund than Mrs. Bolton on the floor of the House of Representatives, as those of us who listened to the debate last June can testify to very earnestly.

According to the President's budget, the United States budget requests an appropriation of \$28.4 million for the United Nations. That is for fiscal 1955. This figure does not include contributions to the U. N. relief and refugee program, or to the technical assistance program.

The President has asked for a United States defense budget which is 1.581 times this amount. We would appeal for a much larger sum being spent for the work of the United Nations agencies, both because

we feel that much work contributes materially to the well-being of mankind, and because it is a very tangible way of adding to our own national security, and to the security of the world.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Wilson, we thank you for this clear and constructive statement in reference to the United Nations and its agencies. I am very much interested in the last sentence of your statement, also in what you said in the first paragraph of your paper, where you referred to the work of the U. N. specialized agencies having been one of the most constructive approaches to building international understanding and cooperation between peoples.

In addition, the U. N. agencies are a positive force both in allaying and preventing those conditions and circumstances which lead to poverty, sickness, discontent, and war.

I don't think that this can be too often repeated, and I would like to say that in the report on the specialized agencies, that the study mission made, we stated:

It is very likely that the specialized agencies could carry on their work even if there were no United Nations. On the other hand, it is unlikely that the United Nations can achieve its objectives without a background of technical accomplishments by the specialized agencies.

The Big Four of the specialized agencies, ILO, WHO, UNESCO, and FAO, are fighting diseases, poverty, ignorance and malnutrition. I am glad that you have emphasized the value of the specialized agencies.

Mrs. Bolton.

Mrs. BOLTON. I have no questions. I just feel delightfully challenged by your questions. You focused so many ideas that float about in one's mind. It is very good to have them really set out.

Mr. WILSON. May I ask you a question, if there were any discussions in which you were involved in the General Assembly with regard to the third question I raised, of whether we might work in the direction of two budgets, an administrative budget in which we would take only our normal one-third, and an operating budget where we could really go to town on the things that the world would like to have done?

Mrs. BOLTON. I was not in that part of the U. N. at all. I didn't hear any of the argument or discussion. I hardly knew what was going on in the third committee, because I was so completely involved in the fourth and the ad hoc, so I am afraid I am no good to you on that question. It can be looked up very easily, of course.

Mr. WILSON. I think it might receive the consideration of our Government. I have talked it over with members of the State Department, and others. I think we are in a situation where we don't want to dominate the administrative agencies. We want to encourage other nations to contribute and those contributions haven't arisen as fast as we would like. Maybe if we could divide our administrative and operating amounts, it would be helpful.

Mrs. BOLTON. It is a very interesting suggestion.

Mr. MERROW. Do you have any questions, Mr. Hays?

Mr. HAYS. I won't take time to pursue the subject, but I would like to say for the record, and I hope this won't embarrass my friend, Mr. Ray Wilson—he is a very modest man—but I think he is one of the most useful men we have down here in Washington, getting informa-

tion and giving us wise counsel about the humanitarian services of international agencies. I think he is a great American, and he doesn't vote in my district.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Carnahan.

Mr. CARNAHAN. You raised a question "How can authorizations and funds be made available on a longer time basis?" It is your suggestion that we should consider the problem in a 5-year period?

Mr. WILSON. Well, 3 to 5 years for many kinds of operations, in terms of recruitment of personnel, or the undertaking of work in a distant country. That would give the program much more stability and continuity. I think that is based, too, on discussions of some of the problems from the standpoint of the administrators of these programs.

I understand that Congress normally does not appropriate money for more than 1 year, but maybe one way to do it would be to appropriate money for a particular job, and make the money available over a period of years.

Mr. CARNAHAN. You have mentioned the change in name for the organization, or for the work we are attempting to do. You mentioned "transition from UNRRA to Marshall plan, ECA, and now FOA."

Do you think the same work has been done under the different organizations?

Mr. WILSON. Yes, but I was one who felt that UNRRA was laid down much too soon, that its job in terms of world reconstruction was much greater than was envisaged, here.

I remember listening to the testimony of Mr. Clayton before this Foreign Affairs Committee, after UNRRA was laid down, in which he requested \$600 million, as I recall, for a 1-year program of economic aid to Europe.

I frankly was amazed at that from an economic official of the Department of State, because all the information we had had from Europe, through the work of the American Friends Service Committee and other agencies there, had led us to believe that the economic plight of Europe was much more serious and would require much more than any 1-year additional program to bring Europe out.

So then we had, next year, the launching of the Marshall plan. I am not blaming American officials for shortsightedness in those days, but I think it is an illustration of the need and the value for assessing as clearly as we can the basic job to be done and then making a timetable of—I suggested 5 years where we can, in terms of program and policy, because it is so confusing, as you very well know from your trips abroad in behalf of this committee, that we seem to be changing personnel or policy very frequently, even though there may be real continuity to it. It undermines the kind of confidence that we really want to build up in our allies.

I certainly want to commend this committee for the time and effort that you have already put in, in the study of international organizations, and what I hope will be a very thorough review of the work of these agencies to see how they can be developed to be more effective.

Mr. CARNAHAN. Do you feel there is effective coordination of the many groups and agencies that are working throughout the world?

Mr. WILSON. Well, there seems to be a very real desire on their part for coordination. One couldn't claim that it is perfectly done, because

of the variety of specialized agencies, and all. Take the children's fund and the World Health Organization and the Food and Agriculture Organization. They have had very close coordination in the development of agricultural and technical assistance, as well as with our own national technical assistance program. So there will always be the task of coordination, but I would think this, that it has probably been better done than the overall long-time global planning.

A group of us had an afternoon with some of the administrators of the United States technical assistance program from the Department of Agriculture here a few weeks ago, and we said to them, "Has there been a global plan worked out for a really concerted attack on this matter of world hunger, something we are working for 5 years from now and 10 years from now, and into which our own Department of Agriculture program fits and into which the U. N. program fits and into which the FAO program fits?" and they said "No."

Maybe one of the things this committee could do would be to once in a while stop and say, "What are our long-time goals and where should we set our sights?" and then say, "Well, now, in the next 2 years or 5 years, whatever we could commit ourselves to in ways of policy"—I think most of these things we are talking about are not matters of severe difference of political opinion between parties. I think it is a matter of real bipartisan effort that we can get support for in both Houses of Congress.

Mr. CARNAHAN. Is there coordination between non-Government groups in their efforts throughout the world?

Mr. WILSON. There is a good deal. For example, Mr. Ringland's office in the Department of State has maintained good relationships with the voluntary agencies in the field of private relief. They make regular reports and try to work in terms of a pattern that eliminates, as far as possible, competition, overlapping and needless duplication.

The Foreign Operations Administration stated as one of its policies that it would like to increase the participation of land-grant colleges in our own technical assistance program.

I can't speak authoritatively about the amount of coordination between the United Nations programs and the voluntary agencies. I do know they maintain a very active liaison Secretariat both in New York and Geneva, and make every effort to work closely with private and voluntary agencies.

Mr. CARNAHAN. In the work of your own group, do you meet with problems that you are convinced will have to be handled through Government channels?

Mr. WILSON. Yes. I think it is certainly fair to say so. The problem of health, for example. Malaria cannot be stamped out except with a nationwide and international attack on the problem of disease.

Take the question of education in Iran. I have heard one of the technical assistance people say that if you gathered together all of the people in that country who now have had a highschool education, you would only have 1 person for every 3 villages. And so, that type of thing is quite beyond the scope of voluntary organizations.

Now, I am one who feels that we want to encourage, just as far as we can, the participation of voluntary agencies in these programs, and the Congress has recognized that by a number of things, among which is the provision for refunding to voluntary agencies the out-of-pocket

freight costs for food and relief supplies going abroad. That was to increase the distribution of voluntary gifts in this country and to make it possible for Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant agencies to accept gifts in kind which they couldn't accept unless there was some means of distributing them to the people who really need them. But—and here, again, I can't speak officially for the voluntary agencies—but I think they would be the first to say that their personnel and funds are by no means adequate for solution of any of these major problems of poverty, disease, hunger, and insecurity, and that they would be happy to be used to the extent they can, but aid for education, sanitation, transportation, and communication will basically have to be handled by our Government.

There is also the problem that is difficult for many of them, and that is the question of the relation of church to state and whether a religious organization ought to take money from a Government or inter-governmental organization.

Mr. CARNAHAN. Do you feel that the policy on the Government level has enough cohesion and continuity to inspire confidence of the independent groups? In other words, do you feel that a change of administration may change the overall plan to any noticeable degree?

Mr. WILSON. Well, that has certainly happened in the United States technical-assistance program, when the Congress wrote into the appropriations for this year a very serious cut in administrative personnel, and where the policy has been to replace a good many policy officials with people of a different political party, or for one reason or another. That is only one of the questions involved, however. Some of the particular problems that have faced the Society of Friends goes deeper than that, in terms of the kind of commitments that may have to be made in regard to personnel, or the particular kinds of loyalty oaths or whatnot that may affect the matter of conscience, and so on, so that the relation of private organizations to governmental operations has had a good many angles.

I would like to see increasing cooperation between Government and private agencies. I looked with considerable interest on the effort of the United Nations when they were faced with the problem of Arab refugees and asked three nongovernmental organizations to take over the immediate program of relief because they had experience in that field. That has now been transferred to the U. N. I think we would lose a great deal if we lost the personal concern and the personal relationship of people to people.

I was interested in Vienna, 2 years ago, in talking with one of our officials there who was working on the problem of the democratization of Austria, and his comment was that perhaps one of the biggest contributions the United States could make to a country like Germany or Austria is to help in the development of voluntary agencies, and in community organization. Our whole emphasis in this country on religious organizations, political organizations, PTA's, League of Women Voters, business groups, luncheon groups, and so on—the voluntary association of individuals around a common interest. And, of course, that is one of the antidotes to totalitarianism. It is one of the ways of trying to prevent a government from making all the decisions for its people and keeping all the authority in its own hands.

So that to the extent that both the United States programs and the U. N. programs can emphasize this participation of voluntary groups, I think it will add to their soundness.



Then, there is another question which I am sure you have run across time and time again, that in these human relations programs, the biggest pinch is not money, although that is difficult to get, but the kind of personnel that you can really trust, that won't betray their power, their authority or their freedom in a way so as to alienate or fail to command the respect of the people abroad.

There are a good many vigorous arguments going on among the voluntary agencies as to how fast these programs should expand, but I think most people are inclined to think that the real crux is how fast more people can be recruited for them that represent the finest type of American personnel. And in the United Nations agencies, they have the opportunity of drawing personnel from all over the world, so that that is a great advantage in expanding the pool of possible leadership. And as I have indicated in this paper, I think our concern and the Friends Committee on Legislation's concern would be to urge the expansion of U. N. programs as fast as they can really be soundly expanded and the diminution of purely American programs to those things which we can do easier or better, but that in the specialized agencies is really one of the sound ways of developing the kind of community in the world which must underlie an effective political organization that we all hope will emerge from the United Nations.

Mr. CARNAHAN. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MERROW. Your last statement, I thought, was good. Your last sentence in the prepared statement reads:

We would appeal for a much larger sum being spent for the work of the United Nations agencies, both because we feel that much work contributes materially to the well-being of mankind, and because it is a very tangible way of adding to our own national security and to the security of the world.

It seems to me from the study we made of the specialized agencies of the United Nations, that they are doing most effective work on small budgets. I think perhaps the smallness of the budget in some instances has facilitated the effectiveness of the work. You wouldn't want to increase, as you have said, the money available to these agencies without very careful consideration as to whether it can be absorbed effectively, would you?

Mr. WILSON. That is right, but if I were a member of this subcommittee, I would look, for example, to southeast Asia, where 600 million people have moved from dependency to self-government, or colonial status, and I would think that the United States would be very well advised to put a much greater investment of personnel and money and skills into those countries that are just beginning to come out of a feeling of inferiority, that tend to swing with the pendulum to rather extreme nationalism. And yet, if we make common cause with them in their struggle for decent standards of living, for building up transportation and communications, for a good school system, for all of the institutions of the democracy, that would be the finest investment for peace we could make.

Mr. MERROW. Do you feel, or is it your position, that more multi-lateral and less bilateral aid would be more effective?

Mr. WILSON. Yes, sir; because it would be much better accepted on the part of the peoples who receive it, and much less subject to either suspicion or any kind of accusation that we were acting in our own national self-interest.

Mr. MERROW. The bilateral aid enables us to carry on much larger programs, doesn't it?

Mr. WILSON. Well, temporarily, and I wouldn't diminish the bilateral aid. I would put the emphasis on trying to encourage other governments to participate more largely in personnel and finances, and this suggestion of dividing the administrative and operating budgets was a way of trying to get around some of these handicaps. You wouldn't answer all the difficulties, but if we put a good deal of our bilateral money into a multilateral program, it would, perhaps, accomplish more and I think psychologically it would be much less susceptible to any possibility of fear on the part of peoples that we were grinding our own political axes against their best future.

Mr. MERROW. If there is no duplication of effort, and there is careful coordination between the multilateral agencies and the bilateral technical-assistance program, they are both very effective, aren't they?

Mr. WILSON. Yes. Of course, the larger the program of bilateral aid, the more the question of coordination comes in.

There is another single angle to that, and I think it is the feeling of many of us, that the more sharply divided technical assistance and economic-aid programs can be from military programs, again, the less difficulty, politically, we are going to get into and the more people are going to be willing to accept them and benefit from them without feeling that we are obligating them in a military way for what we try to help them to do in the economic and technical assistance work.

Mr. MERROW. Well, we thank you, Mr. Wilson.

Mr. CARNAHAN. I would like to ask just one more question. What is your feeling about the revision of the U. N. Charter? Do you believe it should be made into a stronger organization, or maybe left somewhat as it is?

Mr. WILSON. Our official position is in terms of a far reaching vision of the charter. As you are aware, the Friends are very much concerned about the methods of enforcement and those of us who were at the San Francisco Conference in 1945 made 13 suggestions for changes in the charter, at that time, most of which were not accepted. One was to put the basic power of the United Nations in the hands of the General Assembly, rather than the Security Council, so that the basic authority would be in the 60 nations.

We have moved in that direction with the Uniting for Peace Resolution, and the action in the General Assembly a few years ago.

A second emphasis, I think, that is very widespread that the Friends would like to see would be much more emphasis on disarmament. The United Nations Charter has less emphasis on that than the League of Nations Covenant did. Also, if we are going to forestall more "Koreas" we need a combination of the disarmament of nations so that aggressors will not have the power to break the peace, and the development of enforcement upon individuals. Then it becomes a true police action and not the kind of devastating war that pretty much destroys the country we start out to defend, and renders the development of democracy—particularly in North Korea and even South Korea, extremely difficult, with the 3 years of war that took place. So I think we would be inclined to say that Korea represents the first international steps somewhat comparable to the vigilante situation in our Western States in our early history, but that is the

stage that we ought to move through. The alternative to war and the alternative to enforcement by war is the extension of world law, and a true international police system, and the attempt to transfer to the world the best of what we have learned in 175 years of political democracy. And I am one who is proud of America's heritage and our experience in this political field, and I think we have a lot to share with the rest of the world.

I am not one who looks with hesitation on this whole discussion of the charter revision. It seems to me it is exactly the kind of thing that ought to take place in every community in the United States.

I think we ought to try to come to a decision that the United Nations, according to its founders—and we heard it said day after day after day in San Francisco—was an international organization created in the midst of war by nations on the Allied side. It represented a very remarkable beginning but did not propose to be an organization complete and finished in all regards.

We also emphasized the fact that political institutions cannot outrun very far the moral will to use them and we have the problem of a completely divided world. But law must precede out of a willingness to live without war.

I think we should have a limited world federation which would be directed toward keeping us out of war. That is more likely to give the United States true security than the expectation that we can avoid war in a world where potential aggressors are armed with atom bombs and where we are at the mercy of any incident that may draw us into war. Some of us would look with a good deal of apprehension at the recent statement of the Secretary of State that we are prepared to take instant retaliation by means of our own choosing—which I think from the standpoint of this committee raises a question of whether we are in a sense officially committed to bypass the nine steps for conciliation in the United Nations Charter, and whether we are in a sense committed to bypass the necessity of collective judgments on the part of the United Nations.

Those are two of the questions that were raised in my mind by the statement of Mr. Dulles in January and by the discussion that has taken place in this last week.

MR. CARNAHAN. You feel that this world federation would be a federation of national groups?

MR. WILSON. Yes, but it would mean them giving up enough sovereignty so that nations would not use military force in their own behalf and so that peace could be maintained and achieved by retaining, in each national government, control over its own domestic questions.

It is the type of decision the Colonies had to make 175 years ago and which we have found has worked—not perfectly, but we think better than any other type of government in the world and the shift from national federation to world federation is not as great as it was in the time of the Colonies when they were so sharply separated by distance, background, ideas, and all.

The United States people, I think, are, on the whole, a people who respect law and who would like to live under a nation that operates under law and eventually in a world that operates under law. It is not something we should be afraid of; it is something we should seek to use as the servant of our common life. Law, in a sense, is

the rules by which we live together and try to do the things together that we cannot do by ourselves.

You can appreciate the fact that Quakers, perhaps more than most groups, have some hesitation about law because they have seen in their three centuries of history a great many arbitrary laws and they have always been willing on matters of conscience to withhold their support from the law if they felt that obeying it was more immoral than disobeying it.

So we are not saying that law is a substitute for morality or for co-operation or for decency or for justice, but it is an essential part of a world that wants to get rid of war and wants to have some rules by which to live.

Mr. CARNAHAN. That is all.

Mr. MERROW. We appreciate your testimony very much. I must say in reference to the Secretary's statement, I am in agreement with the position of the Secretary, in view of the fact that we are living in a divided world. I think we must be in a position to do whatever is necessary if there is any kind of an outbreak, and I thought the statement was well made.

Mr. WILSON. Well, it may be a temporary deterrent in terms of making quite clear the United States determination to resist aggression, but one of the Senators referred to it as peace by terror and what we want to move toward is peace by agreement, peace by law, peace by treaty, and so on. So at best, it would only be one part of the policy and a temporary policy until it could be replaced by something really more effective and more in line with what I think we all want to achieve internationally.

Mr. MERROW. Under the circumstances I think it is about the only position we can take.

We have been very glad to have you with us. We appreciate your statement and we will be pleased to hear from you at any time on these matters.

Mr. WILSON. Thank you very much for your courtesy, sir.

Mr. MERROW. The subcommittee stands adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 4:45 p. m., the subcommittee adjourned to reconvene at the call of the chairman.)

(The following statement has been received for inclusion in the record:)

NATIONAL GRANGE,  
Washington, D. C., March 25, 1954.

Re Grange viewpoints concerning the special agencies of U. N., especially FAO.  
Hon. CHESTER E. MERROW,

*Chairman, Subcommittee on International Organizations,  
House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. MERROW: Grange policy has consistently supported the United Nations since it was first conceived over a decade ago. This is true despite our feeling that U. N. progress toward achieving any major portion of its objectives has been painfully slow. We now have a special committee studying its basic structure, its program, and its methods of operation. This committee will report in November 1954, at which time we will be glad to give you our recommendations concerning the United Nations Organization itself.

Insofar as the special agencies of U. N. are concerned, we shall confine our comments here largely to FAO. Suffice it to say that in general the Grange feels that the special U. N. agencies are on very solid ground, and are filling a necessary and fundamentally sound place on the present world scene. Our delegate body has again and again reaffirmed its general belief in and support

of the general objectives of these agencies. In fact, at our last annual meeting in Burlington, Vt., last November, one resolution adopted said in part that the Grange should use its influence in "improving the effectiveness of the specialized agencies of U. N."

Our general objectives, however, would prevent any international organization or treaty from infringing upon our national sovereignty or from superseding the provisions of our Federal Constitution and the constitutions of the several States. We should point out, however, that our executive committee decided in January not to support the then pending Bricker amendment.

Several of the general conclusions that we are about to spell out relative to FAO will also apply to some of the other U. N. specialized agencies. First, let me say that the farmers of this Nation, as expressed through the democratic procedures of the Grange, are proud of the record the FAO has established. It has experienced some growing pains, but in general has made great strides. We, therefore, feel that the current recommendation to raise its annual budget from \$5,250,000 to \$6,000,000 is sound, and we respectfully urge the Congress of this Nation to provide our pro rata share of this budget, which would amount to a total of about \$1,800,000.

We objected to the "closed-door session" policy of the 1943 Hot Springs, Va., Conference, at which time Government people effectively barred farmers and our organizations from the Conference, which was to conceive FAO.

We were pleased when the policy was changed, and are satisfied with the present relationship between the farm organizations and FAO. We do feel, however, that this Government should provide for at least 4 representatives (1 from each of the 4 major farm organizations) to attend the general FAO conferences which are held every other year. Only two such representatives were provided for in the last such meeting, which was held in Rome, Italy. Our representatives, we believe, can contribute much to the meetings in an advisory capacity, and will help spread a better understanding of FAO in this country by sharing the experience with farm people all across the Nation. This latter point is especially true since Congress does not appropriate any funds for citizen-sponsoring and information-dissemination groups for FAO as it does for UNESCO.

Now for an appraisal of what the Grange believes to be logical functions of FAO. These are as follows:

1. FAO should do a thorough job of gathering, summarizing, appraising, and disseminating food and agriculture information around the world. It should serve as a global clearinghouse for this sort of information. It is doing a fair job of this at the present time.

2. The Grange believes firmly in the technical-assistance approach of helping people help themselves through the dissemination of technical know-how. With 68 nations contributing and participating in FAO, and with approximately that number being a part of U. N., it would appear that we should have a more solid international conscience and more universal interest and understanding of the broad technical-assistance programs if a sizable portion of the current United States technical-cooperation program was turned over to the U. N., with the United States paying for only its proportionate share.

There is the problem, of course, of such a program under U. N. becoming tainted with socialistic tendencies. We have felt some of these socialistic philosophies on the part of some of the influences coming from U. N. in the past. For instance, we have heard of U. N. teams being called into various countries to assist them in planning various segments of their economy, spreading the gospel of confiscatory taxes on private companies, often to an extent that investment is discouraged and productivity is decreased. This inevitably brings lower rather than higher levels of living and purchasing power, and eliminates jobs and employment rather than serving to increase productive jobs and employment. Some of these teams have tended to place all of their emphasis on governmental ownership, largely writing off the private-enterprise system. This organization believes that this sort of thing must be watched very closely.

The history of the world shows that governmental operations are only justified under limited circumstances, and generally are ineffective and dangerous as a substitute for the sound long-time objective of getting the job done through private enterprise by incentive to produce or serve for profit. If this sort of philosophy is not stemmed in the United Nations, we should use pressure to either make the corrections or possibly begin to withdraw funds. We must not blindly destroy individual freedom to earn and own property, in our efforts or desire to help peoples become more productive. To do so might in some circumstances

seem to give desirable temporary results, but the long-time effect would inevitably be the utter defeat and failure of our worthy purpose.

In conclusion, we believe that the U. N. technical assistance program should be expanded, seeking wider interest and the acceptance of responsibility, with more nations contributing to this work, no matter how small their contribution may be. The 30 percent of our \$14 million pledge to this U. N. program, which FAO has been getting (about \$6½ million) surely seems small enough, in view of the need for this type program. Food and agriculture are the basis of the whole area of raising the living standard of people. It should also be remembered that the program of technical assistance on the part of all the U. N. specialized agencies should be well coordinated. I am referring to WHO, ILO, UNESCO, and the others. It must also be well coordinated with the international development program of our own Government.

3. The idea of FAO embarking upon some type of world-food-pool approach should be studied very carefully. It is basically our philosophy that it is essential that all nations share in the cost of the world's obligation to some of the underprivileged peoples. Our present program of relief and other giveaways has created much ill will for this country and has caused misunderstanding and lost us friends rather than gaining them in some cases. If a world food pool should be embarked upon, we should start slowly and gain experience as we go. This sort of a program is filled with dangers, but it also has many desirable possibilities, chief among which is the prospect of increased interrelationship and decreased isolation and ignorance of other people and their products and way of life. Comparative productivity, efficiency, and ways of life will surely become more common knowledge among increasing numbers of people and nations. To make this our objective may well yield an improved chance of peace and broader cooperation through understanding.

We commend your committee for its wise leadership in guiding United States participation in international organizations in general. This whole field of working for the betterment of mankind in the interest of human responsibility, as well as the prevention of world war III, is an objective that requires the best in all of us. It represents a responsibility that this Nation and all free people everywhere cannot shirk.

If we can be of further help, please let us know.

Very truly yours,

HERSCHEL D. NEWSOM, *Master*.

# INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS

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MONDAY, MARCH 22, 1954

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL  
ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 11:05 a. m., in room G-3, United States Capitol, Hon. Chester E. Merrow (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. MERROW. The subcommittee will be in order.

This is a continuation of the hearings on the specialized agencies of the United Nations. The subcommittee has been holding hearings on these subjects and will continue to do so in an effort to get all the facts concerning the specialized agencies, for the record.

During the last few days, we have been having hearings on the United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.

We have with us this morning, Mr. Irving Salomon, who served as chairman of a committee, with Mrs. Elizabeth Heffelfinger, a member of the National Commission, and Dr. John A. Perkins, the president of the University of Delaware and United States member of the Executive Board of UNESCO, who was before the subcommittee about a week ago.

Mr. Salomon was chairman of the committee that made a report to the President on UNESCO, known as the Salomon report. This report was made after a study of UNESCO in Paris. Mr. Salomon and the others I have mentioned were in the United States Delegation to UNESCO. We are very happy to have you with us, Mr. Salomon. You may proceed in any way you wish. After you have made your statement, we would like to ask some questions.

Perhaps in the beginning you would tell us about your association with UNESCO and the reason for the report.

## STATEMENT OF IRVING SALOMON, CHAIRMAN, UNITED STATES DELEGATION TO SECOND EXTRAORDINARY SESSION, GENERAL CONFERENCE OF UNESCO, PARIS, FRANCE, JULY 1953

Mr. SALOMON. I didn't come with any prepared statement. I thought that a hearing was limited to questions and answers. Anyway I believe that I could be most helpful by answering your questions.

In 1951, the Ford Foundation, through Mr. Paul Hoffman, asked me to go to Paris and attend the UNESCO General Conference taking place in July 1951, with the idea in mind that perhaps the Ford Foun-

dation might want to consider contributing to some of UNESCO's programs.

The foundation had been approached by the UNESCO Secretariat to assist in some projects such as fundamental education. Mr. Hoffman and others in the foundation asked me to look into these projects, and if they were to consider making a grant to see if it would be properly administered; also, if time allowed, to take an analytical look at the organization and how it functions. It didn't call for a detailed examination or study, but just a general look, before considering the question of a grant.

This took place in the summer of 1951, but since then I paid relatively little attention to UNESCO until late last spring, when I was advised that the administration wanted me to represent the United States Government as head of the delegation to the second extraordinary session which took place in Paris last July.

That is as much background as I had on UNESCO. The request from the administration came out of a clear sky. I wasn't seeking the job, and, in fact, didn't want it at first. I was persuaded to take it, and so I did accept.

Mr. MERROW. I think you made a fine report, Mr. Salomon. Would you like to comment on your report, make additional comments about UNESCO, that, perhaps, are not in this report?

Mr. SALOMON. Well, I think the report of our delegation covered the ground as far as we went. Of course, there are many notes and innumerable worksheets I don't happen to have with me. From them I prepared the report. I had the excellent assistance of Dr. Perkins and Mrs. Heffelfinger. To a large extent, we each went our own way to carry out the assignments we divided among ourselves. This was necessary, due to the limited amount of time we had in which to carry out the instructions we had from the Department of State. We were asked to do two things: (1) Represent the United States Government at the sessions of the conference; and (2) make a study of UNESCO, particularly whether there was any validity to the accusations which were quite commonly made in some parts of the country.

We did concentrate primarily on trying to secure the facts relative to those accusations and indictments.

Maybe you had better question me now so we can deal with the items in which you are most concerned.

Mr. MERROW. In the criticisms, we have heard a good deal about this one:

UNESCO advocates a political world government and seeks to prepare the citizens of the member states to accept such a political world government.

Now, I know that you have answered that in this report, but I wonder if, perhaps, out of your experience, you could tell us how such a criticism as that arises, and what you found as you studied UNESCO in reference to it?

Mr. SALOMON. Why it has arisen and who is responsible for it is something with which I am not too familiar. I have heard stories of how it started, that a certain group with a name like the Flag Association, suddenly in the fall of 1951 made this type of an accusation after some 6 years of accepting UNESCO. I haven't heard too much about this and actually wasn't very much concerned.



When UNESCO is accused of advocating world government it requires an examination in certain categories.

First, the program. This is voted upon by the representatives of the individual member states. There was nothing whatsoever in the program of the last two sessions that in any way, so far as we could find, even so much as hints of any advocacy of world government. Every one of the projects in the program were of a nature that could not possibly be interpreted as preparing citizens of this or any nation for world government. Those who have misgivings concerning UNESCO should study those programs, not only to verify this, but to learn what UNESCO endeavors to achieve.

As a matter of fact, as nationalistic as some Americans may be, many of the other member states are far more so. They wouldn't tolerate anything that would violate in any way their national integrity or their sovereignty.

So much for the program, which is determined and voted upon by all the member nations. Secondly, there is the interpretation of the program by the members of the Secretariat. Could they, in any way, misdirect, misapply, or misinterpret that which was intended by the conference's vote? Our group found nothing that was misinterpreted or altered in its implementation that could even remotely show any endeavor in the direction of a supergovernment or lessen the independence of any member state.

The third category is the literature. The series of books, *Toward World Understanding*, seemed to have been the only literature of UNESCO Headquarters that were suspected of advocating a lessening of our sovereignty and the promotion of a supergovernment. I read these books. I have read them as a layman, let me add. I am not an educator, but a businessman. I read the series as a businessman with a daughter in high school, seeking to find anything in them that was unsafe for my child to read or that could conceivably alienate her loyalty and love for the United States of America. From either my child's viewpoint or any other American child's or teacher's viewpoint the dealing with international understanding neither advocated world government nor tends to lessen loyalty. While some of the terminology might be a bit unfortunate, yielding to interpretations that might be debatable, if one approached them from the viewpoint of their intent, I sincerely believe that there would be little room for doubt.

Let me explain. They use the term "world citizenship" in these books. I do not consider that this has any political connotation. I think if anyone were to read these books objectively, they could come to that sort of a conclusion. I think the intent is rather clear that they mean world-mindedness, world cooperation, world sympathy, world understanding, but do not mean in any sense that our national borders should be torn down and that we should be citizens of one international or continental political unit.

Outside of that statement which, as I say, could be misinterpreted, I found nothing in this series of books or in any other UNESCO literature that I read that would indicate advocacy of a political world government or sacrifice of any segment of our sovereignty.

Actually, in the short time allotted to our group, we couldn't read much of the literature because there are thousands and thousands of volumes, as you well know, but those are the only ones to my knowledge

which have had any accusations leveled in the direction of world government.

Those are the three categories, the program, the carrying out of the program, and the literature in which there could have possibly been any justification of the accusation made against UNESCO that it advocates political world government.

Mr. MERROW. Our mission said in reference to the pamphlets, "However, since the pamphlets have created such an unfavorable reaction, it is questionable whether UNESCO should seemingly endorse and actively publicize such literature in the future."

Do you care to comment on that suggestion?

Mr. SALOMON. Yes; I will do that.

My personal feeling is I am opposed to any form of censorship, no matter where or what it may be. If we are going to have censorship, we will have to censor the Congressional Record, too, because that expresses individual opinions. I think you will agree that some of the extensions of remarks appearing in the Congressional Record are more vulnerable to criticism than anything that appears in UNESCO's pamphlets. I may disagree violently with something that may be said, but nevertheless I believe that the privilege of free speech is an inherent American right.

There is a great deal of literature in the United States of all kinds, written by individuals or recorded in minutes of meetings that are critical of our country and our institutions. As good, commonsense Americans, we want the right and opportunity to discern between what we want to read and what we don't want to read—and what we want to believe of what we read. Personally, I am very much opposed to any form of censorship.

Whether or not some people agree with me that the intent of this series, Toward World Understanding does not foster political world government, they should know anyway that UNESCO has disclaimed authorship of these books. Usually in the frontispiece of these books, there is a clear statement—I don't remember the exact wording, but it indicates that the contents does not necessarily represent the viewpoint of UNESCO.

I feel UNESCO is honorbound to print the proceedings of any meeting it sponsors, even if it represents very often the viewpoint of persons who might be neutralists, or who might have world government as an ideal. That doesn't mean we or our children have to read them, or, reading them believe them and accept them. We have done a mighty poor job of indoctrinating our offspring in our American ideals, if they can be readily set aside by some nonconformist opinions. I feel that our children and we have the faculty for discernment.

I have another point that perhaps I should cover in connection with this series, which I understand commenced the antagonisms to UNESCO and continued to be a major weapon against it. It is also the exaggeration of their importance in terms of United States distribution. The sole United States distributor is the Columbia University Press in New York, and they advised that the maximum sale of any one of those books was about 3,000 copies as of last October 1. At the time that the criticism came out against these books, I read that criticism in detail and I found that they quoted out of context. It went from one page to another, and back again, often reconstructing what was written. Anyway, until the criticism came

out, the maximum number distributed of any one book in the series—and these figures are approximate—was about 1,400 or 1,500. Of the book that has been criticized the most, only about 1,500 copies had been sold in about 3 years—I am within a hundred or so of the figure—and then its sales suddenly perked up because the element who chose to see in UNESCO something unfavorable apparently created a demand for that book. Even so there was less than 3,000 sold and distributed in total by last October 1.

From the practical viewpoint of a businessman, if there were 1,500 copies distributed, or even 3,000, that would be to about 1 to 100 school teachers just in New York City, let alone the United States. So even in terms of circulation, how little effect they would have, you can judge for yourselves. As is frequently true of criticism, it assumes gigantic reverberations over a microscopic issue, if any.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. LeCompte—

Mr. LeCOMPTE. I have no questions, at this time.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Hays—

Mr. HAYS. Thank you very much, Mr. Salomon. I appreciated your comment on the difficulty with language, and with words. It seems to me that many of these questions do get into that area, very definitely. The phrase "world government" has many meanings, apparently. I try to resolve it personally by saying, first, that I do not believe in a super world state, and I am sure that the proponents of a super world state are very few in this country, but to deny a person of Dr. Milton Eisenhower's stature, the right to use the phrase "world government" without being proscribed as a radical it seems to me to be entirely unjustified. I wonder if you haven't found, in exploring the views of people who stand for world-mindedness, that really, when they speak of world government, by and large, they are speaking of a world governed by the principles of international law.

I put it this way: "I believe in a world governed by law." which means governed by governments. So in that sense, we can use the expression "world government," can't we?

Mr. SALOMON. That is right, as long as it can't be interpreted as infringing on our own sovereignty, independence, and integrity.

Mr. HAYS. Haven't you found that generally the phrase "world government" is used with that connotation?

Mr. SALOMON. I happen to have had little contact with that terminology. I have had more contact with "world citizenship" than "world government." I think there are many people who today would be inclined to go beyond your interpretation of world government.

Mr. HAYS. The use of the phrase in 1949 might be entirely different than it would be in 1954, and hasn't it been noted that it has come to have a flavor that it didn't have at first?

Mr. SALOMON. That is right. Words have a way of changing in connotation, depending upon attitudes and viewpoints of a current nature.

Mr. HAYS. I haven't made as close a study of this as you and I am simply endeavoring to get the benefit of your study on that.

Would you say, in other words, there has been a definite change in the use of that phrase?

Mr. SALOMON. I think there are many groups that are afraid of that word, groups I am familiar with. To them, world government

carries the implication that it means a super government. So many people now feel this is the interpretation, signifying lessened sovereignty, that I would hesitate to use that term. I agree that we find changes in use of terms. Two or three years ago, just to take an example, the word "controversial" meant something like "debatable." Today, if you say someone is controversial, or a situation is controversial, many people interpret it as meaning possibly that he or it is suspected of being Red-tinged.

That analogy might explain how the term "world government" perhaps lost some of its original meaning.

Mr. HAYS. I don't object to phrases that the world-minded leader wants to use, if he will stick to our basic idea of powers for an agency like the United Nations to be determined by treaty. If he sticks to the treaty procedure, he will be on safe ground, it seems to me. If he wants to call it a federation, an organization, or an agency, whatever he calls it, if he is speaking of the narrowly defined powers that that agency possesses, based on treaty, that seems all right.

It seems to me there is nothing dangerous about it, although there would be differences of opinion between people equally loyal, equally patriotic, and equally conscientious about how far those powers should go. But if we proscribe the conferring of authority upon some conference or giving our representatives, at some conference table, authority to discuss mutual interests in peace, then we are really retreating from a situation that the 20th century has produced.

This isn't a question. I am just putting my own views in the record at this point in line with things you have suggested.

I certainly appreciate your help on this.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Carnahan—

Mr. CARNAHAN. Pursuing the thought just a little further, isn't the arrangement of any treaty, taking national sovereignty outside of our own national setup?

Mr. SALOMON. I don't believe I am capable of answering that, but I don't think any UNESCO conference resolution requires a treaty, because they take no action that infringes on our internal policy or in anyway impairs our sovereignty. There are no bilateral or multilateral arrangements made between the member nations that come within the general area that would require a treaty, according to my limited knowledge in this area, because nothing is voted by either the executive board or the conference that lessens, alters, or affects the individual independence of its member nations.

Mr. CARNAHAN. What I had in mind, aren't we surrendering at least some national sovereignty in the signing of any bilateral treaty?

Mr. SALOMON. I wouldn't be qualified to answer that.

Mr. CARNAHAN. In signing a treaty we agree to settle things with the aid of somebody else besides ourselves, and then the thing is beyond the realm of national sovereignty. Then in dealing with nations throughout the world when mutual agreement is required we are stepping outside of the narrow sense of national sovereignty, even in the signing of a treaty.

Mr. SALOMON. In other words, if we approve of a program in UNESCO whereby they are going to spend X number of dollars for sending teams of educators to various underdeveloped countries, does our approval of that expenditure for that purpose come in that category?

Mr. CARNAHAN. Yes, I think it would have to come in the category of agreements that must be made between our own national group and others. I can't conceive of our existing in a world of many free nations if we say the only thing we are going to do has to be strictly a matter of national sovereignty, and we will not go beyond that point. We always have dealt with other national groups and if we keep our own national sovereignty we must work with other sovereign nations.

I have no further questions.

Mr. HAYS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CARNAHAN. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. Don't we run into the same difficulty there with regard to the word "sovereignty" that we ran into with the word "government," and wouldn't you agree—to stick to my illustrations or to stick to my comments—that treatymaking is an exercise of sovereignty and not a surrender of it; wouldn't that tend to tie it up?

Mr. CARNAHAN. I would say it is an exercise of sovereignty in the protection of our sovereignty. Otherwise, we wouldn't engage in it. Through treaties and through agreements throughout the world, we have a chance to protect and to perpetuate our sovereignty by developing through mutually beneficial agreement a world environment in which national sovereignty can survive.

Mr. HAYS. I simply noted this, that a lot of people who fear the impairment of sovereignty might not object to the procedure that we are adopting under present foreign policy if it is put in that light. Certainly, as patriots, it seems to me that they would be as fearful as we, of the ultimate failure to exercise sovereignty. So I like to put it that way, that it is the exercise of sovereignty and not the surrender of it that brings world order and peace, to replace anarchy, which is, according to a certain concept, a lack of government, but you do it through governments. All of that is philosophical.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Salomon, did you go into the question of the personnel in the Secretariat of UNESCO, their devotion to the ideals of UNESCO, their fitness, their concept of the principles of freedom for which the free world stands, and so forth?

Mr. SALOMON. In a measure. I talked to about 20-odd of the principal directors, and the other members of our group spoke to perhaps an equal number, or perhaps more.

We were very much impressed with the enthusiasm they have to their work, and, generally speaking, their dedication, particularly to the UNESCO ideal of the widest and freest possible distribution of intellectual, scientific, and cultural material.

In the short time allotted, we were not able to discern an efficient operation from an inefficient one. You can't tell by looking at a man's desk, whether the papers piled up really mean anything or if they are just there for show. The offices we visited seemed to be busy—very much occupied. How much of what is being done is of genuine value to the program or operation, and how much of it might be unnecessary or even boondoggling, we had no means of knowing, and, of course, that was not a part of our mission.

We were very much concerned with trying to learn from every means within our disposal whether the top echelon had any communistic leanings, and, if possible, to ascertain if they had the ability for their respective jobs. By and large, I would say they are an able,

dedicated group, who showed no manifestataion of red leanings, so far as we could tell from the fair amount of information we gathered.

Like every other top group in a bureaucracy, there are exceptions. Even in the short time we were there, we felt there were men who could have been replaced with more able individuals. There are 600 or 700 employees, all told, in the Secretariat. It would take an industrial engineering evaluation to determine the efficiency of the individuals all down the line; also to determine how many are really needed for the carrying out the program and activities of the Secretariat. There are some jobs that, I would guess, could be vacated. But then, I am always suspicious—being a businessman—of bureaucracy, especially insofar as there are some people holding jobs that can be eliminated or combined.

However, that is only a personal suspicion that I have and I have no statement as far as the UNESCO Secretariat is concerned, because outside of talking to the top echelon, most of whom left a very good impression, I am not able to evaluate the quality of work or the need for the work down the line.

Mr. MERROW. In your listing of criticisms which occur in the United States with respect to UNESCO, I think you have stated all of them very well.

One is that "UNESCO is atheistic or antireligious." You found no evidence of that?

Mr. SALOMON. No, I found no evidence of that. As a matter of fact the representative of the Holy See was seated just two seats behind me and I don't think it would have the approval of Rome if there was anything of that nature in the program. I think the program is very carefully reviewed by the permanent representative of the Holy See, also by the nongovernmental organizations that are accredited to UNESCO, many of which are from the main religious organizations. Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish groups are all represented.

Among the delegates themselves, you will also find almost every non-Judeo-Christian faith, such as Mohammedanism, Buddhism, Brahmanism, and so forth, many of which are intensely religious. Sixty-six countries should pretty well represent the whole gamut of religions, and I doubt if atheism or any antireligious bias would be tolerated. Furthermore, there is nothing in the program, literature, or attitudes that would even create any suspicion of atheistic anti-religious attitudes or endeavors.

I have heard rumors in connection with UNESCO's proposed history of the world, that 1 or 2 of the men editing it are suspected of being atheistic. I don't know whether they are, or not, but I would say there are somewhere between 15 and 30 individuals involved in this project, including some prominent Catholic scholars. My feeling is, that even if it were true, that one or two are atheistic, considering the vastness and the nature of the project, and the amount of editing required, it would be exceedingly difficult for any atheistic doctrine to find its way into the volumes in question.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Carnahan—

Mr. CARNAHAN. I haven't had a chance to read your report. Did you come up with any major criticisms, or any particular weaknesses of UNESCO and if so, what would you consider the greatest?

Mr. SALOMON. There are six general criticisms. My major criticism is their programing. I think for their budget they attempt far

too much. Even in the five major fields, there are 170 or more projects and there are some in the other fields. With \$9 million they can't begin to do all the things planned. I think they must cut down their program, and, instead, do a good job in far limited fields. They would make UNESCO far more effective if they would trade their shotguns for a few high-powered rifles.

That is one basic criticism. Yes, if they could get more money—and have a bigger budget they could have a wider program, for their entire program is substantially worthwhile. Yet even if they were to pare the program down to bare essentials, they haven't enough money. Even if they were just limited to fundamental education and did nothing else but that, their money wouldn't cover the need of educating 900 million people in the free world, whose illiteracy also manifests itself in malnutrition and inadequate health measures, making them ready prey for communistic ideology. No individual or organization can engage in too many things and do them well.

Another criticism is the fussy line of demarcation between the responsibilities of the General Conference and the Executive Board. Here again, perhaps, I revert to my business background where a board of directors in business has its responsibilities well defined and operates effectively. In the UNESCO setup there is overlapping and duplication. The work of the Executive Board should be reviewed, revamped, and carefully defined.

Another fault that we found is the absence of national commissions in so many countries. UNESCO cannot carry out its aims unless there are properly organized and functioning national commissions in each of the member states.

As I recall—I haven't actually read my own report since I wrote it last August, so these figures may not be wholly accurate—there are only 13 of the 66 member nations who have fully organized, properly functioning, national commissions. There are another 13 that are working toward this, but the balance of the member nations have little or nothing that could be characterized as a truly national commission. Unless the benefits of UNESCO are made available to a country primarily through a national commission, much of UNESCO's effort, in my opinion, is misdirected and perhaps even wasted.

There are other criticisms. One is the personnel. In particular, the largest individual part of the budget is spent in one department that seems to be very inadequately operated in several respects. I don't know whether I should mention it for the record, but I might just as well be frank about it.

Mr. MERROW. This is a public hearing with the press.

Mr. SALOMON. I didn't know that. I have nothing that I wish to retract anyway. In fact I'll add that this individual heads a department that could serve most usefully in this country and internationally. There is another instance, or two, where changing to more able personnel would be most desirable.

Mr. CARNAHAN. Your criticisms, then, are not of the need for the thing that the organization is expected to do. Your criticism is of the fact that they are attempting to do too much and they need, perhaps, a little better internal organization?

Mr. SALOMON. Right. They are administrative problems, primarily. I find no major fault with UNESCO's aims and goals; what

its ideals are and what it hopes to do. UNESCO, despite growing pains and handicaps, has accomplished a great deal. They haven't succeeded in realizing some of their goals, but that is due in some degree to either lack of funds and/or making the best use of the funds they have.

I am convinced that UNESCO serves an exceedingly important purpose. It is indispensable internationally, and almost as much so in terms of our own selfish national well-being, and this is the practical viewpoint of a businessman.

I think that illiteracy is as much of a disease as yaws, or any other type of devastating tropical ailment. The vulture of communism is constantly preening to pounce upon people who are ill-educated as quickly as those who are diseased or underfed. Hence, it is my belief that UNESCO's endeavors in assisting underdeveloped countries in their educational activities and in their fundamental education programs have enormous possibilities of contributing toward ultimate peace. Perhaps we might take China, as an example. I cannot help feeling that the spread of communism there was facilitated less through force than through ignorance—an illiteracy that extends to neither knowing ideologies or how to even feed themselves. I think that making knowledge available, a fundamental knowledge of knowing how to live, is probably one of the most important steps we can take toward promulgating the democratic way of life and the cause of peace.

UNESCO's mission in that direction is unique and important, and I hope that if greater outside funds are not available that UNESCO will divert as much of their available funds as possible for this purpose.

MR. CARNAHAN. Has the problem of informing our own people been neglected?

MR. SALOMON. Very badly neglected, I feel. That is one of the major criticisms that I have. The people just don't hear about UNESCO's accomplishments, many of which are very exciting. For example, yesterday an ex-Missouri schoolteacher dropped in to see me. He had just spent 15 months in Thailand. His name is Obourn, and he went there for UNESCO as a member of an international educational team that the Thai Government had requested for the interior of Thailand. When he arrived, they had only one science book from which the teacher read, and the students took notes. There were no other textbooks, laboratory, or scientific materials.

At the end of 15 months, through UNESCO's efforts, there were 24 separate schools, with small but quite adequate laboratories and almost a sufficiency of all types of science textbooks. The interest and efforts of the natives was unbelievable to me.

I have never been to Thailand, but I would guess that they would be interested in the humanities and such disciplines as the social sciences. I didn't dream they would have any propensity for the natural sciences. The interest and excitement they exhibited over these courses in science is best evidenced by the fact that in 15 months the students built their own buildings, made some of the equipment, and worked until 2 and 3 o'clock in the morning, often going without meals. Relate that, if you can, to the situation here, where we take education for granted.



There is a yearning throughout the world for education of which, it appears, we have no conception.

Mr. CARNAHAN. Do you have any suggestions as to how we might remedy this defect?

Mr. SALOMON. I would like to add one other thing to this Thailand story. Being also quite conscious of benefits to our country, I should mention that the Thailand Government bought the scientific equipment from a Chicago company. They had Ginn & Co., the textbook publishers, reprint some science books in the native language. As American educators and experts go out into the world, American business benefits. Moreover, as we help educate the underdeveloped lands, we earn a greater respect for the United States, its ideals, its methods, its products, and its people. When a foreign country uses American textbooks, instruments, and other educational material, they represent plus benefits that we don't usually count when we analyze these U. N. specialized agencies.

Now, what was your other question?

Mr. CARNAHAN. Do you have any suggestion as to how we might inform our own people more adequately of UNESCO and its work?

Mr. SALOMON. Well, I have my own idea, whatever it may be worth. Every day something exciting or newsworthy comes up. The mass-communications department of the Secretariat should utilize the information and develop stories that would filter into American papers, and papers everywhere.

The United States citizen doesn't know what UNESCO has done in Liberia, or Libia, or Thailand, and many other backward countries. They have no knowledge about the teams that withstand innumerable hardships to assist a backward nation in the fields of education, science, and culture. We Americans who accept our education so casually, here, have no conception of the yearning for education elsewhere. When an American technician goes to a native village, he is often lionized and idolized. He represents the United States to them. Their experiences should be publicized. UNESCO, however, has not been the exception, for there has been little publicity on the World Health Organization, or the Food and Agriculture Organization. In most parts of the world, all these United Nations specialized agencies working with the Technical Assistance Board are almost daily chalking up achievements that are far more newsworthy than many of the items that appear in our newspapers from day to day. Somehow or other there has not been a well-organized publicity dispenser, either in the Secretariat itself, or wherever it should be. It is very unfortunate. You wouldn't need hearings like this and some of the others, and you wouldn't have the antagonisms if our citizenry knew how we are projecting our American ideals and ideas in so many remote corners of the earth, not overtly, but nevertheless effectively, through the specialized agencies.

Mr. CARNAHAN. How do you account for the fact that information of that type doesn't hit the newspapers?

Mr. SALOMON. I think the fault might be at least partly in the Secretariat in Paris. That is only a guess, but I feel that they are not feeding this type of material to the newspapers and the publications here, and in the form in which it is acceptable and useful to them.

Mr. CARNAHAN. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MERROW. In our mission report we stated on page 2 that—

Much of the material which follows is highly detailed. The study mission is convinced that no useful purpose would be served in developing material of only a general nature. Particularly in the case of the international organizations was it felt important to develop specific detailed facts, since much of the work of these organizations is little publicized outside official circles.

That is the same point you are making; isn't it?

Mr. SALOMON. Yes. The American taxpayers give a great deal of money to the United Nations and the specialized agencies, but he receives little or no information how the money is being used and where it is going.

Mr. MERROW. With respect to UNESCO, do you think there is any way in which the National Commission could do a better piece of work in publicizing it?

Mr. SALOMON. I can't speak for the National Commission, I am not a member, and I am not in a position to evaluate their organization and how they function.

Mr. MERROW. That certainly is worthy of consideration.

Mr. SALOMON. It certainly is. I think the average American is very fairminded. Usually if he is prejudiced against UNESCO, it has come from information which he believes might be true, but which he had little means of checking. If the average American knew that UNESCO attempts to extend on a worldwide basis, generally what we do in this country, in science, education, and culture, I think it would have his hearty support.

Mr. CARNAHAN. What do you believe is the basis of the attack by the opposition, on UNESCO?

Mr. SALOMON. I don't know just what the motive might be. I often wonder why some people have chosen to attack it even after semi-familiarizing themselves with it. If people are thoroughly familiar with its programs, its aims, its goals, they have no basis for attacking UNESCO on the grounds they have selected. They could attack UNESCO for having too big a program, for having too high, perhaps even unattainable, ideals, for trying to do too much. I haven't seen any attacks of that nature. They could attack UNESCO for some of its personnel not being as capable or as efficient as they might be. I haven't seen that type of criticism. In other words, none of the criticisms voiced included the six weaknesses of UNESCO outlined in our report. I presume they are not as spectacular and emotion-arousing as the unfounded accusations.

Mr. MERROW. The mission made a comment at page 229 in this report on UNESCO, and I will just read the last paragraph.

UNESCO's deficiencies and confusion are particularly apparent when considered in the light of rapidly moving events. The forces of freedom are engaged in a great struggle with those who are constantly seeking to destroy that freedom. In this struggle, UNESCO could and should do far more to publicize and set forth the values of the ideas and ideals which form the foundation of the free world and to denounce the Communist ideology which seeks to destroy those ideas and ideals.

It seems to me that UNESCO is paralyzed to a great extent by a neutralism in this struggle. I wonder if you would care to comment on that criticism of UNESCO.

Mr. SALOMON. A proper answer would take sometime. However, I will fumble around with it a bit. Firstly, I would say again, UNESCO's Mass Communications Department is vested with the re-

sponsibility of publicizing the values, the deeds, and ideals that are representative of the free world. It has not done so—at least not effectively, I feel. Perhaps the reasons for this are lack of ability, and lack of money. I agree that it should be done to the greatest extent possible.

Now, for the second part, denouncing the Communist ideology. I have an immediate reaction which I would like to reserve the right to alter as I think through it more. I am afraid that if that was a part of the program of UNESCO, we would alienate a great many member states, and might even emasculate much of UNESCO's usefulness. In the first place, I don't think they would vote it. There is a great sensitivity in the Organization, among the member states, to American dominance. I found at the Paris Conference, and also at the 16th session of the Economic and Social Council which I attended at Geneva, afterwards—that even friends of ours among nations like to show their complete independence of us. They like to show the other countries that they are free of our influence. That is the reason several of them, even though point 4 beneficiaries, often abstain, or even vote against us, on many issues, including those that have East-West political implications.

They do represent neutralist thinking. Outside of our NATO allies and a few others, neutralist thinking does predominate today in most international affairs. Perhaps of the 66 members of UNESCO, the vast majority represent neutralist thinking.

But, here again, we have a problem of semantics in the word neutralism. There is what we might call the impeccable neutralist. I won't mention any countries, but what I term the impeccable neutralist is one who maintains a complete neutrality to the extent that it will not support us even when it knows the United States is right. Then, there is the more common type of neutral or neutralist that evaluates an issue on its merit. I would have to have a definition of which neutralist you mean because there is a wide difference. Carrying this thought a little further, UNESCO's educational activities are largely in both types of neutral countries. The representatives of the United States and other countries in the technical assistance program try to keep themselves very immaculate. By doing so, they find they earn far more respect for the United States and its institutions than talking about or against communism. They show by example how we operate and how we think, and thus we gather adherents to our American principles. If the emissaries of American goodwill, or if the UNESCO secretariat, in their international status, were to denounce communism, UNESCO might be considered a political propaganda agency and lose face. It is one of those psychological things where more might be accomplished in fighting communism by being understanding, cooperative, and genuinely helpful. If there are any steps we can take to fight communism, I am for taking them, making effective use of every means that is available. I feel, however, this can best be accomplished not by overt action, but by looking at it in a practical sense, in terms of what is the good psychological approach. It would seem to me that using any international agency for the purpose of overtly fighting communism may lose for us more than we would gain, because in this conflict, we need all the international respect and cooperation we can secure.

I am not a psychologist and I am probably venturing into territory in which I have no place. Nevertheless, that is my immediate reaction.

Mr. MERROW. The most quoted section, I suppose, of the UNESCO constitution is "that since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed."

It is difficult for me to see how, in an organization that is dealing with ideas, we can erect the defenses of peace in the minds of men without doing far more than UNESCO is doing to set forth the values of these ideas and ideals and at the same time to show how the ideology of communism is resulting in producing strife, and wars in different areas, and so on. That is the reason for making the criticism of UNESCO in this respect. It seems that it is a matter of philosophy that somehow must be decided.

Mr. SALOMON. I have no further comments on this.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Hays, do you have any further questions?

Mr. HAYS. I have no further questions. I have profited so much by Mr. Salomon's presentation. I want to say, again, how grateful I am for his help.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Carnahan?

Mr. CARNAHAN. I have nothing further.

Mr. MERROW. I think perhaps there is one thing more, referring to one of the criticisms you have listed—and this has been brought up several times: UNESCO seeks to indoctrinate UNESCO school children with ideas and philosophies contrary to American ideals and traditions and that UNESCO seeks to do this through influencing teachers and placing materials such as text books in the classrooms of America.

Now, unless, as I understand it, there is a decision by the local authorities, no text books can be placed anywhere.

Mr. SALOMON. That's right. The only place where text books are placed by UNESCO are in the fundamental education centers of Patzcuaro, Mexico, and Sirs-el Layyan, Egypt. Also, the 31 Arab schools are included. Beyond that, no text book is sent to this country or any other country, except on request.

A schoolteacher or a school system would have to ask for a book. They have no mailing lists. This unfortunate accusation is completely unfounded and I hope that those who make it will examine the facts. I particularly checked this because I knew that was one of the things on which I would be cross-examined by any group before whom I spoke. The books that have gone out, were requested from, and paid for to the Columbia Press, and not from the UNESCO House, in Paris.

This includes the book, "Toward World Understanding," and the Race series. Practically all have been requested from the Columbia Press.

Mr. CARNAHAN. If the gentleman would yield, does UNESCO have a fund to purchase these books from the publisher to send them out? If a school requested one of these books, wouldn't the school have to purchase the book?

Mr. SALOMON. They would have to purchase it from Columbia Press. Columbia Press charges for all those books. There is no free distribution of any of those books that I know of.

Mr. CARNAHAN. Then, if the school wanted these books they would have to buy them?

Mr. SALOMON. They would have to buy them. They would have to buy one or a thousand, or whatever number they wanted. UNESCO itself, makes no attempt whatsoever, except in the few places I have mentioned, to distribute text books of any kind, gratis or otherwise.

Mr. CARNAHAN. And there is no sales pressure put on?

Mr. SALOMON. No sales pressure that I have ever heard of.

Mr. CARNAHAN. And none put on by the publisher.

Mr. SALOMON. I believe that's right.

Mr. MERROW. Now, in your close association with UNESCO, Mr. Salomon, what in your opinion is the point of departure to effect the improvements you have suggested that ought to take place in this organization?

Mr. SALOMON. I will try to answer that although I would have preferred time to think about it rather than give you an off-the-cuff opinion. I might start by saying that a thorough study of the internal organization at UNESCO House should be made to make sure that they are making maximum use of their budgetary dollar, that there isn't some fat on the payroll, particularly insofar as performing tasks that might be omitted or greatly minimized.

Then I think such adjusted budgetary funds should be directed and concentrated in those channels where they will accomplish the most in the way of education, science, and perhaps, culture for those parts of the world where the educational needs are the greatest and most urgent.

The logical third step, I believe, would be to reorganize where necessary the mass communications operations, so that the press of the world is adequately and interestingly informed concerning just what UNESCO is doing and how it fits into the framework of democratic ideas and the free world's processes.

I think those 3 steps would be my off-the-cuff recommendations.

Mr. MERROW. I think that is very well stated. We are certainly pleased to have the benefit of your study on this and the benefit of your suggestions.

You spoke about your business experience. Would you care to tell us just a little about it?

Mr. SALOMON. Mine was the typical American story of starting as an office boy and after years of hard work and good luck, I ultimately became president of a company known as the Royal Metal Manufacturing Co. of Chicago. I retired as soon as war was declared, went into the Army, and I never returned to my business.

However, I retained my interest, became chairman of the board, but since the war have devoted most of my time to charities, Government missions, educational funds, and a good deal of selfish pleasure in California, ranching, and traveling abroad.

Mr. MERROW. We plan to continue hearings, I believe the next one is Wednesday afternoon at 2:30, on UNESCO. We will be very happy to have you attend the hearings, or if there is anything in addition you want to put in the record, we will be glad to have that. We appreciate your coming, today, and we thank you for your lucid testimony and your clear suggestions.

Are there any more questions that you gentlemen can think of?

Mr. CARNAHAN. I have nothing further.

Mr. HAYS. Nothing further.

Mr. SALOMON. I am at the service of the committee. If you find you want me again, sometime, I will be happy to make myself available. It happens to be quite convenient as at the present time I am temporarily in New York doing some work for the advancement of education. I will be there until June or thereabouts, so I will be happy to return if you want me.

Mr. MERROW. We thank you very much, Mr. Salomon. The committee is adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 12:15 p. m., the subcommittee adjourned, to reconvene at the call of the chairman.)

# INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS

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WEDNESDAY, MARCH 24, 1954

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL  
ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 2:30 p. m., in room G-3, United States Capitol, Hon. Chester E. Merrow (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. MERROW. The subcommittee will be in order.

This is a continuation of the public hearings on the specialized agencies of the United Nations.

We have with us this afternoon Mr. Ralph W. Hardy, vice president, National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters, and chairman, Committee on Congressional Relations, United States National Commission on UNESCO.

## STATEMENT OF RALPH W. HARDY, VICE PRESIDENT, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF RADIO AND TELEVISION BROADCASTERS, AND CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE ON CONGRESSIONAL RELATIONS, UNITED STATES NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR UNESCO

Mr. HARDY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Members of the committee, I have no prepared statement. I felt I could offer something of value for the committee's deliberations if I expressed myself from my point of view as a member of the United States National Commission, and outlined the manner in which our National Commission is operating, and perhaps made 1 or 2 observations about needs which become increasingly apparent to me with respect to the functions of the National Commission, and areas that need better to be covered than we have been able to do in the past.

Let me say at the outset that the concept of the National Commission is part of the organic structure of UNESCO.

In the document entitled "The Constitution of UNESCO," there is, under article VII, entitled "National Cooperating Bodies," information which pertains to the establishment of national commissions to act in an advisory capacity to their respective delegations and to their governments, and in the enabling legislation which established our own United States operation under the joint resolution, we have, under section 3, further specific language instituting the National Commission, and may I say for the record that there is set forth in the law that the Commission for the United States group with UNESCO shall not exceed 100 members. The Commission shall be appointed by the Sec-

retary of State and shall consist of (a) not more than 60 representatives of principal national volunteer organizations interested in education, scientific, and cultural matters, and (b) not more than 40 outstanding persons selected by the Secretary of State, including not more than 10 percent holding office under, or employed by, the Government of the United States; not more than 15 representatives of the educational, scientific, and cultural interests of State and local governments, and not more than 15 persons chosen at large.

Let me turn to the section entitled "Bylaws of the United States National Commission for UNESCO," under "Objectives of the National Commission," where it sets forth the following:

(a) to advise the Government of the United States in matters relating to UNESCO and in all matters referred to the Commission by the Secretary of State.

(b) to act in a consultative capacity with regard to the appointment of the United States delegates to the General Conference of UNESCO;

(c) to advise with the delegations of the United States to the General Conferences of UNESCO with regard to the activities of the latter;

(d) to serve as an agency of liaison with organizations, institutions, and individuals in the United States which are interested in matters relating to the activities of UNESCO or which are cooperating in these activities; and

(e) to promote an understanding of the general objectives of UNESCO on the part of the people of the United States.

It is evident from the material I have presented to you that there are two basic functions of the Commission which are paramount. One is advice to our Government, upon our American participation in UNESCO, and the other is looking domestically within the United States to achieve understanding of and promotion of UNESCO purposes within this country.

Mr. Chairman, let me say for the record that my acquaintance with the National Commission goes back over approximately a 3½-year period. Prior to the time that I was named a member of the National Commission, I had been appointed to serve on the Committee on Activities in the United States. This is one of the divisional committees of the National Commission, and there, over a period of approximately 2 years, I had the opportunity to see the inner workings of the National Commission as it directed its energies toward implementing understanding of UNESCO in the United States, specifically working with education institutions, with churches, with all the other organized groups, to get better understanding of the objectives of UNESCO.

Last year I was appointed, for a 3-year term, to the National Commission, and continued my service on the Committee on Activities. Recently I was appointed to the Program Committee of UNESCO. This has given me an interesting additional look at UNESCO, because the Program Committee has as its specific function, analyzing the UNESCO program as proposed by the international body and recommending a United States position with respect to that program.

The Program Committee avails itself of all the expert advice it can obtain in analyzing UNESCO's proposed program.

I brought along here this afternoon some material to illustrate how this work is carried on.

This material which I have in my hand, here, a rather voluminous file of mimeographed material, is the UNESCO program proposed by the Secretariat in Paris for the 2-year period 1955 and 1956. It breaks down into the various component parts of UNESCO.



For example, the General Policy of the General Conference; General Administration; Educational Functions of UNESCO; National Sciences, Social Sciences, Cultural Activities, Mass Communication, Exchange of Persons Service, General Resolutions, Documents and Publications Services, Common Services Costs, and some analytical material appended at the back.

I was invited to chair an ad hoc committee on Mass Communications. This committee was assigned the task of analyzing the Mass Communications portion of the UNESCO document for the period 1955-56.

This committee was constituted of prominent members of mass media groups such as newspapers, magazines, broadcasters, motion-picture producers, and others who had a community of interest in this field. The basic material first was preliminarily analyzed by myself, and was then mailed to every member of this committee a week or two in advance of our meeting so that when our group met here in Washington, every member of the committee had read all of the material in this document and was prepared to discuss it.

When we sat down together we went through it paragraph by paragraph, analyzing our concept of what the UNESCO secretariat proposed to do. I might say very forthrightly we were very critical when our best judgment indicated that we should be critical. At the end of the day we had evolved a recommended report of this mass communications ad hoc committee to present to the program committee of the United States National Commission.

While we were doing this, other ad hoc committees made up of very responsible citizens of this country representing organizations having in their membership thousands and in some cases in the aggregate millions of people in this country, went over these other proposals of UNESCO. When we all came together finally in a program committee, this group had before it very concise and studied documents relating to UNESCO's proposals.

I would like to hand to the two members of the committee who are here an example of one of the reports. This happens to be the committee that I had the privilege to chair. I want to direct your attention to the language on page 1 of this report. People who sometimes chide me about my UNESCO affiliations take the point of view that we are a group of "softies," that we don't think things through, and that we take just whatever is given to us by UNESCO and make no vigorous intelligent study of it.

You will notice that as a general comment, the panel over which I presided stated, that it believed that—

the major work of the Department of Mass Communications is to create an enlightened and favorable public opinion toward the activities of the organization. The program of operations proposed for 1955-56, does not, in the judgment of the panel, offer a vigorous approach to this primary role.

Instead, the energies and attention of the Department are dissipated and scattered in a group of unimportant projects which do not respond realistically to UNESCO's worldwide need for understanding of its program.

And then, if you will, please skip the next paragraph, and permit me to read a portion of the following one.

The Department's proposals to further concentrate on matters of technical reporting and the building up of a multiplicity of lines of communication between experts, while turning away from its fundamental role as interpreter of UNESCO to the people, constitutes a good example of a general getting too far ahead of his

army. UNESCO has tended to move too far away from the people, and the Department of Mass Communications should see to it that the people catch up. To ignore this urgent need could well be fatal to UNESCO.

I shan't burden the committee with more of this, but I merely give those two paragraphs as illustrative of the very frank analysis of UNESCO's program which resulted from careful study by experts in the United States in the field of mass communications.

Mr. MERROW. Do you want this put in the record?

Mr. HARDY. I will be very glad to have that inserted in the record.

Mr. MERROW. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(The survey is as follows:)

#### SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE DRAFT PROGRAM AND BUDGET, 1955-56, IN MASS COMMUNICATIONS

##### Panel on Mass Communications

Ralph W. Hardy, Chairman

##### I. GENERAL COMMENT

The Panel believes that the major work of the Department of Mass Communications is "to create an enlightened and favorable public opinion toward the activities of the Organization." The program of operations proposed for 1955-56 does not, in the judgment of the Panel, offer a vigorous approach to this primary role. Instead, the energies and attention of the Department are dissipated and scattered in a complex of relatively unimportant projects which do not respond realistically to the priorities of UNESCO's worldwide need for understanding of its program. Maximum results for the time and resources expended are thus not realized.

The draft program and budget for 1955-56 reveals a fundamental lack of vision of the basic news potential of UNESCO's work and fails to disclose a knowledge of the mechanics of securing mass distribution for such news calculated to reach the peoples of the world.

The Department's proposals to further concentrate on matters of technical reporting and the building up of a multiplicity of lines of communication between experts while turning away from its fundamental role as an interpreter of UNESCO to the people constitutes a good example of a general getting too far ahead of his army. UNESCO has tended to move too far away from the people and the Department of Mass Communications should see to it that the people catch up. To ignore this urgent need could well be fatal to UNESCO.

The Division of Voluntary International Assistance was not studied, as another National Commission Panel has concerned itself with this activity.

Consideration was given to programs in the higher budgetary level. However, with the exception of a few which are indicated below and are determined to be of particular importance, they were felt to be subordinate to other activities.

It was noted that a number of projects dealing with Mass Communications are planned and financed in the draft program and budget by other departments of UNESCO.

A. *The Panel Recommends* that the United States encourage the establishment of a better defined program of public information. Organizational changes in the structure of the Mass Communications Department will have to be undertaken to bring this about as it would be a virtual impossibility to draw clear-cut lines and functions of public information within the existing framework of assignments and operating duties. Funds for this increased program of public information could be obtained by discontinuing the publication of the UNESCO Courier, its circulation having fallen to less than 10,000 copies per month.

B. *The Panel Recommends* that the Division of Techniques of Communication give major emphasis to its function as an International Clearing House in the field of Mass Communications. The Panel does not feel that UNESCO should undertake original research at this time, but rather should concentrate on identifying existing research material and research organizations which can be correlated and utilized in the furtherance of UNESCO's purposes in extending knowledge of the mass communications area.

C. *The Panel Recommends* that a more active relationship be established with national and international groups in the Mass Media fields. The resources of

these groups are not presently adequately assessed, nor is there potential contribution to the worldwide effort associated with UNESCO's program of Mass Communications evidently in proper focus. There exists for UNESCO's purposes vast facilities of a consultative, research, and evaluative character through these established organizations. Assistance should be given to the creation of international organizations in these fields if they do not now exist.

## II. COMMENTS ON SPECIFIC RESOLUTIONS AND PROJECTS

### *Techniques of Mass Communications*

Project 5.11—Clearing House on Techniques of Mass Communications.

Project 5.12—Research and Experimentation for Promotion of the Use of Mass Communications.

The panel recommendations on B and C above relate specifically to these activities.

*The Panel Recommends* that the following higher budgetary projects of 5.11 be placed within the present budget program:

No. 2. *Exchange of information between institutions.*—Comment: This is considered basic to any clearing house activities.

No. 3. *Film cataloging and evaluation.*—Comment: So much work has already been done on this project that it should be completed.

### *Free Flow of Information*

Project 5.22—International action for the reduction of obstacles to the free flow of ideas.

*The Panel Recommends* that further consideration be given to the practicability of the international instrument for the free movement of persons, before the Secretariat is empowered to continue to develop this Convention.

### *Use of the Means of Communication*

The Panel concluded that the work plans for this Division were unimaginative and unresponsive to the obvious need to change for the better, the public knowledge and understanding of UNESCO.

With respect to the priorities listed on page 421.

*The Panel Recommends* that the 1955-56 priorities be altered by substituting this listing:

"Major emphasis of the Division of Use of the Means of Communication for 1955-56 will be on the following:

"1. Reporting and interpreting the activity of UNESCO to all people through the principal means of communication.

"2. Increasing public understanding and support for the following UNESCO objectives:

"a. The Development of Fundamental Education;

"b. Education for International Cooperation;

"c. Understanding of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; and

"d. The Free Flow of Information."

*The Panel Recommends* that publication of the UNESCO Courier be discontinued and funds budgeted for this operation be made available for use in a more vigorous program of public information about UNESCO.

*The Panel Recommends* that practices which have the effect of offering UNESCO services and materials to any segment of the mass media on an exclusive basis be discontinued forthwith. This tends to narrow the release points for UNESCO news and is not conducive to support by all the media.

Mr. MERROW. Has this been acted upon, and has it been given to the press before?

Mr. HARDY. It has been acted upon. This document went before the Program Committee of the United States National Commission which in arriving at a United States position on the proposed UNESCO program, considered it. I may say they adopted substantially all of the recommendations in this document as a part of our United States position.

Mr. MERROW. Have their recommendations been made public yet?

Mr. HARDY. They have not yet been made public.

Mr. MERROW. This is a public hearing, with the press.

Mr. HARDY. I see no objection whatever in their having that.

Mr. MERROW. You may proceed.

Mr. HARDY. We have been impressed as we have worked intensely on that activity proposal of UNESCO. There is a tremendous obligation imposed upon national commissions, if UNESCO is to do an effective job. I have in mind when I make such an observation, this concept, that we must recognize that there has been, to one degree or another, a long period of continuing cooperation by private groups and governments on international, educational, scientific and cultural activities. UNESCO did not originate this, but UNESCO, properly functioning, offers an excellent device for accelerating the interexchange of information, and for providing us with the important vehicles of interexchange of cultural information, education information, and scientific information.

Essentially, that has to be done in terms of people communicating with people. UNESCO specifically has as its fundamental platform the proposition that, as we express knowledge about one another's culture, education, and science, so we relieve what are generally called tensions and we give people a better understanding of the background and attitudes to be found in various lands. At the same time I might say—very selfishly, from the United States point of view—we are pre-rented in the UNESCO program with one of our best devices for reaching an international audience and expressing to them what I am convinced in my own mind is a tremendously rich cultural heritage.

It is my privilege, from time to time, to travel, and, like most Americans who see a good deal of the world, I am always disturbed by the lack of understanding of our cultural background here in America.

Recently, as has happened many times, I had a group of broadcasters from a foreign country in my office, here, and after we had talked over the technicalities of our broadcasting program, I said, "What is it that you have found most interesting in this country?" and the answer was surprising to me in a way, and in another way not. "We are surprised to find out how many people in America belong to a church."

Well, now, we would assume that people abroad would understand that, but they don't.

Now, one of the aspects of our culture that we have an opportunity to express through the UNESCO program is America's vast religious heritage. We haven't yet evolved a fully effective vehicle for expressing that nationally, but that is one area in which a national commission can be helpful.

You see, I visualize for the National Commission a working role. I think it requires something more than an honorary body of advisors.

I believe, for example, when you bring together in a national commission representatives of mass media, of educational institutions, churches, business groups, labor leaders, you are calling together the cream of the crop in America, to address themselves to the fundamental question of how we get our concepts abroad, as well as how we receive from abroad that which is being given to us and make it understandable to our people, in order that these tensions of an international character can be alleviated.

Now, I am impressed, Mr. Chairman, if I may be critical for a moment, with the fact that there is a failing on the part of our National Commission to realistically react to the UNESCO program publicly in this country. When we take exception to something

UNESCO does, as we have done on occasions, we should, as a group of United States citizens, be very forthright in expressing our objections to the program, and our reasons for these objections. I am sure the impression is abroad, and sometimes not without cause, that the United States National Commission reacts only when some other pressure groups put the finger on a questionable part of the UNESCO program, and only then does the National Commission come out and undertake to explain it.

Now, I am well aware that there are a lot of physical handicaps in that process, and I am also aware and very happy to report to this committee that the UNESCO relations staff is moving very realistically in the line of correcting many of the problems incident to this kind of activity.

We have not always had access to the UNESCO program in time to give an analysis of it before it is generally available in the public press. The reason for this is obvious. The document in question may have been printed in Paris. It may be picked up by an international correspondent of say, the New York Times or the Herald Tribune and through this channel it reaches the press in this country before the UNESCO relations staff in Washington has had a chance even to examine it. That is one of the problems we are striving to overcome.

But, basically, I see it as a function of the National Commission that with respect to whatever phase of the UNESCO program is the subject of an ongoing action procedure, there should be an examining body on our National Commission of responsible United States citizens who would read it, who would either say, "We enthusiastically endorse this; this is good for us," or who would say, "Wait a minute. This has bugs in it. This proposal is not in harmony with our own concept. This one should be altered with the following," and so forth.

In other words, it is my judgment that we should be very realistic in reporting and evaluating these publications and proposals here in our own country.

I believe this will build confidence in UNESCO. I believe we will convince the American citizen that this is not the situation in which we are captives of some international operation, but, rather, is one where we retain our national sovereignty and where we have the opportunity of expressing ourselves with full intellectual freedom against the background of our own culture and traditions, our laws and our ideals, and making sure that there is no essential lack of unity in those purposes and in those that are expressed by UNESCO.

Now, in making a statement of that kind, I do not wish it to be understood that I am critical of much that UNESCO does. As a matter of fact, having been exposed, as all of you have, to criticisms visited upon UNESCO, it has been for me, as a businessman, very refreshing to discover, after literally burning the midnight oil many, many nights, to go through UNESCO material in detail—it has been refreshing to discover that 90 percent, or even a higher percentage, can be enthusiastically accepted. You can applaud it, and you can get busy and find ways and means of spreading this information throughout our country with a conviction that our citizens will be benefited by it. And it is regrettable that the small percentage of material which has brought about criticisms, which have now been carefully detailed and answered before your committee, has tended to overbalance public attitude completely in the opposite direction.

Now, again, I visualize the National Commission's role to be one of occupying what is obviously a vacuum in this country.

I think, for example, that when we get groups such as those mentioned as the constituent bodies of our National Commission, and you put their total strength together, not only to work on an international program but, more particularly, to express that program to their own constituent members in this country, that you have a resource for good which is almost beyond our ability to calculate. I should like, Mr. Chairman, to have inserted in the record at this point the list of the constituent organizations—nongovernmental organizations—which have nominated representatives to the United States National Commission for UNESCO. That is a brief list, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MERROW. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(The list referred to is as follows:)

#### UNITED STATES NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR UNESCO

(UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC, AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION)

ORGANIZATIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN DESIGNATED BY THE NATIONAL COMMISSION TO NOMINATE MEMBERS, OR WHICH IN THE PAST HAVE BEEN REPRESENTED ON THE NATIONAL COMMISSION

The individual named first is the executive officer of the organization. The other names listed are those of representatives on the National Commission. These names are in ascending chronological order, the first being the present representative, or, in the case of organizations not currently represented, the most recent representative. If no representative is shown, no appointment has yet been made.

1. Adult Education Association of the U. S. A.,<sup>1</sup> 743 North Wabash Avenue, Chicago 11, Ill.:  
Malcolm Knowles, administrative coordinator.  
Howard Y. McClusky.
2. American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 28 Newbury Street, Boston 16, Mass.:  
Ralph W. Burhoe, executive secretary.  
John T. Edsall.
3. American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1515 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington 5, D. C.:  
Dale Wolfe, administrative secretary.  
Elvin C. Stakman.  
Harlow Shapley.  
James A. Conant.
4. American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education,<sup>2</sup> 11 Elm Street, Oneonta, N. Y.:  
Edward C. Pomeroy, associate secretary.  
George W. Diemer.  
Rees H. Hughes.
5. American Association of Museums, Smithsonian Institution, Washington 25, D. C.:  
Laurence Vail Coleman, director.  
Albert E. Parr.<sup>3</sup>  
George H. Edgell.  
Chauncey J. Hamlin.
6. American Association of School Administrators, 1201 16th Street NW., Washington 6, D. C.:  
Worth McClure, executive secretary.  
Worth McClure.  
Willard E. Goslin.  
Herold C. Hunt.

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<sup>1</sup> See footnotes on p. 322.

7. American Association for the United Nations, 345 East 46th Street, New York 17, N. Y.:  
Clark M. Eichelberger, executive director.  
Mrs. Dana C. Backus.  
Mrs. Harvey N. Davis.
8. American Association of University Professors,<sup>4</sup> 1785 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington 6, D. C.:  
Ralph E. Himstead, general secretary.  
Ralph E. Himstead.
9. American Association of University Women, 1634 I Street NW., Washington 6, D. C.:  
Helen D. Bragdon, general director.  
Helen D. Bragdon.  
Kathryn McHale.
10. American Book Publishers Council,<sup>4</sup> 2 West 45th Street, New York 36, N. Y.:  
Dan Lacy, managing director.  
B. W. Huebsch.  
Harry F. West.
11. American Chemical Society, 1155 16th Street NW., Washington 6, D. C.:  
Alden H. Emery, executive secretary.  
W. Albert Noyes, Jr.  
Harold C. Urey.
12. American Committee for International Union of Local Authorities,<sup>4,5</sup> 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago 37, Ill.:  
Herbert Emmerich, chairman.  
Herbert Emmerich.  
Louis Brownlow.
13. American Council on Education, 1785 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington 6, D. C.:  
Arthur S. Adams, president.  
Herman B. Wells.  
George F. Zook.<sup>6</sup>
14. American Council of Learned Societies, 1219 16th Street NW., Washington, D. C.:  
Mortimer Graves, executive director.  
William Riley Parker.  
Charles E. Odegaard.  
Waldo G. Leland.
15. American Dental Association,<sup>4</sup> 222 East Superior Street, Chicago 11, Ill.:  
Harold Hillenbrand, secretary.  
Stanley D. Tylman.
16. American Farm Bureau Federation, 221 North LaSalle Street, Chicago 1, Ill.:  
Allan B. Kline, president.  
Mrs. Raymond F. Sayre.  
Mrs. Roy C. F. Weagly.
17. American Federation of Arts,<sup>4</sup> 1083 Fifth Avenue, New York 28, N. Y.:  
G. Burton Cumming, director.  
Lawrence M. C. Smith.  
Hudson Walker.
18. American Federation of Labor, 901 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington 1, D. C.:  
George Meany, president.  
John D. Connors.  
Lewis G. Hines.  
Nelson H. Cruikshank.
19. American Federation of Teachers, 28 East Jackson Boulevard, Chicago 4, Ill.:  
Carl J. Megel, president.  
John M. Eklund.  
Selma M. Borchardt.
20. American Institute of Architects, 1735 New York Avenue NW., Washington 6, D. C.:  
Edmund R. Purves, executive director.  
Walter T. Rolfe.  
Albert Harkness.

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See footnotes on p. 322.

21. American Institute of Physics,<sup>4</sup> 57 East 55th Street, New York 22, N. Y.:  
Henry A. Barton, director.  
I. I. Rabi.
22. American Jewish Committee, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.:  
John Slawson, executive vice president.  
John Slawson.
23. American Junior Red Cross,<sup>4</sup> 17th Street between D and E, Washington, D. C.:  
Livingston L. Blair, national director.  
Livingston L. Blair.
24. American Library Association, 50 East Huron Street, Chicago 11, Ill.:  
David H. Clift, executive secretary.  
Douglas W. Bryant.  
Milton E. Lord.  
Ralph A. Ulveling.
25. American Municipal Association, 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago 37, Ill.:  
Carl H. Chatters, executive director.
26. American National Theatre and Academy, 1545 Broadway, New York 36, N. Y.:  
Willard Swire, executive director.  
Rosamond Gilder.
27. American Newspaper Guild, 99 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.:  
Ralph B. Novak, executive vice president.  
Ralph B. Novak.
28. American Philosophical Society,<sup>4</sup> 104 South Fifth Street, Philadelphia 6, Pa.:  
Luther Eisenhart, executive officer.  
Merle A. Tuve.  
Thomas S. Gates.<sup>6</sup>
29. American Political Science Association, 1785 Massachusetts Avenue NW.,  
Washington 6, D. C.:  
John Gange, executive director.  
Peter H. Odegard.
30. American Society for Engineering Education,<sup>4</sup> Northwestern University,  
Evanston, Ill.:  
Arthur Bronwell, secretary.  
Huber O. Croft.
31. American Society of Newspaper Editors, Post Office Box 1053, Wilmington  
99, Del.:  
Mrs. Alice Fox Pitts, assistant secretary.  
Carroll Binder.  
Erwin D. Canham.
32. American Teachers Association,<sup>4</sup> Post Office Box 271, Montgomery, Ala.:  
H. Councill Trenholm, executive secretary.  
Rayford W. Logan.  
Walter N. Ridley.
33. Artists Equity Association,<sup>4</sup> 625 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.:  
Lincoln Rothschild, executive director.  
Henry Billings.
34. Associated Youth Serving Organizations, Inc.:<sup>4</sup>  
Harry D. Gideonse.
35. Association of American Colleges,<sup>4</sup> 726 Jackson Place NW., Washington, D. C.:  
Guy E. Snavelly, executive director.<sup>8</sup>  
Guy E. Snavelly.
36. Association of American Law Schools, University of Southern California,  
Los Angeles, Calif.:  
Orrin B. Evans, assistant secretary.  
Robert E. Mathews.  
Frederick D. G. Ribble.
37. Association of American Medical Colleges,<sup>4</sup> Room 1001, 185 North Wabash  
Avenue, Chicago 1, Ill.:  
Dean F. Smiley, secretary.  
Walter A. Bloedorn.
38. Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes,<sup>4</sup> Barber-Scotia  
College, Concord, N. C.:  
L. S. Cozart, executive secretary.  
John Hope Franklin.



39. Association for Education by Radio-Television,<sup>40</sup> United States Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington 25, D. C.:  
Mrs. Gertrude G. Broderick, president.  
Mrs. Kathleen N. Lardie.  
William B. Levenson.
40. Association of International Relations Clubs, care of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, United Nations Plaza at 46th Street, New York 17, N. Y.:  
Dorothy-Arden Lyne, executive secretary.  
William C. Gibbons.  
Welton L. Pollard.
41. Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities, 1785 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington 6, D. C.:  
Russell Thackrey, executive secretary.  
Rudger H. Walker.
42. Authors League of America, 6 East 39th Street, New York 16, N. Y.:  
Louise M. Sillcox, executive secretary.  
Marc Connelly.
43. B'nai B'rith, 1003 K Street NW., Washington 1, D. C.:  
Maurice Bisgyer, executive secretary.  
Leon J. Obermayer.  
Rabbi William F. Rosenblum.
44. Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1615 H Street NW., Washington 6, D. C.:  
J. Waren Nystrom, manager, Foreign Policy Department.  
Hubert H. Race.  
Thomas C. Boushall.  
William K. Jackson.<sup>6</sup>
45. College Art Association, 625 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.:  
S. Lane Faison, Jr., president.  
Agnes Mongan.
46. Committee for Economic Development, 444 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.:  
Wesley F. Rennie, executive director.  
William Benton.  
Paul G. Hoffman.
47. Congress of Industrial Organizations, 718 Jackson Place NW., Washington, D. C.:  
James B. Carey, secretary-treasurer.  
Stanley H. Ruttenberg.<sup>3</sup>  
Kermit Eby.
48. Cooperative League of the U. S. A., 343 South Dearborn Street, Chicago 4, Ill.:  
Jerry Voorhis, executive secretary.  
Wallace J. Campbell.  
C. J. McLanahan.
49. Department of Classroom Teachers, NEA, 1201 16th Street NW., Washington 6, D. C.:  
Hilda Maehling, executive secretary.  
Ruth Ann White.
50. Education-Recreation Conference and Young Adult Council, National Social Welfare Assembly,<sup>30</sup> 345 East 46th Street, New York 17, N. Y.:  
Bernice Bridges, director.  
Arthur H. Darken.  
Ernest M. Howell.  
Donald F. Sullivan.
51. Educational Film Library Association,<sup>4</sup> suite 1000, 1600 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.:  
Emily S. Jones, executive secretary.  
L. C. Larson.  
Edgar Dale.
52. Engineers Joint Council, 29 West 39th Street, New York 18, N. Y.:  
T. A. Marshall, Jr., secretary.  
Ralph L. Goetzenberger.  
Robert M. Gates.  
William E. Wickenden.<sup>6</sup>

53. Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America,<sup>4 11</sup> 1555 Sherman Street, Denver 5, Colo.:  
James G. Patton, president.  
Edward Yeomans.
54. General Department of United Church Women,<sup>4 12</sup> 156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.:  
Mrs. W. Murdoch MacLeod, general director.  
Mrs. William Barclay Parsons.
55. General Federation of Women's Clubs, 1734 N Street NW., Washington 6, D. C.:  
Mrs. S. J. Nicholas, executive director.  
Mrs. William Dick Sporborg.
56. League of Women Voters of the United States, 1026 17th Street NW., Washington 6, D. C.:  
Mrs. John G. Lee, president.  
Mrs. Werner J. Blanchard.  
Mrs. Charles E. Heming.
57. Magazine Publishers Association, Inc.,<sup>13</sup> 232 Madison Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.:  
Arch Crawford, president.  
Arch Crawford.  
Barclay Acheson.
58. Modern Language Association of America,<sup>4</sup> 6 Washington Square North, New York 3, N. Y.:  
William Riley Purker, secretary.  
Henry Grattan Doyle.
59. Motion Picture Association of America, Inc., 1600 I Street NW., Washington 6, D. C.:  
Eric Johnston, president.  
G. Griffith Johnson.  
Joyce O'Hara.<sup>6</sup>
60. National Academy of Sciences—National Research Council,<sup>14</sup> 2101 Constitution Avenue, Washington 25, D. C.:  
Wallace W. Atwood, Jr., director, Office of International Relations.  
Esmond R. Long.
61. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People,<sup>4</sup> 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.:  
Walter White, executive secretary.  
Charles H. Thompson.
62. National Association of Colored Women, Inc., 1114 O Street NW., Washington, D. C.:  
Mrs. Iola Rowan, headquarters secretary
63. National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters,<sup>15</sup> 1771 N Street NW., Washington 6, D. C.:  
Harold E. Fellows, president.  
Ralph W. Hardy.  
Justin Miller.
64. National Association of Secondary-School Principals, 1201 16th Street NW.: Washington 6, D. C.:  
Paul E. Elicker, executive secretary.  
Galen Jones.
65. National Association of Student Councils,<sup>4</sup> 1201 16th Street NW., Washington 6, D. C.:  
Paul E. Elicker, executive secretary.  
Richard Phelps Lewis.  
Coleman Brown.  
Robert W. Sullivan.  
Keith E. Beery.  
John G. Avril.
66. National Catholic Educational Association, 1785 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington 6, D. C.:  
Rt. Rev. Msgr. Frederick G. Hochwalt, secretary general.  
Raymond F. McCoy.  
Reverend Edward V. Stanford.

67. National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington 5, D. C.:  
Rt. Rev. Msgr. Howard J. Carroll, general secretary.  
C. Joseph Nuesse.  
Rt. Rev. Msgr. Frederick G. Hochwalt.
68. National Committee for Mental Hygiene,<sup>4,16</sup> Room 916, 1790 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.:  
Robert M. Heining, executive director.  
George S. Stevenson.
69. National Conference of Christians and Jews, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.:  
Everett R. Clinchy, president.  
Karl W. Bigelow.
70. National Congress of Parents and Teachers, 600 South Michigan Boulevard, Chicago 5, Ill.:  
Ruth A. Bottomly, director of office  
Mrs. Newton P. Leonard.  
Mrs. John E. Hayes.  
Mrs. L. W. Hughes.
71. National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A.,<sup>17</sup> 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.  
Samuel McCrea Cavert, general secretary.  
F. Ernest Johnson.  
Reinhold Niebuhr.
72. National Council of Jewish Women, Inc., 1 West 47th Street, New York 36, N. Y.:  
Mrs. Elsie Elfenbein, executive director.
73. National Council for the Social Studies,<sup>4</sup> 1201 16th Street NW., Washington 6, D. C.:  
Merrill F. Hartshorn, executive secretary. Howard E. Wilson.
74. National Editorial Association,<sup>4</sup> 222 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago 1, Ill.:  
Don Eck, executive secretary. Glenn T. James. P. G. Stromberg.<sup>6</sup>  
W. W. Loomis.<sup>6</sup> Ward Barnes.<sup>6</sup>
75. National Education Association, 1201 16th Street NW., Washington 6, D. C.:  
William G. Carr, executive secretary. Willard E. Givens. William G. Carr.
76. National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc., 1819 Broadway, New York 23, N. Y.:  
Laura Lorraine, executive director. Mrs. Sarah T. Hughes. K. Frances Scott.
77. National Grange,<sup>4</sup> 744 Jackson Place NW., Washington 6, D. C.:  
Herschel D. Newsom, national master. J. T. Sanders. Fred Bailey.
78. National Institute of Arts and Letters,<sup>4</sup> 633 West 155th Street, New York 32, N. Y.:  
Felicia Geffen, assistant secretary-treasurer. Glenway Wescott. Henry Seidel Canby. Gilmore D. Clarke.
79. National Music Council, 338 West 89th Street, New York 24, N. Y.:  
Edwin Hughes, executive secretary. Harold Spivacke. Howard Hanson.
80. National Planning Association, 1606 New Hampshire Avenue NW., Washington 9, D. C.:  
John Miller, executive secretary. David J. Winton. Frank Altschul.
81. National Social Welfare Assembly,<sup>4</sup> 345 East 46th Street, New York 17, N. Y.:  
Robert E. Bondy, director. Harry D. Gideonse. Frank Weil.
82. National University Extension Association, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.:  
W. S. Bittner, secretary-treasurer. Julius M. Nolte.
83. Negro Newspaper Publishers Association, Post Office Box 6237, Cleveland, Ohio:  
William O. Walker, secretary.  
William O. Walker.  
C. A. Scott.

84. Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.:  
 Pendleton Herring, president.  
 Malcolm M. Willey.  
 Frederick S. Dunn.  
 Donald R. Young.  
 Paul T. Homan
85. Society of Independent Motion Picture Producers,<sup>4</sup> 357 North Canon Drive,  
 Beverly Hills, Calif.:  
 Marvin Faris, executive secretary.  
 Gunther Lessing.  
 Ellis Arnall.  
 Donald M. Nelson.
86. Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, University of Michigan,  
 Ann Arbor, Mich.:  
 Dorwin Cartwright, president.  
 Gordon W. Allport.  
 Otto Klineberg.
87. Synagogue Council of America, 110 West 42d Street, New York 36, N. Y.:  
 Rabbi Meyer Passow, executive director.  
 Rabbi Herbert S. Goldstein.<sup>5</sup>  
 Rabbi William F. Rosenblum.
88. United States Junior Chamber of Commerce, 21st and Main Streets, Tulsa,  
 Okla.:  
 Gordon T. Hicks, executive vice president.  
 Paul D. Bagwell.
89. United States National Student Association, 1234 Gimbel Building, Ninth  
 and Chestnut Streets, Philadelphia 7, Pa.:  
 James M. Edwards, president.  
 Richard J. Murphy.<sup>6</sup>  
 Robert L. West.  
 Robert S. Smith.

Mr. HARDY. I commend to all who have a critical attitude toward UNESCO an examination of those groups and they will find they represent a very healthy cross section of American organizational leadership.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I have one other comment which I would like to make and then I would be pleased to receive any questions the committee would like to direct to me.

I believe, Mr. Chairman, that our National Commission members have an important obligation in the Nation in the field of advising our Government—and I speak specifically now of the legislative

<sup>1</sup> Includes American Association for Adult Education, which formerly nominated Herbert C. Hunsaker and Morse A. Cartwright.

<sup>2</sup> Formerly American Association of Teachers Colleges.

<sup>3</sup> Most recent representative. New representative not yet appointed.

<sup>4</sup> Organization not currently represented on the National Commission.

<sup>5</sup> Now known as The American Committee for International Municipal Cooperation.

<sup>6</sup> Deceased.

<sup>7</sup> This organization is no longer in existence.

<sup>8</sup> Theodore A. Distler will take up his duties as executive director of the Association of American Colleges in the summer, 1954.

<sup>9</sup> Formerly Association for Education by Radio.

<sup>10</sup> Formerly Youth Division of the National Social Welfare Assembly.

<sup>11</sup> Also known as the National Farmers' Union.

<sup>12</sup> Formerly the United Council of Church Women.

<sup>13</sup> Formerly National Association of Magazine Publishers.

<sup>14</sup> The National Academy of Sciences and the National Research Council were two of the organizations selected for initial membership on the National Commission. Representatives of both organizations drew 2-year terms (1946-48) and both representatives were reappointed for an additional term (1948-51). The NAS representative was Ross G. Harrison; the NRC representative was Detlev W. Bronk. In 1951 Dr. Long was appointed to represent both groups.

<sup>15</sup> Formerly: National Association of Broadcasters.

<sup>16</sup> Now known as the National Association for Mental Health.

<sup>17</sup> Formerly: The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

branch of our Government. In your introductory remarks presenting me to the committee, you noted I was Chairman of the Committee on Congressional Relations. This is a new development of UNESCO in this country. It is not lobbying organization, but rather a committee made up of present and past members of the National Commission who reside in and near Washington, D. C., who are making themselves available as needed to the Members of the Congress, to respond to questions, criticisms, and comments about UNESCO.

A program as varied and intricate in detail as this one certainly needs to have all the expert help around it that it can get to offer advice and counsel to the Members of the Congress, who, in the press of their normal legislative duties manifestly haven't the time to go through and understand the mass of detail found here.

I might add, sir, it has been a matter of deep satisfaction to me to have engaged actively in this relationship with other Members of the Senate and the House. I find with most Members of the Congress a very wholesome attitude toward UNESCO and a desire to be the recipients of the viewpoints and counsel of such groups as the National Commission.

I advise this committee, as I have advised all other Members of Congress with whom I have spoken, that we are at your service. We represent not merely a small group of the Commission, but, in effect, the total constituent strength of the National Commission. When problems arise it is to the interests of this Commission, as well as to the United States Government that we get the facts, get them out in the light, examine them. If correction is needed, we must lose no time in making correction. If weaknesses in the UNESCO program are noted in public it is essential that we make the corrections in public.

Mr. Chairman, I am grateful to you for the privilege of testifying here. If you have any questions, I will be pleased to try to answer them.

Mr. MERROW. We thank you for your lucid and analytical statement with reference to the National Commission and other phases of the work of UNESCO.

This report which you read from came from the panel on mass communications.

Now, do I understand that the various panels or committees made up of members of the National Commission studied each section of the program, that was presented by the Secretariat of UNESCO?

Mr. HARDY. That's correct, sir.

Mr. MERROW. And have the other panels made recommendations similar to these?

Mr. HARDY. Each one came in with detailed recommendations, a critique, if you please, on the program and these recommendations were considered by the Program Committee of the United States National Commission.

Mr. MERROW. How many members were on this Program Committee, do you recall?

Mr. HARDY. About 15. I have the membership here, if you would like to have it.

Mr. MERROW. Has the Program Committee acted on these recommendations?

Mr. HARDY. It has, sir.

Mr. MERROW. Is the result of that, in printed form, available, at this time?

Mr. McCULLOUGH. The Program Committee minutes I have in draft. The Department used the draft as a basis for an instruction which it sent to the Embassy in Paris to be presented to the Director General.

This was also given to the American member of the Executive Board who is now in Paris for a meeting of the Board.

Mr. MERROW. Will these views be presented to a meeting of the entire National Commission in the future?

Mr. McCULLOUGH. Yes, sir. They will be. The National Commission will have its meeting in September of this year which will be about 60 days before the 8th session of the General Conference.

At that time, the report of the Program Committee, to which Mr. Hardy referred, will be before the National Commission for its review, modification, and action.

Mr. MERROW. Is that the next meeting of the National Commission, in September?

Mr. McCULLOUGH. Yes, sir.

The Executive Committee, meanwhile, will meet at the end of April.

Mr. MERROW. Will they consider these views?

Mr. McCULLOUGH. They will also consider these views; yes, sir.

Mr. MERROW. Will they also make recommendations?

Mr. McCULLOUGH. They will make recommendations to the Commission. Then the Commission's views, Mr. Chairman, will form the basis for the instructions which the Department of State gives to the delegation, which will go to the next session of the General Conference in November.

Mr. MERROW. The UNESCO Executive Board is presently meeting in Paris?

Mr. McCULLOUGH. Yes, sir.

Mr. MERROW. What will the UNESCO Executive Board do with these recommendations that are before them in Paris?

Mr. McCULLOUGH. The Board has come together for the purpose of studying this document (the draft program for 1955-56) which Mr. Hardy has exhibited to the committee, and for making its suggestions to the Director General for the modification of these proposals for 1955-56.

The Director General, then, will take the ideas expressed by the Executive Board and present a final program or recommended program to the General Conference in November.

Mr. MERROW. But the action of the Executive Board of the National Commission which meets in April and the subsequent action of the National Commission which meets in September, will have no effect upon the recommendations made by the Director General on the program, is that right?

Mr. McCULLOUGH. These recommendations will have a substantial effect on what the Director General puts before the General Conference. We have transmitted these views to the Director General, as well as to the Executive Board.

Mr. MERROW. That has come from the Program Committee.

The point I am making is that no action by the National Commission in September will have its effect on what the Director General will present to the final conference; is that right?

Mr. McCULLOUGH. That's correct, Mr. Chairman. However, the National Commission, or the views the National Commission expresses in September will guide the Department of State as to the positions of this Government, at the November meeting of the General Conference.

Mr. MERROW. Suppose the National Commission in September is at variance with the report of the Program Committee and decides that certain changes ought to be made. Then they will so instruct, as I understand it, the delegation that goes to Montevideo, but it is too late, then, to have its effect. It will have its effect at the Conference, but it is too late to have any effect on what the Director General will present to the Conference as a program, is that correct?

Mr. McCULLOUGH. That's correct, and I should offer a word of explanation as to why the National Commission has not met. We did not know, until the end of January, at what date we would have this draft program for study, nor whether we would have more than 4 or 5 copies. The Executive Board of UNESCO was scheduled to meet on March 10. There was not time between the time when we learned we would receive copies of this draft program and March 10 to have a meeting both of our Program Committee and a meeting of the National Commission.

Mr. MERROW. Would it not be better in the future to have it so timed that the complete action of the National Commission as a body would be the program that would be presented to the Executive Board for consideration?

Mr. McCULLOUGH. I think that would be highly desirable if it were possible to get a program document sufficiently far in advance of the time the Executive Board of UNESCO plans to act on it, to distribute it to the members of the Commission.

There is a physical problem involved. As you see, this document is some 600 pages long. Now, we were not even able, between the end of January and the 10th of March, to get enough copies to supply the 15 members of the Program Committee.

Mr. MERROW. Has it always been done this way?

Mr. McCULLOUGH. Yes, sir; it has.

Mr. MERROW. It seems to me complete action by the National Commission before it reaches the Executive Board would be a good thing.

Mr. McCULLOUGH. May I make another word of explanation, Mr. Chairman? Heretofore, we have not usually had an opportunity to study the program and make suggestions to the Executive Board in advance of the Executive Board meeting which was to consider the program.

Mr. MERROW. I see.

Mr. McCULLOUGH. This is a new thing. It is only by virtue of having this 5-week interval, and some copies of this draft program that we were able to formulate the views of the Program Committee.

The practice, heretofore, has been that the Executive Board has met as it is meeting now, and has passed on the Director General's suggestions. The Director General drafts a revised program which goes out to member states for their study before the General Conference meets.

Now, we have just added one step, this year. We have added that step, I might add, in the hope that the views expressed by the Program Committee and concurred in by the Department of State and trans-

mitted to UNESCO, could have some influence in this final document to be submitted at the eighth session of the General Conference.

Mr. MERROW. Yes, I think that is true, but that doesn't give the Program Committee an opportunity to work its will on the Commission before the decision of the Director General.

Mr. HAYS. I am interested in reading off this statement presented by Mr. Hardy because this practical view is helpful.

I would like to know if Mr. Hardy has discussed this with Mr. Salomon.

Mr. HARDY. Of course, I am familiar with their report.

Mr. HAYS. To what extent do your criticisms overlap his?

Mr. HARDY. There is a parallel on 1 or 2 points. I think fundamentally most Americans who have made a careful study of UNESCO have reached a conclusion that their whole concept of mass communications—which was my initial point—needs complete orientation.

UNESCO's outlined plans in the field of mass communications indicate that the Paris Secretariat see themselves in a highly technical role consisting, for example, in getting specialists together at the international level, and engaging in research activities which critically analyze existing facilities and programs.

Now, our United States ad hoc committee—and I know the Salomon report reflects this judgment—feels that UNESCO's mass communications position ought to be first of all one of telling the world what UNESCO is doing and explaining its projects and talking about its accomplishments. UNESCO needs a broadcasting-press-relations department, and that is what we believe mass communications ought to be, basically. So, that is one of the major criticisms that we made and I think it needs to be vigorously expressed. Our American people by and large need to know we feel that way about the UNESCO program so that they can share in the sense of realism we of the National Commission feel in our work with UNESCO.

We have gone on and documented the fact that we think UNESCO should stay out of the field of research for a while.

There is enough research going on. For example, in our own country, in my field, in broadcast communications, our industry spends millions of dollars in research to discover why people listen, why they don't listen, what they like, what they don't like.

UNESCO would do well to take advantage of that research and spread it around the world, instead of setting up committees of experts to do research on top of research which, within the limited funds available to UNESCO, can't be anything but a superficial job in the area of research.

Now, what we are saying very bluntly is that they are ignoring Main Street and they are going down bypaths on the side while Main Street needs to be gone down very vigorously.

I must say as I sat through the program committee meeting the other day, here in Washington, I again was delightfully surprised to hear how effective our educators, our sociologists were as they reacted to UNESCO. I didn't see any panel of yes-men or yes-women who agreed with everything that UNESCO proposed. It makes good reading to see what they said about this program.

Mr. HAYS. Are you hopeful that these criticisms will bear fruit?

Mr. HARDY. I have great faith that they will. I have the conviction that one of the things that has been needed, for example, has been



a detailed analysis of the program. I think it is one thing for us to sit here 2,000 miles away and say we don't like it. It is another thing to say, "As regards your proposal, we would suggest you change A and B, that you add C, and you do this, that, and the other." you give them something concrete to work on and that is exactly what we tried to do as we went through this massive document.

That is typical of the best service a national commission can render. I don't walk out of those meetings uneducated with regard to UNESCO. When I come to you, I reflect my judgment about UNESCO's program, based on my study of it. There is too little of that reaction getting around the country and too many people who read a paragraph, here, or a line, there, and say, "This is UNESCO." That is what I say the National Commission members have to do.

Mr. HAYS. That's all. Thank you very much.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Carnahan—

Mr. CARNAHAN. I have no questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MERROW. How many panels were there?

Mr. McCULLOUGH. There were five.

Mr. MERROW. Are there other national commissions analyzing this program?

Mr. HARDY. I have no information on that.

Mr. McCULLOUGH. We have some information on that, Mr. Chairman. I had a communication this week from the secretary of the national commission in Australia. We were surprised and interested in the several points where the views of our national commission and the views of the national commission in Australia coincide. This is particularly true in mass communications.

Mr. MERROW. Do you want to comment on the recommendations made by the other panels? We haven't the chairmen of those panels here, but is there any particular thing you would like to say about the recommendations that came to the program committee in other fields than mass communications?

Mr. HARDY. I would not like to attempt to give an expert review of those various criticisms. I do recall one reaction which would be of interest. This had to do with a resolution which the Program Committee passed relating to the manner in which UNESCO's Secretariat in Paris gathers basic information for studies. The net effect of the resolution which the Program Committee adopted, and which I presume will be carried on to Paris for inclusion in the United States position, was to the effect that the Program Committee felt that all materials gathered by the Secretariat, there in Paris, by what they call fee contracts, where they would hire, for example, an individual in England or here in the United States, to write basic material for UNESCO, that all of that material should be submitted to an expert body, outside the UNESCO Secretariat, before it is released by UNESCO. Now, what is obviously in mind there is that we are attempting to overcome some of the possible bias of members of the Secretariat, where perhaps they start riding a particular hobbyhorse. It is within their power to use a writer in a particular country who will produce the material they have in mind and for that material eventually to reach printed form before representative advisory groups in the member countries who are rightly interested in that subject matter have any idea what it is UNESCO is going to say about it.

Now, we feel—I feel personally very strongly—that nothing will conduce more to a rebirth of faith in the UNESCO ideal than to get the concept abroad that the material which UNESCO releases is the best available, and that it has been reviewed by representative people with competence in that area, rather than reflecting the opinion of one person or a group of people at the Secretariat level.

That is a great step in the concept about how we protect ourselves and protect UNESCO in the process.

Mr. MERROW. Do you not think that a program which covers as much as that one there does, is too voluminous?

Mr. HARDY. Yes, I will answer that without hesitation. I think UNESCO is spread far too thin. I think UNESCO basically, from my point of view—and I can only reflect my years of training in my own industry—UNESCO needs to single out a smaller number of top priority projects and put its full power in back of those. Then, as they accomplish those tasks, and get the news of that spread around the world, they will get increasing confidence among the member states to do more of these things.

But in the field of mass communications, we set forth right here in our report that they are spread so thin that they can't accomplish realistic work in any of the areas.

Mr. MERROW. Would you care to comment on the statement made by the study mission that UNESCO could do much more to publicize the ideals and ideas of the free world?

Mr. HARDY. I will be glad to, Mr. Merrow. I read with great interest the report of your study mission and I may say, sir, in answer to the suggestion of your committee in that observation, that I, of course, believe that that is fundamentally where UNESCO's great strength lies. I believe it is through the agencies of the national commissions, rather than through the primary emphasis on the level of the Secretariat, that that phase of UNESCO's work can best be done.

I believe, for example, that one cannot examine the efforts being made by UNESCO to break down barriers for the international exchange of information, for relieving copyright situations, and exchange of persons, as well as the exchange of cultural, scientific, and educational material, without realizing that as that program gets implemented, it is one of the most effective means of overcoming the influence of the policies of the Russian-dominated countries.

I do believe that there will tend to be less credence attaching to declarations made by the International Secretariat, and conversely, I believe there is greater credence attaching to utterances made by our national commissions in the United States, Britain, and France, the other member countries, who can show concrete evidence of putting into effect these principles of international freedom for our education, science, and culture. I think that is the best way to give this program life and virility.

Mr. MERROW. In this recent meeting of the program committee, did the Program Committee consider recommending that UNESCO should take a more active part in publicizing the ideas and ideals of the free world and denouncing the Communist ideology?

Mr. HARDY. In just those terms I don't recall that they did, Mr. Chairman, but in terms of carrying out those portions of this massive program which would best be suited to a program of that type, I

would say that our Program Committee was highly effective in developing a realistic program for UNESCO which would in fact accomplish that end objective.

Mr. MERROW. Has the Commission come to grips with this issue, or the program committee? Did they come to grips with that fundamental issue?

Mr. HARDY. I would say that the deliberations in which I took part certainly were very realistic in acknowledging your committee's report in this area and giving consideration to it, but again, I was a part of but one phase of this operation. I do not now recall whether there were any specific utterances made by the program committee in its overall report that were addressed in specific terms to the question you have just asked me.

Mr. MERROW. Has the matter of slave-labor camps and so forth been discussed?

Mr. HARDY. I do not recall, sir.

Mr. MERROW. That is very fine, Mr. Hardy. We are certainly glad to have had you with us and we appreciate the fine analysis you have given.

We will be glad to have any suggestions or recommendations that you might make.

Mr. HARDY. I appreciate the courtesy you have extended to me, sir.

Mr. MERROW. Thank you.

Our next witness is Mr. Max McCullough, UNESCO Relations Staff, Department of State.

#### FURTHER STATEMENT OF MAX McCULLOUGH, UNESCO RELATIONS STAFF, DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Mr. MERROW. When you were here the other day we didn't have an opportunity to ask questions in reference to the presentation which you made. We are sorry that time didn't permit.

We are very glad to have you with us again. It may be that in view of what has taken place since then in our hearings, and what has been said today, that you may have some additional comments you would like to make before we proceed to ask questions.

Mr. McCULLOUGH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am very glad to be with you again. There are 1 or 2 comments that I would like to make, arising out of the discussion you have had with Mr. Hardy.

First, could I leave with you the membership of the Committee on Program, which we have been discussing.

Mr. MERROW. Would you care to have that in the record?

Mr. McCULLOUGH. I think it would be helpful to have that in the record.

Mr. MERROW. It is so ordered.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

UNITED STATES NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR UNESCO (UNITED NATIONS  
EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION)

#### COMMITTEE ON UNESCO PROGRAM

Robert C. Angell (chairman), Department of Sociology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Samuel M. Brownell, Commissioner of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D. C.

- Arthur H. Darken, 210 Garfield Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
 Willard E. Givens, 1661 Crescent Place NW., Washington, D. C.  
 Ralph W. Hardy, vice president, National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters, 1771 N Street NW., Washington, D. C.  
 Mrs. Elizabeth Heffelfinger, Route 6, Wayzata, Minn.  
 Rt. Rev. Msgr. Frederick G. Hochwalt, director, Department of Education, National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D. C.  
 G. Kenneth Holland, president, Institute of International Education, 1 East 67th Street, New York, N. Y.  
 G. Griffith Johnson, Motion Picture Association of America, Inc., 1600 I Street NW., Washington, D. C.  
 Miss Agnes Mongan, Fogg Museum of Art, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.  
 Mrs. Grace L. McCann Morley, director, San Francisco Museum of Art, San Francisco, Calif.  
 Ralph B. Novak, executive vice president, American Newspaper Guild, 99 University Place, New York, N. Y.  
 W. Albert Noyes, Jr., department of chemistry, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y.  
 John Walker, Chief Curator, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.  
 Rudger H. Walker, dean, School of Agriculture, Utah State Agricultural College, Logan, Utah.  
 Malcolm M. Willey, vice president, academic administration, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.

**Ex officio members:**

- Mrs. Werner J. Blanchard, as chairman of the Committee on Activities in the United States, 1920 Adirondack Trail, Dayton, Ohio.  
 John A. Perkins, as United States member of the Executive Board of UNESCO, president, University of Delaware, Newark, Del.  
 George N. Shuster, as chairman of the United States National Commission for UNESCO, president, Hunter College, 695 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y.

**Mr. McCULLOUGH.** The Department of State, following the meeting of the National Commission's Program Committee did send the views that had been expressed there, insofar as the Department concurred with those views, to our Embassy in Paris and asked that those views be transmitted to the Director General of UNESCO.

In addition, as I said a moment ago, the Department also supplied these views to the United States member of the Executive Board. Now, I know this committee understands that the members of the Executive Board do not speak for their governments but as private citizens.

We did receive back from Mrs. Elizabeth Heffelfinger a statement which she made at the opening of this Board meeting which began on March 10.

It does contain some points which are somewhat related to the matters you were last discussing with Mr. Hardy; that is, the recommendations made in the report of your study mission. Her comments came about as close to coming to grips with the suggestion that the study mission made as the Program Committee was able to come in its earlier discussions.

Now, I will read a brief excerpt from this to illustrate what I mean.

In the struggle to improve the living conditions of man, UNESCO must constantly emphasize the basic freedoms which underlie its constitution. Without such freedoms UNESCO's goals cannot be realized. There are areas in which assaults on freedom gravely menace the welfare of the world and constitute offenses, not only against freedom, but against education, science, and culture. It is my belief these assaults on freedom should be of great concern to UNESCO, and that UNESCO's future program should throw light on some of these assaults. Attacks on the integrity of education, science, and culture, and on the rights of man are antithetical to the UNESCO constitution and to the basic ideas upon which the organization is built.

Mrs. Heffelfinger was representing the American Board member, John Perkins, who has since gone to the meeting himself and who was in agreement with this statement that Mrs. Heffelfinger made.

I would be glad to leave this with the committee if you would like to have this, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MERROW. Thank you.

That would be for the action of the Executive Board and it could well be that that point might be included in the UNESCO program for the coming conference in Montevideo?

Mr. McCULLOUGH. We would hope that the conference in Montevideo will, itself, come to grips with this problem of how UNESCO relates itself more closely to the values that are expressed in its constitution—those of fundamental freedoms and human rights.

We don't know what position will be taken on this but this does represent the views not only of the Board but of the Department of State.

Mr. MERROW. Would you like to have this entire statement included in the record?

Mr. McCULLOUGH. If you would like, Mr. Chairman, we would be glad to have it included.

Mr. MERROW. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(The statement referred to follows:)

OPENING STATEMENT BY MRS. ELIZABETH HEFFELFINGER, REPRESENTING MR. JOHN PERKINS AT THE 37TH SESSION, UNESCO EXECUTIVE BOARD

The Director General has rendered an important service to the member states in permitting them to see copies of the draft program and budget prior to this meeting of the Executive Board. In the United States, this program has been reviewed by panels of National Commission members, representing all of the fields of UNESCO interests. Their recommendations were considered by 15 members of the Program Committee of the United States National Commission. This Committee, which spent several days discussing the program for 1955-56, item by item, found the potentiality of UNESCO to be not only challenging but exciting.

In the struggle to improve the living conditions of man, UNESCO must constantly emphasize the basic freedoms which underlie its constitution. Without such freedoms UNESCO's goals cannot be realized. There are areas in which assaults on freedom gravely menace the welfare of the world and constitute offenses, not only against freedom, but against education, science, and culture. It is my belief these assaults on freedom should be of great concern to UNESCO, and that UNESCO's future program should throw light on some of these assaults. Attacks on the integrity of education, science, and culture, and on the rights of man are antithetical to the UNESCO constitution and to the basic ideas upon which the organization is built.

I have talked to many who feel that UNESCO should be a symbol of the possibility that man has through education, science, and culture to help control his destiny, and to work for the thing closest to man's heart, a world of peace, free from oppression, and dedicated to the ideals of liberty and justice for all. Thus we find that the principle of freedom is the keynote for all aspects of the work of UNESCO in education, science, and culture. Accordingly this principle should be fully recognized and appropriately incorporated in all aspects of the work of this organization.

People who have studied this program are bewildered by the number of projects and activities, studies, and reports. They believe that the dispersal of effort represented in this draft program promises mediocrity and frustration, rather than satisfaction and achievement. The criteria in terms of which projects can be appraised and evaluated are not clear, nor is the ultimate goal always evident.

In order to minimize the criticism leveled at UNESCO in many countries, the projects we undertake must be solidly conceived. It is the feeling of those with whom I have talked that projects should be more and more the outgrowth of

the thinking of the member states and the national commissions. However, member states may have been delinquent in bringing forward effective program ideas. The draft program seems less to rely on action by member states and national commissions, and more on action by the Secretariat. As a matter of fact, the program should draw more explicit attention to what member states and national commissions can do, and UNESCO services should be aimed at the facilitation of such action.

We in the United States are gratified to see that a substantial concentration of funds from the regular budget and from technical assistance is given to the extension of education, and we believe that even more means should be devoted to this basic problem. We further believe that the program for education for international cooperation should permeate the entire program of UNESCO, and not be confined to one department. Each resolution should be assessed to see whether it contributes to education for international cooperation. It appears that there is less emphasis on this item in the present draft program than in the program for 1953-54. To many, the very reason for the existence of UNESCO is to maintain peace through mutual understanding. I shall ask for time at a later period to comment specifically on mass communication. It is vitally important that the mass communication program perform the service of securing grassroots understanding of UNESCO and the United Nations; what they are and what they do. It is this very lack of understanding which gives rise to much of the unwarranted criticism in the United States.

Possibly a woman knows better than anyone the trials and tribulations of a budget. I was personally rather appalled to see that such a small proportion of the regular budget goes into direct technical assistance to underdeveloped countries. I have hopes that the final program for 1955-56 will see more funds diverted to less developed areas. In view of the dispersal of effort in the present program and the fact that the higher budget level does not embody any new or significant undertakings, it is the hopes of many of us that this Board will consider taking the initiative in urging the Director General not to recommend to the next General Conference any higher assessments, in order that the General Conference may concentrate its efforts on a review of program policies and program evaluations.

I have great faith and personal admiration for our Director General, and I am confident that under his leadership the final program will help us meet the challenge of UNESCO.

**Mr. McCULLOUGH.** You asked about the views expressed by the other subcommittees and the program committee. I do not have those views summarized in a form to submit for the record but I shall be glad to do that. I shall be glad to summarize the information that we sent to our Embassy in Paris for it to transmit to the Director General of UNESCO. This gives the views which came out of this program committee meeting.

**Mr. MERROW.** We would like to have that, if you will summarize this and submit it to the committee.

**Mr. McCULLOUGH.** I will be glad to do that.

(The information requested is as follows:)

**SUMMARY OF UNITED STATES VIEWS ON THE UNESCO DRAFT PROGRAM AND BUDGET FOR 1955-56, PRESENTED TO THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF UNESCO BEFORE THE 37TH SESSION OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD**

The Department of State expressed its appreciation to the Director-General of UNESCO in making available to member states of UNESCO copies of the draft program and budget prior to the 37th session of the Executive Board of UNESCO.

The availability of the draft program had made it possible for the Department to consult a number of competent groups on the proposals, particularly the program committee of the United States National Commission for UNESCO.

In these consultations the greatest good will toward the Organization and a sincere desire to see UNESCO succeed had been found. It was recognized that a number of projects and proposals in the draft program built on very solid foundations of experience. At the same time real concern was voiced both on the general outline and on much of the detail of the proposed program.

The following reactions were general:

First, the vast potentiality for constructive service by UNESCO was impressive.

Second, the number of projects and activities, studies and reports, some major and some minor, was bewildering.

It was the unanimous view that the program as proposed attempted too much, and that the dispersal of effort represented in the draft program promised mediocrity and frustration, rather than achievement and satisfaction. The failure to focus the funds and energies of the Organization on any area of work so as to have a vital impact on important problems and needs was regretted.

It was pointed out that the seventh session of the General Conference had discussed the matter of concentration of the program and established a working party to make recommendations on the future program and development of UNESCO. The Department was aware that member governments, in commenting on the general suggestions made by that working party, gave support to a wide range of activities—so wide a range in fact that it was incumbent upon the Director-General and the Executive Board to exercise initiative in selecting for action a much smaller number of projects and activities than the total put forward by governments.

It was suggested that the Director-General and the Executive Board now had an opportunity to bring about the kind of concentration that the General Conference had requested. The Director-General should be given every encouragement to work toward that end. The Department expressed the hope that the Executive Board would feel its own responsibility in this matter.

The Department expressed the belief that the draft program did not adequately identify and emphasize the values and principles of the UNESCO constitution nor were activities indicated that would secure additional understanding and acceptance of these principles by the people of the world.

The following specific points were then set out, as of concern to the Department and to groups consulted:

#### 1. FUNDAMENTAL EDUCATION AND THE EXTENSION OF EDUCATION, ESPECIALLY ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

Although each session of the General Conference has recognized the appalling problem presented by the continued existence of mass illiteracy and its attendant evils of poverty, hunger, and disease, the proposed program does not adequately deal with this problem. The need for training in literacy, in health, in improving agricultural methods, in crafts, in home economics, etc., is undisputed. Efforts to respond to this need find universal approval. In view of these needs, much more of UNESCO's resources, within its present budget level, should be devoted to these problems.

#### 2. EDUCATION FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

There is firmly imbedded in the minds of most people who have heard about UNESCO the idea that UNESCO will seek to improve relationships between people and will engage in public education toward this end.

The Seventh Session of the General Conference authorized an Advisory Committee of Experts to be established to examine ways to intensify efforts of this kind. The draft program does not seem to stress this aim, even to the extent recommended by the Advisory Committee.

Without incurring additional costs, it would be possible for UNESCO to undertake, and to assist member states to undertake, more extensive efforts to promote international cooperation and mutual understanding and to promote better understanding of and respect for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are at the heart of UNESCO's aims. The Department is disappointed that this emphasis has been lost in the current draft of the program and the Department hopes the Director-General and the Executive Board will restore it.

#### 3. MASS COMMUNICATIONS

The United States has been a consistent supporter of efforts in UNESCO to encourage the use of the means of mass communication for UNESCO's purposes. An examination of the mass communication proposals convinces the Department that this is the weakest part of the proposed program and that if UNESCO is to succeed these proposals should be substantially revised.

Top priority in the mass communications field should be given to reporting and interpreting the activities of UNESCO and the U. N. to all people through the principal means of communication.

A second priority in this field should be that of building public understanding and support for a limited number of UNESCO objectives during each biennial program period. To accomplish these priorities, a major revision is needed in the work plans described in the "Use of the Means of Communication" division. There should be more and better reporting about UNESCO missions, conferences, seminars, publications. There should be more coordination with the principal program departments and a recognition that the Department of Mass Communication is in reality an extension of these departments, their public voice. There should be better liaison and servicing of the news outlets in member states.

#### 4. OPPORTUNITIES FOR ACTION BY MEMBER STATES AND NATIONAL COMMISSIONS

The draft program seems to reduce the emphasis on action by member states and national commissions. It seems to increase emphasis on action by the Secretariat. A minimum effort is planned to stimulate further development of national commissions or cooperating bodies. If the Director-General and the Executive Board decide that additional emphasis needs to be placed on action by and through member states and cooperating bodies, much greater effort needs to be planned to bring about this result.

#### 5. SOCIAL SCIENCES

In the field of social sciences not enough account is taken of what is being done by other organizations (such as the U. N. itself or the ILO), particularly in the area of demographic studies and migration. Increased coordination with other organizations in the promotion of community development is urged.

#### 6. STANDARDS FOR PROGRAM OPERATION AND EVALUATION

In the draft program it is difficult to determine the criteria which guide the Secretariat in its program planning. Further, there are no clear standards by which the work of the Organization can be evaluated. This is a problem on which governments must provide assistance to the Director-General and the Secretariat. It is suggested, however, that their needs be considered as the current program proposals are studied by the Executive Board. This Government will be willing to instruct its delegation to give thought to this problem and discuss it in a constructive way at the eighth session of the General Conference.

#### 7. POLICY ON THE BUDGET

The probabilities are that the United States delegation to the eighth session of the UNESCO Conference will be unable to approve a higher assessment budget than UNESCO has had for the 1953-54 period. This is due to: (1) National economy considerations; (2) the fact that from the United States point of view the focus of the present program and the use of present funds is not such as to (a) justify the executive branch in making an exception to its across-the-board expenditure reduction policy, or (b) command congressional support; (3) the continued existence of sizable technical assistance funds which allow of an expanded program. Many other countries will also urge budget stabilization for the time being.

#### 8. THE NEEDS OF LESS DEVELOPED AREAS

Finally, it is the view of this Government that still more of UNESCO's total effort should be directed toward the less developed areas of the world and that these efforts should be concentrated on meeting the most pressing needs as seen by such member states. The conditions under which UNESCO's cooperation is extended should be made clear. Among these, of course, is the willingness of member states to contribute to the project and to profit by application of the results.

The Director-General has before him an opportunity to exercise leadership in planning a program for UNESCO that will earn greater commitments among its members to international cooperation and greater respect for the Organization. It is the belief of this Government that the member nations will respond to such leadership.



Mr. McCULLOUGH. Mr. Chairman, I feel I have no further initial comments to make.

If there are any questions I will endeavor to answer them.

Mr. HAYS. I don't believe I can think of anything. I believe it is pretty well covered.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Carnahan—

Mr. CARNAHAN. I don't believe I have anything, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MERROW. What is the date of the meeting of the National Commission Executive Board?

Mr. McCULLOUGH. April 24 and 25.

Mr. MERROW. How many people are on that?

Mr. McCULLOUGH. Twenty members.

Mr. MERROW. Do they overlap?

Mr. McCULLOUGH. Some are on both committees. Four or five members of the Program Committee are also on the Executive Committee. I will indicate those.

Mr. MERROW. To that committee will be presented the results of the various panels toward which the Executive Board will take action; is that right?

Mr. McCULLOUGH. Yes.

Mr. MERROW. That, in turn, will be presented to a meeting of the National Commission in the fall?

Mr. McCULLOUGH. Yes, sir.

Mr. MERROW. In other words, as soon as this is presented to the Executive Board of the National Commission, then the Program Committee, as such, doesn't function any more?

Mr. McCULLOUGH. Unless the Executive Committee turns to the Program Committee to study new elements that have been introduced into the program as a result of the Board meeting that is now going on in Paris.

Mr. MERROW. And the dates of the National Commission in the fall?

Mr. McCULLOUGH. The dates are tentatively set for September 23, 24, and 25.

Mr. MERROW. And the dates of the Montevideo Conference?

Mr. McCULLOUGH. Those dates are November 12 to December 11, 1954.

Mr. MERROW. I think unless there are further questions, or unless you have further information you would like to give to the committee at this time, that will be all.

Mr. CARNAHAN. I wonder if Mr. McCullough would like to comment on the statement of Mr. Salomon, that the whole effort of UNESCO is spread so thin that it is ineffective and that they are trying to do entirely too much.

Mr. McCULLOUGH. I will be glad to comment on that, Mr. Carnahan. This was the view of the Program Committee to which Mr. Hardy referred, and it certainly is the view of those of us in the Department of State who have been working with UNESCO for some time. There are too many projects. There is not enough energy or enough money focused on any one of them. There are too many small activities undertaken which, while they may be useful in themselves, do not add up to any significant result, in any of the areas with which UNESCO is concerned; that is, in advancing collaboration in education, science, the arts, and so on.

We expressed that point of view quite vigorously in the instruction that was sent to the Paris Embassy.

Mr. CARNAHAN. Are there definite instructions with regard to projects in this report or are you just saying it is spread too thin?

Mr. McCULLOUGH. No; we have made a number of specific suggestions, Mr. Carnahan. I might just pick out one or two of those as a matter of illustration, perhaps.

First, we say it is the United States view that the program as proposed for 1955-56 "attempts too much with the result that there is not only a dispersal of effort, but a failure to focus the funds and energies of the organization on any area of work so as to have a vital impact on problems and needs of people in member states, as those people see their problems and needs."

Second, we said that the last session of the General Conference recognized this—this was the session of the General Conference held in November 1952—and established a working party to make some recommendations as to the future of UNESCO's program.

These recommendations were then circulated to member states in the spring of last year, 1953. Member states commented on them, and as might be expected, the member states, taken all together, advocated a much broader program than any member state believes UNESCO ought to undertake, so that we pointed out in our instruction that regardless of what areas UNESCO might concentrate on, we would support concentration. Of course, the United States does have its own views as to what is of first importance, and did express those views, but we are interested in securing a substantial amount of concentration with the funds that are available.

Now, in specific terms, our suggestions to the Director General included a great concentration on fundamental education and the extension of education, particularly the advancement of priority education. This is a need that is present in almost two-thirds of the world. It is present in most of the countries. It is a need that the governments and the peoples themselves recognize.

For example, Thailand and Burma say that education has priority over everything else in their social programs.

Secondly, we suggested that greater attention be devoted to straightening out some of these problems in mass communications that Mr. Hardy has referred to, and that UNESCO should place a higher priority on interpreting what the organization is doing in various parts of the world so that people will know something about this work and can make a judgment, on the basis of factual information, as to its value to them.

Third, we urge there be a much greater effort made by UNESCO in Paris to establish communication with the national commissions, and in those countries where national commissions do not exist or where they are not effective, we urge that an effort be made through the government and with the voluntary organizations of those countries, to set up national commissions, or some other type of cooperating body to which the International Secretariat can turn for contributions to its program and for help in carrying out the program in those countries.

The summary that I submit to you, Mr. Carnahan, will contain other illustrations.

Mr. CARNAHAN. You commented on the question I was going to ask you about, regarding national commissions. How many of the member states do not have national commissions?

Mr. McCULLOUGH. Very few do not have national commissions or cooperative bodies.

In some places they are called commissions, and some places they are called something else.

The problem is that—well, there are two primary problems, I believe, with regard to the National Commissions performing useful service.

One is that the International Secretariat in Paris does not make clear, after a General Conference has met and adopted the program, as to just what it is they expect of a given national commission in a given country because not all national commissions can contribute to all elements of the program.

For example, there are about one-hundred-odd program resolutions adopted at the General Conference which are addressed to member states.

The resolutions, which are addressed to member states generally, invite them to take certain actions in response to the resolutions. But that isn't enough for a national commission of a member state to act upon. It has to have a specific request geared to its ability to assist, so that this is a problem.

Secondly, a number of member states simply do not have national commissions that are more than paper organizations.

I think that perhaps answers your question. I could go into more detail on that. I don't want to be critical of any member state but this is a problem that isn't likely to be solved unless a great deal of effort is made to show national commissions what they can do, to help them get organized if that is necessary—and that is authorized by the UNESCO constitution—and to help them understand just what it is that they could do that would be most useful to advance either UNESCO's aims generally, or a specific program project.

Mr. CARNAHAN. Would you care to point out some of the member nations who have done unusual work through their national commissions?

Mr. McCULLOUGH. Yes, sir, I would be glad to. One of the newest national commissions, yet one of the most active and vigorous, is in Japan. It has done a very active job in stimulating interest in UNESCO.

As an interesting example, in February of last year, the Secretary of the Japanese National Commission sent us an invitation to participate in an international exhibition of children's art which was to be held in Japan in the fall. He expressed the belief that international understanding would be greatly fostered in the hearts of Japanese children and adults through this activity. He was interested particularly in an exhibit of the artwork of American children which could be used in this exhibition and circulated in Japan.

Through the cooperation of members of the National Commission and an advisory committee in the field of art education, a very good exhibit of children's paintings and drawings was assembled. The United States Information Agency assisted by sending the exhibit to Japan.

In November of last year, I received a letter from the Secretary of the Japanese National Commission in which he gave an enthusiastic report on the success of the exhibition included in the itinerary of the showings and an estimation of the audience which ran into several thousand people.

In appreciation of our cooperation, they sent an exhibition of artwork by Japanese children which will be circulated in the United States through the Exhibition Service of the Smithsonian Institution. The Japanese Commission also made an award for the painting judged the best in the United States exhibit. The award included a medal, a certificate and two books on Japanese art. The child who is to receive the award is a 7-year-old little girl, a pupil in a Greensboro, N. C., school.

I cite this simply as one illustration.

Now, the National Commission in Australia has been very active. It has taken an interest in trying to push for practical, constructive programs that the United States National Commission for UNESCO has been pushing for.

The Scandinavian countries have been particularly active, as has the Commission in Belgium and the Commission in France.

The Commission in Indonesia and the one in Thailand have been reasonably active.

Mr. CARNAHAN. That is all.

Mr. MERROW. How many people do you have on your UNESCO relations staff?

Mr. McCULLOUGH. There are 23 members of that staff, Mr. Chairman. I might just mention as a matter of interest that other countries have staffs that service their national commissions, also. I mentioned Japan. Japan has, according to last reports, 65 members on its staff, servicing its National Commission.

Mr. MERROW. Well, thank you very much, Mr. McCullough. We appreciate your being here.

Mr. McCULLOUGH. I appreciate the opportunity to be with you again, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MERROW. Our next witness is Mr. George Delaney, representing the American Federation of Labor.

#### STATEMENT OF GEORGE DELANEY, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Mr. MERROW. We are glad to have you with us again. I believe you appeared last summer when we were having hearings on the UN and the specialized agencies at that time.

You may proceed as you wish.

Mr. DELANEY. I have a prepared statement which I intend to return to but at the moment I should like to make a few comments on your special study mission. I just received that document but did not have time during the previous speaker's discourse to reflect upon the conclusions shown on page 228 dealing with the International Labor Organization.

In this respect I should like to compliment the study mission for its very clear and forthright findings in respect to the International Labor Organization.

I would at the same time like to point out that your commission or your study mission, itself, did find a shift of emphasis in the ILO from a clearing-house function to the operational field. These conclusions are contrary to the statements of the opponents of the International Labor Organization, many of whom have appeared before your committee.

You mention again in paragraph 2 of your findings, the difficulties in meeting the problem of annual contributions in the International Labor Organization.

In this respect I should like to make a few comments.

First of all, having just returned from the Governing Body Session of the International Labor Organization which has as its function and duties the establishment of the budget for the year 1955, we had a rather heated and lengthy discussion on the proposed budget of the Director General.

The proposed budget amounted to some \$650,000 above the 1954 budget level. As a result of the discussion of the Finance Committee of which I was a member, the Director General revised his original budget and submitted to us a budget approximating \$435,000 increase over and above the 1954 level. Much of this increase of \$435,000 was necessitated as a result of increasing salary increments of employees and provision for travel on home leave.

In spite of this, what we would consider to be, at least from the workers' point of view, a rather reasonable budget in the light of the demand upon the International Labor Organization and the present economic and social problems that exist in the world, the United States Government again found it necessary to vote against the budget. This was a rather untenable position for the leading Nation of the world to find itself in, isolated from all other members of the governing body, governments, workers, and employers.

I hope in the ensuing period between now and June when the budget is considered by the conference, that the United States Government might reconsider its position and support the budget.

I am sure you would recognize the needs and problems of the ILO, with respect to annual contributions.

At the same time I would like to point out that although the United States Government pays 25 percent of the contributions to the ILO's budget, it, nonetheless, is about 14th in terms of the amount it pays per capita in the world, among the member nations. Iceland, Luxembourg, Switzerland, New Zealand, Canada, United Kingdom, Denmark, Belgium, Norway, France, Ireland, all pay more per capita to the budget of the ILO than does the United States.

Now, I would like to make just one other comment with respect to your findings and conclusions, and that deals with the last paragraph where you raise the question of the credentials committee's findings with regard to the seating of a Czech Government official as an employer delegate to the last conference. This issue is not a new one in the ILO, and as long as we have governments who control the economic structure of their countries we are bound to find difficulties in this field.

The employers discussed this issue with the workers at the last conference before raising objections, and we had some very serious discussions. In accordance with the constitution we found—and I was a member of a small subcommittee dealing with this problem—

that it was impossible for us to get the necessary vote to unseat the Czech employer. Governments being very conscious of the political aspects of such an issue would not support such a position, and as a result we felt that the employers would lose their objection and we advised the employers that rather than to risk the chance of losing, that they should withdraw the objections and try to find some other solution to answering the problem. We suggested that a study of this whole problem as it relates to the employer status in a labor government or in a nationalist government or in a satellite nation of Russia, should be studied and then some decision made.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. DELANEY. We have many countries within the ILO, many of whom are dictatorships, whether they be of communism or facism.

We must deal with these countries if they are member nations.

When such governments, with all of its sovereign rights, sends employers or workers in its delegation, we are rather compelled under the constitution of the ILO to accept them, short of an objection sustained by the credentials committee and the conference, itself.

We recognize this as a problem, but internally, in the affairs of the International Labor Organization, it represents no serious threat to the decisions or the policy of the organization in any way, and to me this is the important factor.

Within the workers' group, we have representatives from satellite countries. We have representatives from the Argentine country whom we know not to be free of their government and whose decisions are completely dictated by their government.

Nonetheless, the overwhelming majority of the workers are free and independent representatives of free and independent trade unions, and the representatives of the employers are in a similar position.

So, there is a very small minority who are unduly influenced by their governments.

This represents no serious threat to any policymaking decisions of the International Labor Organization.

If there are other questions in relation to this question, I will be happy to answer them.

If I may now proceed with my statement, I will be happy to answer any questions at a later stage.

Mr. MERROW. Proceed.

Mr. DELANEY. I wish to express my appreciation to the committee for providing me an opportunity to testify again in order to clarify the record in respect to statements submitted to this committee by the National Association of Manufacturers and the chamber of commerce.

It is my intention to deal specifically with allegations made in respect to adoption of conventions by the ILO; the influence of socialism on delegates, advisers, and the staff of the ILO; and the selection of the United States Government delegation to the international labor conferences.

One of the most frequent charges made against the ILO by the National Association of Manufacturers and the chamber of commerce deals with the political makeup of the delegations to the conference and the ILO staff itself. They have alleged that the ILO is dominated by Socialists—referring to both the staff of the secretariat and to the policy-making organs.

There can be no doubt but that there are members of the Socialist Party of one sort or another in attendance at the ILO meetings as delegates or advisers from their countries.

Inasmuch as these parties in many countries claim the allegiance of large portions of the population, and many trade-union movements have a Socialist tradition, this is necessarily the case in any international body which purports to be in any way representative and democratic in its procedures.

Neither the Socialists nor the reactionaries who attend meetings of the ILO dominate the proceedings—for the majority of those having the right to vote are neither. As in the case with any organization which sticks, in the main, to a moderate course, both wings appear about equally critical of the final results.

As for the staff, it would be very remarkable if, in any international secretariat recruited from many countries of the world, there were to be found only individuals who represented United States economic thinking. And it would be a very unsatisfactory arrangement if this were so, for the ILO must deal with peoples and conditions as they are, all over the world.

And neither economic conditions nor the thinking which flows from those conditions follow a pattern of uniformity throughout the world.

Certainly, there are people with a Socialist background on the ILO staff. Even in this country, with all of our probes and loyalty checks, we have not yet reached the point of undertaking to purge from the civil service all persons who ever voted for Norman Thomas or Darlington Hoopes; and even in this country, not everyone would agree with the NAM's definition of what actually constitutes American economic thinking.

American economic thinking is, however, fully and ably represented. In choosing the staff, the Director General is required—as he should be—to select men and women of different nationalities and geographical areas. They are chosen, in most cases, through competitive examinations, not on the basis of their political affiliations. Each staff employee must take an oath of neutrality with respect to official business, and violations are exceptionally rare. If the staff has any blanket characteristics, it would be, I should hope, a common regard for the cause which the organization serves.

Since some foreign trade unions have a longtime Socialist tradition, it is quite natural that some strong Socialists should be present in worker delegations from other countries—just as some violent reactionaries can be found among the employer delegations. Employers have, if anything, less cause to feel personally aggrieved or jeopardized by the character of worker groups than workers have in regard to the fact that the American employer delegation includes individuals who are not above composing wild-eyed anti-ILO propaganda diatribes for publication by such questionable outfits as Merwin K. Hart's National Economic Council, and who have delivered themselves of the most irresponsible distortions of the facts concerning the ILO before very influential groups, including Congress.

This Nation is not engaged in any struggle with Socialist Parties in other countries—whether they be out of power, as most of them are, or in power in their own nation. It is not our privilege or right to tell citizens of other nations whom they should vote for, and the surest way to get the contrary result is to undertake to do so.

We are locked in a death struggle with Communist tyrants, not with Social Democrats. Many avowed Socialists in the labor movement abroad have been among our most effective and active allies in this struggle. They have rendered yeoman's service against communism, down at the levels where it really counts most—in the mines, mills, and docks of the free world.

And the trend in the non-Communist labor movements abroad has been—not toward closer ties to government—but toward a recognition of the absolute necessity of maintaining the independence and integrity of their trade unions, free of domination or control by any government, Socialist, Liberal, Conservative, or what have you.

This was officially recognized by the ILO in a resolution adopted at the 1952 session of the International Labor Conference on the Freedom and Independence of Trade Unions. This has been, I like to believe, in some part the product of the example, the exchange of views and experience, and the moral support which the American labor movement has given them, through the ILO as well as through other avenues.

There are, it is true, differences in philosophy and outlook between American trade unions and those in Europe and other areas. Except for basic minima, we lean more toward the achievement of economic gain through the instrument of free collective bargaining; they favor a more extensive use of the devices of legislation and regulation.

To many new delegates and advisers to ILO conferences from the United States, this fact of long standing comes with all the shock of something new and unfamiliar, leading them often to alarming, sweeping, and unjustified conclusions. American employers, particularly, are prone to develop a barricade complex.

These matters must be viewed in perspective. Attitudes are conditioned by experience, as trees are judged by their fruits. If free enterprise is to take credit for the wealth of one country, it cannot hope to avoid a share of the credit for poverty in another, where it has also had ample opportunity to perform.

The fact must not be overlooked that most of the nations of the world arrived at their present estates following the operation of generations—not of socialism, which is relatively new in history, but of their own particular variants on capitalism—and their experience under it has not been so generally favorable as has ours. We favor free enterprise because it has performed favorably for us, and has, in our richly endowed Nation, produced abundance. What are the people of those nations which have, under their brand of capitalism, known only the extremes of poverty for the many and wealth for the few, to be expected to think about it?

In order to come into its own, free enterprise required the creation of proper conditions through the opening of markets and the enactment of laws, such as those establishing the limited liability of corporations, and guaranteeing the integrity of contracts. Today, these conditions exist in most nations. Free enterprise needs no further special sanction to permit it to bestow its largess upon the underprivileged masses. There are no laws, save in time of emergency, forbidding employers to raise wages, to reduce hours, or to improve conditions.

If, therefore, free enterprise is always the only answer to everybody's social problem, everywhere, every time—as some employers ap-



pear to maintain—why, then, with such abundant opportunity to do so, has it not produced the solution, without coaching from the ILO or from trade unions? The answer is to be found in the principles stated in the charter of the ILO and the Declaration of Philadelphia. Without concerted international action, including, in many areas, legislation where necessary, the forces of international and internal competition—through which the unscrupulous employer drives the goods from the market—will cause market pressures on prices to be passed from the shoulders of the entrepreneur to the backs of the workers.

We must deal with the world as it is, not as we would have it. In many parts of the world today, men are hungry, ill-housed and ill-clad, overworked and underpaid—men who have worked not for the government but for free private employers all their lives. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that many look upon the private employers not as their benefactors, but as their oppressors—and men of spirit do not naturally rely upon the good graces of the oppressor to grant relief from oppression.

To say to peoples such as these, when they ask for relief from poverty, that they must leave it to free enterprise, is to offer them a brand of “pie in the sky” hardly less remote than that which the Socialists have to sell.

If European workers seem to us, perhaps, too much inclined to look to the rule of law for their succor, or to follow narrow restrictive trade-union policies, it must be recognized that they are but following examples and precedents laid down long before by their employers. And American employers who loudly deplore this trend to law and regulation abroad yet vigorously affirm the need for a Taft-Hartley law to limit the scope and freedom of trade unions at home, are guilty of a pious hypocrisy which comes with little grace, persuading none abroad.

The serious, basic question before the ILO is not that of free enterprise or not—but the conditions under which free enterprise can work. Economic freedom has no meaning and no reality to the oppressed and the depressed until their conditions are elevated at least to basic minimum standards.

Nor are workers anywhere truly free unless they have equal and effective freedom, on a par with their employers, to extend or to withhold that which they have to sell—their labor. Free enterprise, in its fullest sense, does not exist unless freedom of corporate action is accompanied by freedom of trade-union action. When and where these conditions pertain in fact as well as theory, free corporate enterprise will be the stronger for it, for it will find acceptance and support among workers as well as management.

Since Mr. Marshall of the NAM, and Mr. Miles of the chamber of commerce, have both been critical of the industrial committees of the ILO, I wish to throw some light on the structure and functions of these committees.

Industrial committees were set up to further the aims of the International Labor Organization as a whole. These aims are laid down in the constitution, which has been accepted by the United States. Many of the original purposes of the ILO, as laid down in 1918, were inspired by Sam Gompers, whose influence in the drafting of the ILO constitution was significant.

The aims of the industrial committees are, broadly :

1. To bring about improvements in their respective industries; and
2. To add to the overall effort of the ILO in favor of social progress and world peace.

There is no need to fear excessive socializing influence. The general aims, such as the improvement of the standard of living, full employment, recognition of the right of collective bargaining, and decent conditions of employment are widely accepted. It is for each member state to consider how far the conclusions reached by the ILO's industrial committees can be applied in their country, and how they are applied will, of course, depend on the customary practices of each country.

Industrial committees are just one of the kind of bodies through which the aims of the ILO, as accepted by all member states, can be furthered.

They have the advantage of—

1. Being able to deal with matters from the point of view of a given industry, bearing the problems of that industry in mind;

2. Enabling matters to be brought directly to the notice of those concerned with particular industries; and

3. Being able to deal with matters which can be applied by agreement between the employers and workers concerned, or even in some cases by the employers on their own, without bringing in the machinery of government, as is necessarily the case when an international labor convention is ratified.

Open discussions through bodies such as the industrial committees are in fact a good way of dissipating grievances which, if not heard out, may work up sentiment and prejudice to the point of direct action.

The conclusions reached by industrial committees are no more than suggestions for the guidance of employers and workers and their organizations, and, where appropriate, governments.

They are not binding.

They do not necessarily involve legislation, and most of them do not suggest any.

They do not interfere with the ordinary process of collective bargaining, and where, as is often the case, both sides had voted for them, it may be hoped that they will influence the outcome.

The guidance thus given to those engaged in determining conditions of employment, by collective bargaining or otherwise, is of particular importance to organizations in economically underdeveloped countries. It is these countries, rather than the highly industrialized, which are likely to be most influenced in the long run by the conclusions of the industrial committees. The United States, the United Kingdom, and the countries of Western Europe for example, tend more to influence the committees than to be influenced by them.

In replying to allegations that ILO conventions may interfere with domestic matters in the country, and that they represent a threat to States rights, I must emphasize that the United States has no obligation whatsoever to ratify any ILO convention. Any action taken by the United States with reference to an ILO convention must be taken freely and voluntarily. There is no compulsion to act.

Second, as to States rights, I would further emphasize that the ILO constitution, itself, has amply provided for full protection of

States rights and fully recognizes our Federal-State relationship. I would refer you to article 19, paragraph 7, of the ILO constitution.

Pursuant to these provisions, where a convention deals to any extent with matters in the jurisdiction of the States, it is not even considered for ratification. Furthermore, it should be noted that it is the United States, and not the ILO, which makes the determination as to whether an ILO convention is a Federal or Federal-State matter.

The American Bar Association adopted a resolution a few years ago in which it stated that—

the participation of the United States in international measures for the promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms should be provided for within a framework similar to that of the ILO.

This resolution was adopted as a result of a report submitted by a committee of which Harold Stassen was one of the chairmen. This joint report stated that—

if the subject of human rights and freedoms of the world under the United Nations Charter is to be pressed in the current state of conflicting and confused ideologies, the best approach would be by way of the procedure followed by the ILO, rather than by way of legally binding multipartite treaties. The ILO proceeds in an advisory way, formulating standards which are imbued in recommendations for legislative action by the members of the organizations, or in conventions for ratifications in the usual course, except as specifically provided with respect to Federal States, which, where an International Labor Organization convention is wholly or partly within the sphere of State action, have the duty to make effective arrangements for reference of the convention to the proper Federal or State authorities. \* \* \*

Conventions which may be freely ratified by the United States do not ultimately become domestic law in the United States. This can best be illustrated by the fact that the United States Senate, in the summer of 1952, gave its advice and consent to the ratification of three maritime conventions—Nos. 68, 69, and 73. These conventions have not been ratified by the President because the necessary domestic legislation to comply with their provisions has not been enacted. The ratification of these conventions would not, of itself, put the provisions of the conventions into effect domestically. These conventions, therefore, will not be ratified unless the necessary domestic legislation is enacted by the Congress of the United States.

Let me say I am sure that the members of this committee know the structure is made up of one employer delegate and one worker delegate from each state government.

It has been frequently charged that our Government's two delegates have been representative primarily of American labor. Since I have been associated with the work of the ILO, the Government delegates from the United States have been composed of one representative of the Department of Labor and a Member of the United States Senate or House of Representatives.

What is more important, the instructions to the Government delegates are formulated as a result of consultations between interdepartmental committees representing State, Labor, Commerce, Agriculture, Interior, and on some occasions Justice or other agencies which may have a pertinent interest in a particular item under consideration by the Conference of the ILO. It seems to me, therefore, that the United States Government delegates have in every sense represented the

American public rather than any particular segment of American society. The following is a list of the United States Government delegates for the last 9 ILO Conferences:

28th Conference, 1946, Henry Jackson and Schwelienbach  
29th Conference, 1946, Elbert Thomas and David Morse  
30th Conference, 1947, Elbert Thomas and David Morse  
31st Conference, 1948, Elbert Thomas and David Morse  
32nd Conference, 1949, O'Connor and Kaiser  
33d Conference, 1950, O'Connor and Kaiser  
34th Conference, 1951, Murray and Kaiser  
35th Conference, 1952, Murray and Kaiser  
36th Conference, 1953, Ives and Kaiser

Certainly no one would say that the distinguished representatives of the United States Government listed above could possibly represent other than the true American public's point of view.

In conclusion, I wish to express my appreciation for the attention you have given to my statement, and emphasize in the strongest possible terms that the American Federation of Labor completely endorses and supports the programs and objectives of the ILO and recognizes it as an organization which has and will continue to contribute to lasting peace, and further recognizes the ILO's usefulness in combating the spread of communism and totalitarianism throughout the world.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Delaney, you have emphasized that whatever action is taken by the International Labor Organization has to be adopted by the individual country if it is to become effective.

Mr. DELANEY. That is right.

Mr. MERROW. And it has no force.

Mr. DELANEY. No force whatsoever unless the country itself so desires. It is a matter completely within the competency of the member nation itself, to either ratify or not ratify as it so desires.

Mr. MERROW. That is true of each of the specialized agencies.

Mr. DELANEY. I would not venture to state whether that was true of all international specialized agencies, but in any event, none of the specialized agencies deal with conventions to the extent that the ILO does.

Mr. MERROW. Yes, your organization is different.

Mr. DELANEY. When you speak of my organization, it is not my organization. I am a representative of the governing body by election from the workers group but I am the international representative of the American Federation of Labor, and of course in that respect I am here testifying.

Mr. MERROW. And the International Labor Organization has been functioning over many years and you agree, of course, that it has made a great contribution to the alleviation of poverty?

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Chairman, unfortunately the United States Government has not recognized the true value of the ILO, in the very area in which a great measure of its own foreign policy is directed.

I think it has neglected to utilize the International Labor Organization as a means of implementing that part of its foreign policy program that deals with the improvement of economic and social conditions to the extent that it might.

I am firmly convinced that the United States Government's participation in the work of the International Labor Organization would be greatly strengthened if it had a national public commission with the

responsibility of advising the United States Government in respect of its participation in the International Labor Organization.

Mr. MERROW. Something similar to the UNESCO National Commission.

Mr. DELANEY. Well, I think it should have some advisory functions to the Department of State and the Department of Labor who have responsibility in the area.

Mr. CARNAHAN. What type of organization do we have at the present time?

Mr. DELANEY. We have nothing comparable. We have a small public committee which has not functioned to my knowledge since I have been with the International Labor Organization. It is a purely voluntary committee made up of some people who had interested themselves in the ILO.

Mr. CARNAHAN. Our representation, then, is solely in the hands of the two representatives from the United States?

Mr. DELANEY. The United States Government and the worker and employer, which, of course, makes four representatives.

Mr. MERROW. Well, that point is very interesting. Has there been any concrete suggestion as to how such an agency should be set up?

Mr. DELANEY. I have made such recommendations to the Secretary of Labor.

Mr. MERROW. Do other countries have such an organization as you refer to—an agency of the type that you envision?

Mr. DELANEY. I know of none; no sir. I drew my conclusions by the extent that the National Public Commission for UNESCO is able to influence the position of the United States Government, which Mr. Hardy has clearly indicated in his testimony here today.

Mr. MERROW. You, I take it, would certainly recommend that attention be given to the creation of such an agency?

Mr. DELANEY. By all means.

Mr. MERROW. I have said sometimes in statements that the specialized agencies of United Nations—the large ones such as UNESCO, fighting illiteracy; WHO, disease; FAO, hunger; ILO, fighting poverty—are making great contributions in helping mankind. Is that correct, in your opinion?

Mr. DELANEY. That is certainly correct.

Mr. MERROW. As you were commenting on the conclusions we made, "Since the end of the war there has been a shift in emphasis in ILO from the clearinghouse function to an operational field."

I was not quite clear what you meant in reference to that.

Mr. DELANEY. Included in Mr. Marshall's statement and Mr. Miles' statement, or any writings or publications of trade associations expressing employer views on the ILO, they have consistently raised this question of the need of moving away from studies and the adoption of conventions, into operational activities.

Now, from the United States worker's point of view that is highly desirable because very few conventions are adaptable to the high existing standards in the United States.

On the other hand, we have to face the world as it is, and to destroy our influence in the ILO, merely to reflect that attitude, is, I think, a very serious mistake.

Mr. MERROW. Do you agree—

Mr. DELANEY. If I may just continue, I think as a result of United States influence within the ILO, since 1946 or 1947, the International Labor Organization has increased its operational activities tremendously, and I am completely in accord with that action.

Mr. MERROW. That was the question I was going to ask, and I am very glad you answered it.

Mr. DELANEY. From my point of view, it is a healthy and constructive change.

Mr. CARNAHAN. Does its relationship with the U. N., as one of the specialized agencies, have any particular influence on the effectiveness of the work of the ILO?

Mr. DELANEY. Well, I think that there is a spirit of genuine cooperation between the International Labor Organization and the United Nations, with high regard being paid to the area of competency in which the ILO had already established itself.

The work of the ILO within the United Nations expanded technical assistance program certainly stimulated the activities of the ILO and provided the means for carrying out the work which it had long been doing, but on a sort of bilateral basis, and with the limited funds that it had, it has certainly greatly increased activities.

Here the ILO is faced with a very serious problem because of the cutback in funds of the expanded technical assistance program and it is raising considerable havoc with experts that the ILO already has in the field undertaking valuable technical assistance work.

Mr. CARNAHAN. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DELANEY. If I may make just one comment: I certainly do not want to make your committee a debating society between United States employers and myself, but I must say in all fairness and honesty that the points that I have made in response to Mr. Marshall's and Mr. Miles' statements which they have placed in the record, or filed in the record, rather than presenting themselves for questions, are certainly not factual.

I could not in the interest of my organization fail to respond to what I consider to be misstatements, at least, on their part.

I respect the good work that your committee has done. It provides an opportunity for us to tell Members of Congress the constructive work that the ILO is doing, and we hope that the committee continues to function.

Mr. MERROW. Just one thing more.

The suggestion you made interests me very much, about some kind of a body to perform similar functions in relation to the International Labor Organization that the National Commission of UNESCO performs in respect to UNESCO.

Do you have any other suggestions with reference to improvement in the organization, and also, would you care to elaborate any more or perhaps at some later time, on just how such an agency would be set up?

Mr. DELANEY. As I say, there have been discussions in the Department of Labor on this problem.

I am sure the State Department is well aware of my own views on this matter. I think, however, beyond merely the establishment of the National Commission, there are many areas in which the United States could extend its influence in the work of the International Labor Organization.

First, of course, is to support the budget that is coming up in June. I would certainly feel rather embarrassed if the United States Government were the only member of 66 nations and 66 national employers and 66 national workers' organizations represented, if they were the only ones voting negative on the budget, especially when it represents a rather small sum.

I mean actually the costs run about \$58,000 more than the present United States position with respect to the budget and \$58,000 when we know about the billions being spent in this sphere, seems to be pennywise and pound foolish.

One other area where I think this subcommittee might have great influence, would be to use its good office to convince the Department of State that the problems within the International Labor Organization are of such a serious nature that top level consideration should be given to our efforts within the ILO.

I think some top-flight official in the State Department ought to deal with these problems.

I think that some Assistant Secretary of State, or Under Secretary of State, should be made acquainted with the usefulness that this organization can be to the United States Government in the implementation of its foreign policy.

Mr. CARNAHAN. How many nations are members?

Mr. DELANEY. Sixty-six member states. I think there are 5 or 6 satellite nations. Russia made application, and made certain reservations and the application was turned down by the officers of the governing body and the Director General.

I, myself, feel that they will shortly make application, which is pure conjecture, but I think they might very well make application without reservations in the near future, and under the constitution, of course, there is nothing to prevent them from being seated.

Mr. MERROW. Thank you very much, Mr. Delaney.

Mr. DELANEY. Thank you, I appreciate it.

Mr. MERROW. The subcommittee is adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 4:20 o'clock p. m., the subcommittee adjourned, to reconvene at the call of the chairman.)





# INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 31, 1954

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS, SUBCOMMITTEE ON  
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS,  
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 2:45 p. m., in room G-3, United States Capitol, Hon. Chester E. Merrow (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. MERROW. The committee will be in order.

This is a continuation of the public hearings on the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

Some time ago, a representative of the DAR, Mrs. Faye Edgar, appeared before the committee and at that time was asked to submit documentary evidence in proof of the oft-used statement that UNESCO is an organization for world government. The following information has been submitted for inclusion in the record by Mrs. J. C. Lucas, executive secretary of the national defense committee, Daughters of the American Revolution.

Without objection, the statement will be included in the record.  
(The information referred to is as follows:)

INFORMATION SUBMITTED BY MRS. J. C. LUCAS, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, NATIONAL  
DEFENSE COMMITTEE, DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Documented proof that the aim of UNESCO through teaching world citizenship is to develop world government. The following was requested by several members of the subcommittee investigating the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

## UNESCO

In December 1947, according to the State Department publication No. 3378, dated March 1949, titled "The Kansas Story on UNESCO," Dr. Milton Eisenhower, former Chairman of the United States National Commission for UNESCO, is quoted on page 23 as having said, "one can truly understand UNESCO only if one views it in its historical context [and] viewed in this way it reveals itself as one more step in our halting, painful, but I think very real progress toward a genuine *world government*." On page 24 is this statement, "He [Dr. Eisenhower] described the United Nations, with its specialized agencies, as the latest attempt to create *world government* \* \* \*" [Emphasis added.]

Dr. Quincy Wright, professor of international law at the University of Chicago and a sponsor of the World Citizenship Movement is quoted in the June 1948, *The World Citizen*, vol. 8, No. 2, as having said that "the world would be united before another generation was passed \* \* \* This was the task of organizations like the W. C. M. (World Citizenship Movement), UNESCO and other *world government organizations*." [Emphasis added.] The Constitution of the World Citizenship Movement states, "Article I. The purpose of the World Citizenship Movement is to make people aware of the fact that they are world citizens, to enable them to function as world citizens, and to work for the creation of representative world government of the people of the world, by the people of the world, and for the people of the world."

Who would presume to disagree with the statements of such eminent authorities who certainly know the aim of UNESCO?

#### UNESCO PUBLICATIONS

As Mr. Soloman stated in his report there are "millions of pages" of UNESCO publications but we shall bring to your attention particularly the series *Toward World Understanding* which is recommended for use by teachers in American schools.

Volume I, *Some Suggestions on Teaching About the United Nations and Its Specialized Agencies*.

Page 6, "One of the chief aims of education everywhere is to develop those qualities of citizenship which provide the foundation upon which international government must be based if it is to succeed." Could international government have any other meaning except "world government"?

On page 24, literature is recommended for study by the "local branch of the UN association." These branches are subsidiaries of the American Association for the United Nations whose director, Clark Eichelberger, testified before the subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations, February 1950, *Revision of the United Nations Charter*, that the United Nations Assembly " \* \* \* will come to have legislative and executive authority," (page 69) through "strengthening" the United Nations. This would supplant the authority of our duly elected Senators and Representatives and destroy the Constitution of the United States. Americans do not want world government. Formerly 23 States had adopted resolutions for world government but as the following chart shows, 21 have rescinded these resolutions and recently during a special session the House of the State of Utah rescinded that State's resolution but the Senate did not have time to act. Under any form of world government the 165 million people of the United States would be a hopeless, helpless minority in voting for representatives to a world governing body against the 800 million now voting under international Communist dictation. Americans prefer that our laws be made by you, our elected representatives, not by an international organization.

On page 350 of the above hearings, Mr. Eichelberger whose literature is recommended by UNESCO testified for Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 72 introduced by Senator Homer Ferguson and which would submit all international legal disputes to the International Court of Justice which would have "compulsory jurisdiction." This could destroy some of the authority of the United States Supreme Court. This Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 72 further states that "Also, we should seriously consider the various proposals for permitting the United Nations to have its own sources of revenues." Aren't the American people taxed enough? Since we have the highest salaries and most world government plans specify that world citizens should be "taxed according to ability to pay," Americans would be burdened over and above their present taxes. This is certainly world government, not taxation by representation as known in the United States.

Book V. *In the Classroom With Children Under 13 Years of Age: "World-mindedness" and "world citizenship"* are the principal themes of this entire volume. If a parent disapproves of having his child taught world citizenship this statement is on page 55, "How can parents be persuaded to adopt an attitude so different from that of the great majority of adults?" Here they brazenly admit that the "great majority of adults," do not approve so they advise, "If the teacher can persuade the parent that the child's interest is at stake, the odds will be greatly in the teacher's favor." Thus if a parent who pays the taxes for the teacher's salary objects to the teaching of world citizenship, he will be told that "the child's interest is at stake."

On page 16 "another worthy task of UNESCO" is stated as "revision" of textbooks with the "world education" point of view.

Book VII. *Geography Teaching for International Understanding*: Pages 1, 2 and 3 tell how social studies have come to the aid of education by replacing "geography" thus developing " \* \* \* psychological principles for the development of a world outlook in children \* \* \*". On page 8 the experts say that education is to "create an attitude." Most parents send their children to school to learn to use their own minds not to have "an attitude" created.

The Unesco Newsletter advertises UNUMS which can be redeemed with five American dollars. How did this United Nations specialized agency, UNESCO, obtain permission to print "gift coupons" which are in fact American money to be presented to whomever they or the donors designate? We should like to know the legal basis for such action. If an international organization can thus exchange their UNUMS for American dollars, we must be in a world government today.

Mr. MERROW. In this statement, and in another statement before the committee, reference was made to a speech delivered by Dr. Milton Eisenhower in which he used the term "world government." In view of this, the Chair felt it necessary to ask Dr. Eisenhower for an explanation of the statement. A letter was written to Dr. Eisenhower, and the letter that was written in reply is here.

I will ask our staff consultant to read the letter sent to Dr. Eisenhower, and Dr. Eisenhower's reply.

Mr. KAPLAN. The letter to Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower, president of Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa., was dated March 25, 1954, and reads as follows:

DEAR DR. EISENHOWERS The Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements of the House Foreign Affairs Committee has been holding public hearings on the specialized agencies of the United Nations.

During these hearings, most of the criticism of the specialized agencies has been leveled against UNESCO. Allegations have been made that the aim of UNESCO, through teaching world citizenship, is to develop world government. In the allegations made along this line by the Daughters of the American Revolution and the National Sojourners, statements attributed to you are cited in support of their claim that the concept of UNESCO is that of world government. The Daughters of the American Revolution submitted, as part of its documented proof in this regard, the following:

"In December 1947, according to the State Department Publication, No. 3378, dated March 1949, titled 'The Kansas Story on UNESCO,' Dr. Milton Eisenhower, former Chairman of the United States National Commission for UNESCO, is quoted on page 23 as having said, 'One can truly understand UNESCO only if one views it in its historical context [and] viewed in this way it reveals itself as one more step in our halting, painful, but I think very real progress toward a genuine world government.' On page 24 is this statement, 'He [Dr. Eisenhower] described the United Nations, with its specialized agencies, as the latest attempt to create world government \* \* \*'"

The State Department publication referred to above was also cited by the National Sojourners in support of its allegation.

Since it is the desire of the subcommittee to obtain all the factual evidence that it can relating to the specialized agencies, and particularly to UNESCO, any statement or comments on the above you may wish to make for the public record would be very helpful in clarifying this matter.

Sincerely yours,

CHESTER E. MERROW,  
*Chairman, Subcommittee on International  
Organizations and Movements.*

Dr. Eisenhower's reply, addressed to the chairman of the subcommittee, dated March 29, 1954, is as follows:

I am grateful to you for giving me an opportunity to state the facts with respect to the allegations (a) that I have advocated a formal world government, and (b) that this, in turn, provides proof that one purpose of UNESCO is to foster the establishment of world government.

Let me say at once that I have never belonged to the United World Federalists, have not in the past favored the development of a world government in the sense that the term is now commonly used, and do not today favor world government in that sense.

In a talk at Wichita, Kans., in 1947, I reviewed, in philosophic terms, the efforts of mankind throughout the ages to gain peace, showing that there had been many efforts to establish world government. (The phrase "world government" was used essentially as a synonym for "world order under law" in contrast to "world disorder" or "violence.") Thus, I showed that Genghis Khan, Alexander the Great, Tamerlane, Napoleon, Hitler, Stalin, and others had attempted to establish world government or order by imposing their wills upon other peoples. I went on to show why these attempts failed. I also indicated that others had advocated the establishment of world order under law in the complete absence of physical power or coercion.

The purpose of this historical review was to support my contention that a cooperative world peace, which the free nations seek to establish—in contrast to an imposed peace by totalitarian powers—requires us to move forward on four fronts, simultaneously. We must develop genuine understanding among peoples, foster economic cooperation, support political cooperation to settle disputes which otherwise might break into overt hostilities, and promote the use of power by the kindly peoples of the world to put down aggression by those who would violate the peace (as in Korea).

Shortly after I made this talk, the phrase "world government" began to take on a specialized legal meaning: The United World Federalists made it mean a world agency with constitutionally defined powers, with the peoples of the world being citizens of that government, and with the world government having lawmaking and even taxing authority.

I have never favored world government in this sense. I have only favored the United Nations. I therefore stopped using the phrase for it had lost the philosophic connotation which I gave it.

I was, as you know, intimately associated with UNESCO in its early years. For 3 years I was Chairman of the United States National Commission for UNESCO and was a delegate of the United States to 4 international UNESCO conferences. I can say definitely that in that period UNESCO did not consider itself as having a mission to promote world government. Indeed, it did not have a mission to promote anything except genuine understanding among peoples of the world as a basic foundation for the preservation of peace.

I feel confident that this same attitude has been maintained, though I have not been associated with UNESCO for the past 3 or more years.

I can understand how the DAR and other organizations might misunderstand the phrase which was lifted from the context of my speech in 1947. It is too bad that such should happen.

Incidentally, I suspect that a misunderstanding of my 1947 statement has been fortified by something I have consistently advocated, namely, a strengthening of those provisions of the UN charter which permit the use of force, under UN auspices, in fighting aggression. I have felt and still feel that any such physical action as that in Korea should be equitably shared among the nations, rather than having too great a portion of the burden carried by one.

I trust that these comments will help clear up any misunderstanding that may now exist on this matter.

Your sincerely,

MILTON S. EISENHOWER.

Mr. MERROW. At a previous hearing, Mr. Irving Salomon, who was chairman of a committee that was sent by the President last summer to make a study and report on UNESCO, appeared and discussed UNESCO at some length. The Salomon report that was published last year has been widespread. It is a very good report and in an effort to have all the facts in connection with UNESCO on the record, if there is no objection, we will include the Salomon report in the hearings.

Mrs. BOLTON. I so move, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MERROW. Without objection, the Salomon report will be included.

(The report referred to is as follows:)

AN APPRAISAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC  
AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

(By the Delegation<sup>1</sup> of the United States of America to the Second Extraordinary  
Session of the General Conference of UNESCO, July 1-4, 1953)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
THE SECRETARY OF STATE,  
Washington, September 15, 1953.

*To the Fourth National Conference of the United States National Commission  
for UNESCO:*

I wish that I could be at your meetings because the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO, and its Fourth National Conference—both examples of the high degree of citizen responsibility in a free republic—are working for peace and advancement.

The Department of State appreciates the contribution being made by the officers, members, "alumni", and organizations of the National Commission in improving our understanding of and participation in world affairs.

You and your Government have supported the principles of UNESCO and constantly work to strengthen and improve the UNESCO program. With this in mind, the President asked his Delegates to the recent Special Session of the UNESCO General Conference to explore and consult in Paris with the representatives of other Governments, the individual members of UNESCO's Executive Board, and the international Secretariat.

I want to share with you—as an example of our continuous study in international collaboration—the conclusions transmitted in July by this distinguished delegation—Irving Salomon of California, chairman; Mrs. Elizabeth Heffelfinger of Minnesota, and President John A. Perkins of the University of Delaware. The Delegation reported that:

1. The top officers in the Secretariat, both Americans and non-Americans, who are responsible for administration and program execution, are doing so with fidelity to UNESCO's aims and purposes.

2. The influences which predominate in the Organization derive from a full regard for the Human Rights and fundamental freedoms affirmed in the Charter of the United Nations.

3. UNESCO does not advocate world government, or world citizenship in the political sense. The U. S. delegation found no official expression of the General Conference, The Executive Board, the Director General, or the Secretariat that gives the slightest support to this charge. They found no fear on this point among the representatives of other governments who, on the contrary find it difficult to comprehend the American fear on this matter.

4. The delegation reported that UNESCO does not attempt, directly or indirectly, to undermine national loyalties or to encourage the substitution of loyalty to and love for a supranational authority for loyalty to and love for one's own country, as has been alleged in some quarters.

5. The delegates reaffirmed that the official bodies and the personnel of UNESCO observe the provision of the UNESCO Constitution which prohibits UNESCO from interfering in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of Member States. UNESCO does not attempt to interfere in the American school system.

6. The delegation could find no evidence of atheism or anti-religious bias in any of UNESCO's work. I am happy to report to you these observations of the delegation.

The people of the United States do gain or can gain many valuable benefits from their participation in UNESCO. The advancement by UNESCO of human welfare through education, science and culture promotes international understanding which contributes to peace.

JOHN FOSTER DULLES.

<sup>1</sup> Irving Salomon (Chairman), John Perkins, and Elizabeth Heffelfinger.

DELEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE SECOND EXTRAORDINARY  
SESSION OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE OF UNESCO, PARIS

AUGUST 31, 1953.

The SECRETARY OF STATE,  
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Supplementing my letter of July 8 in which I took the liberty of acquainting you briefly with the findings of my delegation to the UNESCO Conference, I take pleasure in attaching hereto a more detailed report.

Our delegation to the Conference of UNESCO remained a few days afterwards in Paris, spending some time with the Secretariat at UNESCO Headquarters, because we felt that Members of Congress, other officials of the Government, and the public in general, should be reliably informed concerning UNESCO. Hence, I am taking the liberty of suggesting that the Department of State circulate this report to whatever extent seems feasible.

Although this appraisal gives UNESCO a rather clean bill of health in answering the criticisms leveled against it, may I assure you that our delegation was completely objective and not biased in any direction. Had the facts been otherwise, we would have discussed them with equal frankness.

Our findings being what they are, however, we hope that they will contribute toward dispelling, or at least reducing, many unfortunate and unrealistic misconceptions. We hope too, that the facts herein will clear the way for renewed and constructive support in the United States for UNESCO's aims and program.

Sincerely,

IRVING SALOMON, *Chairman.*

## AN APPRAISAL OF UNESCO

### *Preface*

This general appraisal of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization has been prepared on the occasion of the Second Extraordinary Session of the General Conference of UNESCO, which took place in Paris, July 1 to 4, 1953. The United States delegation felt that its presence at the Conference provided an opportunity while at headquarters of UNESCO to study various aspects of the Organization, and it remained after the Conference for this purpose.

This report has been prepared by Irving Salomon of California, chairman of the U. S. delegation, with the assistance and approval of Mrs. Elizabeth Heffelfinger of Minnesota and John Perkins of Delaware, who were the other two United States delegates. Some of the information herein was gathered at the request of the delegates and submitted to them for further evaluation by Walter Laves, Max McCullough, Charles Thomson, Miss Carol Laise, and Robert Smith, who served as advisers to the delegation.

Although this report attempts to furnish some general knowledge about UNESCO, it is particularly directed in channels that should provide answers to the criticisms and accusations against UNESCO that have arisen in the United States. In order to determine the validity of such criticisms and to report factually on the findings, discussions were held with members of delegations representing other nations, with members of the American Embassy in Paris, with members of the Executive Board of UNESCO, and with members of the Secretariat.

In order to present the material herein in the most comprehensive and useful manner. It is divided as follows:

- I. Background and Organization of UNESCO.
- II. Criticisms and Their Validity.
- III. Program and Major Activities.
- IV. Benefits That Accrue to the United States From UNESCO.
- V. Major Weaknesses of UNESCO.
- VI. Some Opinions of UNESCO From Other Countries.

It is hoped by the three delegates that this report will be made available to members of Congress and will also receive some circulation to the American public, particularly to the uninformed as well as to the friends and critics of UNESCO.

## I. BACKGROUND AND ORGANIZATION OF UNESCO

The purpose of UNESCO is to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science, and culture. Its constitution seeks to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law, and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed by the charter of the United Nations. It is an intergovernmental Organization created in 1945, at present having a membership of approximately 65 independent states. It is one of the specialized agencies in the United Nations system.

Most of the member countries of UNESCO are also members of the United Nations. It should be noted that the Soviet Union never joined UNESCO. It is equally significant that only three countries which are considered as satellites of Soviet Russia have been members, and they have resigned from UNESCO, charging that the Organization had come under the domination of the United States. These three countries are Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. All other types of governments are represented, all forms of capitalistic and all shades of socialistic. Franco Spain participates as does Yugoslavia, which, although Marxian, rejects the aggressive communism of the U. S. S. R.

Any organization contributing to peace and security through education, science, and culture and composed of so many nations with differing cultures, languages, values, and histories understandably carries out an extremely broad and varied program. Thus UNESCO differs from the other U. N. specialized agencies in that its program is more of an omnibus—a carry-all filled with a wide and diffused range of activities. Hence it cannot be quite the cohesive functioning unit that generally characterizes the other U. N. specialized agencies. However, there are evidences of progress in this direction, owing to the reduction of the program and the tendency toward specifically increasing assistance to the underdeveloped countries.

The program and policies of UNESCO are voted in a General Conference, meeting biennially, to which each government sends delegates. Thus the formulation of program and policies is the direct responsibility of the member states. Although the United States Government has at times differed with other governments regarding the usefulness of some parts of the program, there is no indication that the United States has ever found it necessary to oppose any resolutions on the grounds of their being in conflict with the U. S. national interest.

The Secretariat is under the supervision of a Director General, chosen by the General Conference, and of an Executive Board of 20 members, also elected by the General Conference. The new Director General is an American, Luther Evans, former Librarian of Congress. He possesses a thorough knowledge of all the facets of UNESCO, based on his years of experience as a U. S. delegate or a member of the Executive Board or chairman of the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO. Moreover he enjoys a reputation as both a scholar and an able administrator. The Secretariat and other employees number about 900 persons, who are of many nationalities.

## II. CRITICISMS AND THEIR VALIDITY

## CRITICISMS OF UNESCO IN THE UNITED STATES

During the past 2 years a number of criticisms of UNESCO have been heard in the United States. These include the following criticisms against UNESCO, which this delegation has attempted to investigate:

(a) That UNESCO is under Communist control or is influenced by Communists in directions that are inconsistent with the interests of the United States;

(b) That UNESCO advocates a political world government and seeks to prepare the citizens of the member states to accept such a political world government;

(c) That UNESCO seeks to undermine the loyalty of Americans toward their own Government and toward their own flag and to substitute for that loyalty one favoring a political world government;

(d) That UNESCO seeks to indoctrinate American schoolchildren with ideas and philosophies that are contrary to American ideals and traditions

and that UNESCO seeks to do this through influencing teachers and placing materials such as textbooks in the classrooms of America;

(e) That UNESCO is atheistic or antireligious;

(f) That the United States contributes 33 $\frac{1}{3}$  percent of UNESCO's budget and receives little if anything of value in return for what it contributes;

(g) UNESCO has failed to fulfill the expectations of those who brought it into being.

*(a) The Allegation That UNESCO Is Under Communist Control or Influence*

It has been charged against UNESCO that it is under Communist control or is influenced by Communists in directions counter to the interests of the United States. The answer to this follows under three headings: American personnel, non-American personnel, and UNESCO publications, program, and policy.

1. *American Personnel.* As it has been alleged that many Americans on the UNESCO staff were not loyal to the U. S., the delegation first considered American personnel employed by UNESCO. As of the date of this report, there are approximately 90 Americans on the staff. The President of the United States has issued an Executive order to establish procedures under which the Government of the United States can make available to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Director General of the specialized agencies, including UNESCO, information bearing on the loyalty of American citizens who are employed by these organizations. Under the terms of the Executive order, American employees of international organizations are required to complete personnel forms supplied by the United States Government.

Prior to the opening of the Second Extraordinary Session of the UNESCO General Conference in Paris, July 1-4, the Executive Board of UNESCO had endorsed an interpretation of UNESCO's staff regulations made by the Acting Director General, regarding personnel policy. The Board considered that the staff regulations, as interpreted until now, did not allow him to terminate the contract of a staff member on the grounds that the staff member may be considered to be likely to engage in subversive activities against any member state of UNESCO. As a result of action by the General Conference, it is the view of the U. S. delegation that this restriction on the Director General's power to dismiss an employee has been lifted. The resolution, presented after the deliberation of a small committee consisting of the United States and six other countries, recommended that UNESCO's personnel policy be brought into accord with the personnel policy of the United Nations. It was adopted unanimously, although many of the delegations had expressed concern lest the Director General take any action which would conflict with the basic rights of staff members.

The General Conference also took action to insure that UNESCO continues to transmit the necessary questionnaire required under the Executive order procedures (see above) to American citizens being considered for employment by UNESCO. Hence UNESCO has agreed to cooperate with the Government of the United States for the purposes of receiving the comments of the U. S. Government on persons presently employed by UNESCO or under consideration for future employment. Of the Americans now on the Secretariat, all except three have completed the forms and have returned them to the United States Government. One of these three has since been subpoenaed by a Federal grand jury, investigating subversive activities of American employees of the United Nations system. This individual refused to answer the subpoena and has been suspended by UNESCO pending an investigation. Until the appropriate U. S. authority furnishes the Director General of UNESCO with information, no action can be taken with respect to the other two individuals who refused to complete the forms. The three persons, none of whom control the policy of UNESCO, have been engaged in the following tasks in the Secretariat:

The editor of UNESCO *Features*, a biweekly review of educational, scientific, and cultural activities in UNESCO member states. (Several issues of this publication were checked, and nothing was found therein with any subversive tinge.)

A program specialist in the Voluntary International Assistance Division of the Mass Communications Department, who helped to collect the necessary information and develop projects through the UNESCO Gift Coupon Scheme. (This is the individual who was suspended.)

A stenographer in the Voluntary International Assistance Division.

2. *Non-American Personnel.* The delegation also endeavored to secure information about possible political influence exercised by non-American members of the Secretariat.



Naturally it was not possible to obtain complete and dependable information in respect to political affiliations, but on the basis of conversations with sources that satisfied the delegation, its members agreed that none of the 23 persons of varied nationalities who comprise all the directors and deputy directors of the program departments and the heads of the bureaus and services can be considered to be Communist-inspired in their actions. Moreover political influences do not seem to have any noticeable place in guiding the policies of work of UNESCO. Neither Communist nor any other extremist political influence is discernible in the policies, program, or activities of the Secretariat. While the delegation is not in a position to state whether there are Communists among the non-American personnel in the lower echelons of the Secretariat, it was apprised of the following facts:

All member states are asked to comment prior to the appointment of their nationals to professional posts on the Secretariat. They are not consulted on appointments of the stenographic and clerical level.

No member state, other than the United States, has submitted evidence of subversive Communist activities of any of its nationals employed by UNESCO.

With the proffered resignation now of Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, no Iron Curtain country is a member of UNESCO, and hence there is no obligation to employ any Communist from these countries. The only persons on the Secretariat from these countries are stateless refugees. There is one Soviet citizen on the Secretariat who claims she has not been back since before the World War, but she will be leaving at the end of 1953. There is at present no employee of Yugoslav nationality, but as this country is a member state of UNESCO, citizens therefrom can be employed.

**Competence of Secretariat.** It is not within the purview of this report, nor would it be possible in the time allotted, to evaluate the competence of the personnel. However, the general impressions of the delegation might be recorded. They had the opportunity to meet with most of the aforesaid 23 directors, as well as most of the 24 division heads in the UNESCO Secretariat during the Conference and in the days that followed.

On the basis of discussions with these persons and with other observers of UNESCO, the delegation felt that the general level of competence of the Secretariat is satisfactory, especially considering the difficulties of recruiting from so many different nations and cultures. It can be said that a general level of competence in the director category appears to be high (with one or two rather important exceptions). The same can be said of the division heads, at least six of whom have held the rank of university professors. It should be noted, somewhat apprehensively, that up to now at least the staff seems to have a more dominant position than in most other international organizations, at times endeavoring to influence decisions in personnel matters that are the proper concern of the Director General and the Executive Board. On the other side of the coin they have an unusual enthusiasm, and they are characterized by an ardor and dedication to the aims and principles of their Organization that is not common among bureaucracies. It is suggested that Americans sojourning in Paris might visit UNESCO House so that they can meet some of the personnel and learn about their individual functioning.

**3. UNESCO Publications, Program, and Policy.** The criticisms of UNESCO's publications were in other directions than on communism. As a discussion of publications will appear under the heading of "world government," suffice to say in answer to allegations of communism in UNESCO that in the publications this delegation examined, and from information from those who have read a large number of such publications, there is no evidence or record of communistic or other political propaganda in UNESCO's literature. The same applies to program and policy as far as communistic leanings are concerned.

*(b and c) The Allegations That UNESCO Advocates a Political World Government and That UNESCO Seeks To Undermine the Loyalty of Americans*

The facts already referred to, namely that UNESCO's policies and programs are voted by member governments, including the United States, and that this delegation has found no evidence of disloyalty to the Organization on the part of the staff in the execution of UNESCO's program, seem to refute the validity of the charge that UNESCO advocates political world government and seeks to undermine the loyalty of Americans toward their own flags by substituting loyalty to a supergovernment. It is difficult to conceive that delegations from so

many highly nationalistic member states would vote for such a program, and certain no U. S. delegation would do so. Moreover the constitution of UNESCO specifically forbids the Organization "from intervening in matters that are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction" of the member states. Perhaps some of the misunderstanding is due to occasional UNESCO usage of the expression, "world citizenship," but nowhere was there any evidence that this term had any political connotation that could be interpreted as citizenship in a world government. On the contrary UNESCO's policies, program, and activities do not in any degree infringe on the sovereignty, independence, or integrity of the United States or any of its other members.

(d) *The Allegation That UNESCO Seeks To Indoctrinate American School-children, Etc.*

There was no evidence that came to the attention of this delegation that UNESCO under its own egis has produced materials or textbooks for use in American schools which seek to indoctrinate our children with ideas contrary to American ideals and traditions. Actually UNESCO produces only a limited amount of material suitable for classroom use, and this material is used only upon the initiative of appropriate school authorities; for example, in Arab refugee camps and in the fundamental education centers in Mexico and Egypt.

Of the millions of pages of UNESCO's publications, to our knowledge, only two short pamphlets have been cited in various attacks as containing materials promoting world government. One of these books is known as *The United Nations and World Citizenship* and the other, *In the Classroom, With Children Under Thirteen Years of Age*. They are in a series of brochures entitled *Toward World Understanding*. Both of these pamphlets do discuss world citizenship, but a careful study of them fails to reveal that this terminology connotes world government in any political sense. In one of these pamphlets it is suggested that children might have an international anthem. However it does not suggest substituting it for any national anthem. We can readily understand how this and the term "world citizenship" can be misinterpreted and misunderstood by American groups, especially those which might be more or less isolationist, because these pamphlets strongly espouse the cause of the United Nations, world-mindedness, and international understanding and sympathy. Some such groups have extracted statements from the pamphlets which may appear on the surface as favoring world government, but a critical analysis of the contents proves otherwise.

Moreover it should be stated that the citations in these books are the opinions expressed by participants (including Americans) in international conferences or seminars and are merely published by UNESCO, not representing the view of the Organization. Each pamphlet contains a specific disclaimer, which reads, "This pamphlet is in no way an official expression of the views of UNESCO" or "UNESCO does not necessarily endorse opinions expressed by the author." While there are grounds for controversy over whether or not individual participants in these conferences go further in the matter of training children on the question of loyalties than most of us would go, UNESCO has an honest obligation to publish the proceedings of such meetings and the opinions expressed at any meeting it sponsors, like the minutes of any other organization, United States or elsewhere. Like any other organization or association, UNESCO cannot be held responsible for publishing proceedings or opinions of individuals or groups that do not represent its own views or principles.

There appears to be no validity to the accusation that UNESCO seeks to indoctrinate American schoolchildren with ideas and philosophies that are contrary to American ideals and traditions, nor does it seek to influence teachers or curricula by placing textbooks and other materials in the classrooms of America. At this juncture, however, a discussion of UNESCO's publications might be appropriate, so that this phase of its activities may be more broadly understood.

The quantity of UNESCO publications is so voluminous and covers such an extremely broad range of topics, many of which are technical, that neither this delegation—nor perhaps any other group—could venture an opinion of their general merit. Those that we have seen appear to be suitable and useful for the purposes intended. Nevertheless this delegation is not competent to judge whether UNESCO's publishing activities should have some alterations, should have its standards raised, or can be subject to some important economies.

Among those published directly by UNESCO, there are two distinctly different kinds of publications—those which constitute the official records of the Organiza-

tion and those which arise out of its program in education, science, and culture; and, as mentioned previously, many of these are highly technical.

UNESCO also publishes the views of individual governments on certain matters, such as the Copyright Convention, which have been submitted to member states for their comments. The comments published are therefore merely the opinions of the governments and not necessarily of UNESCO.

Publications of nongovernmental organizations to which UNESCO gives subventions are in the fields of education, science, and culture and are usually of a technical and professional character. These do not pretend to state official views of the Organization.

In mentioning publications, it should be noted that there are publications about UNESCO issued by the national commissions of member states, including the United States National Commission for UNESCO. In the United States also the U. S. Office of Education and the various public schools and national voluntary organizations publish materials about UNESCO. It should be noted that some of the misunderstandings about UNESCO and its purposes that are based on printed material also arise out of such publications which are not UNESCO's responsibility.

(e) *The Allegation That UNESCO Is Atheistic or Antireligious*

Among the charges made that are less widely circulated, one finds the claim that UNESCO is atheistic or antireligious. Nothing found in the official actions of the Organization, including publications and statements, substantiated this charge. That there may be such views among persons who attend UNESCO meetings would not be surprising, in view of the universal character of UNESCO's membership. But that UNESCO should officially have committed itself to or promoted such doctrines is not established in fact. Just as many national viewpoints are represented in UNESCO, so is almost every established religious belief. It is noteworthy that at the last General Conference session in 1952, several delegations included ministers of various religious faiths. Among the nongovernmental organizations having consultative arrangements with UNESCO, there are many organizations representing Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, and other faiths. The Vatican has been represented regularly by an observer at UNESCO conferences, and there is a permanent representative of the Holy See at UNESCO. Membership on the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO includes the National Catholic Welfare Council, the National Council of Churches, and the Synagogue Council of America. These and other religious groups have given full support to the work of the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO.

The constitution of UNESCO affirms the fundamental freedoms of the peoples of the world, "without distinction of race, sex, language or religion."

(f) *The Allegation That the United States Contributes 33⅓ Percent of UNESCO's Budget and Receives Little*

The United States does pay 33⅓ percent of UNESCO's budget. This is a figure arrived at by the U. S. Congress. The U. S. share is based upon factors governing ability to pay, agreed upon by the United Nations Committee on Contributions, in which the United States participated. If ability to pay were the only criterion, the U. S. share should actually be larger. However, the United States and other nations have agreed upon the 33⅓ percent ceiling on the contribution by any member state—or \$3,000,000 in our case.

As to whether the United States gains anything from the Organization, we believe first of all that no self-respecting nation could conscientiously refrain from participating in the work of an international organ whose objectives lie so close to our own, in a national sense. Moreover, since peace is our primary goal, UNESCO could be an effective instrument in this direction given reasonably normal conditions. Its axiom is "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed." In part IV below there is a more specific and detailed listing of direct and other indirect benefits to us that might indicate that we are "getting our money's worth." It might be emphasized here, however, that beyond these, there is an immeasurable gain that accrues to us through UNESCO in strengthening the community of free nations upon which our own well-being, security, and even prosperity so largely depend.

### III. PROGRAM AND MAJOR ACTIVITIES

In the belief that most Americans who may have occasion to see this report are unfamiliar with the nature and scope of UNESCO's activities, a few pages

will be devoted thereto. First it should be understood that the endeavors are generally distributed, though not confined, to the following five areas:

Education  
Natural sciences  
Social sciences  
Cultural activities  
Mass communications

Under these captions UNESCO programed a wide variety of projects in its early years but has since eliminated many of them. Concentration is continuing and is an important and necessary part of UNESCO's policy. Another tendency which is noteworthy is the increasing assistance to underdeveloped countries and the lessening of projects of a more erudite character. The old European theory that educational advancement is merely for the elite has been lessened considerably by reason of UNESCO's efforts in the direction of education for the masses.

Below are listed some of UNESCO's more interesting specific activities substantially as they appeared in the report of the Acting Director General on the work of the Organization for the period of October 1952 to March 1953.

*Established the second regional fundamental education center* at Sirs el Taiyana, Egypt, for the Arab countries. These centers are for the purpose of teaching teachers. The first was established about 2½ years ago at Pátzcuaro, Mexico. Fundamental education, a name probably coined by UNESCO, described an attack on mass illiteracy, ignorance, ill health, dietary deficiencies, and lack of economic development. In this effort UNESCO is joined by other United Nations specialized agencies to assist over half the world's population by educating them in health, agriculture, and livestock practices, in housing and handicraft techniques, in community recreation, in local self-government participation and in providing at least a minimum formal education for both children and adults.

*Organized a series of regional conferences* designed to promote free compulsory primary education.

*Sponsored or cosponsored several international scientific institutes*, e. g., Arid Zone Research, International Computation Center, Council for Nuclear Research, Humid Tropics Research.

*Supported 31 elementary schools* for Arab refugee children from Palestine.

*Sponsored or cosponsored meetings* of the International Social Science Council, International Economic Association, International Statistical Institute, International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies, International Theatre Institute, International Music Council, International Union of Architects, International Council of Museums, and Commission on the Care of Paintings.

*Assisted the government of Pakistan* in developing a satisfactory Braille system for Urdu. Also is working out uniformity in Braille for music.

*Organized numerous lecture tours* by scientists in many fields, and in many countries, primarily the underdeveloped ones. Also was responsible for a large number of missions of a scientific nature.

*Published a large number of Works of Reference*, periodicals, etc., on a wide variety of educational subjects.

*Initiated a much-needed Bibliography* of multilingual, scientific, and technical dictionaries. Also preparing a Works of Terminology, which will give a scientific definition of a number of social science terms.

*In the cultural field*, has supported or assisted in supporting publications dealing with the theater, opera, folk music, translation of selected books, and a publication called Museum.

*Completed a study* of the impact upon children of the press, film, and radio.

*Maintained a clearing house* in connection with the exchange of persons, including and disseminating information on fellowship programs and assessing the need for specialized personnel for overseas training programs. Published three publications in this area, e. g., Study Abroad, Travel Abroad, Workers Abroad.

*At the individual country's request sent experts* or missions to eight of them to help organize free compulsory education systems.

*Arranged for studies and issued brochures* on the education of women.

*In cooperation with the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency*, a 6 months' mission was completed which surveyed existing educational facilities and drew up a long-term plan for the reconstruction of education there.

*Has also drafted an International Convention for the Preservation of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, sponsoring regulations on archaeological excavations by means of an international center for preserving and restoring cultural property.*

*Supplied a traveling exhibit in Latin America on astronomy, physics, and science.*

*A Universal Copyright Convention brought in new signatories, now totaling 36.*

*Prepared a manuscript entitled "Inventories of Apparatus and Materials for Teaching Science" covering electrical, mechanical, and civil engineering.*

*Has reproductions of the great paintings prior to 1860, and there are 89 traveling exhibits of these now touring the member states.*

*The UNESCO Clearing House for Publications has sent 19 lists to libraries in member states offering approximately 15,000 books for gift or exchange.*

*In the field of international governmental agreements, secured more signers to the Agreement on the Importation of Educational, Scientific and Cultural Materials; made arrangements for sale and expeditious custom clearance of delicate laboratory and scientific material; and worked with the Universal Postal Union and International Telecommunication Union to promote the free and more economical flow of information.*

*The well-known UNESCO Coupon Scheme continues to flourish. In 4 months \$734,000 worth of coupons were issued, which permitted those in soft currency countries to purchase books, scientific material, and educational films from hard currency countries.*

*Another sensational endeavor, the issuance of UNESCO Gift Coupons, now has 11 donor countries, who give approximately \$5,500 worth of educational material per month to 25 beneficiary nations. (This, however, only takes care of one-sixth of the "formalized" needs.)*

*Initiated a study in agreement with a member state for a study of internal tensions; also several surveys on racial problems.*

*Continued its activities in child welfare, among which was organizing a regional conference in Paris on the educational and mental health of children in Europe.*

*Meeting of representatives of international youth organizations. Sponsored a Youth Educational Institute in Germany; also the Youth Institute's second seminar.*

*Financed 34 fellowships for studies in the fields of education, science, etc.*

The foregoing are only some of the projects, as can be realized from the following figures, which summarize the program in just the five major divisions voted for the years 1953-54 at the seventh session of the General Conference held in November 1952:

*In the educational fields there were 54 projects with appropriations ranging from \$832 to \$320,910.*

*In the natural sciences there were 24 projects with budget appropriations ranging from \$321 to \$430,129.*

*In the social sciences there were 30 projects with budget appropriations ranging from no cost at all to \$106,031.*

*In the cultural activities there were 42 projects with budget appropriations ranging from no cost at all to \$380,987.*

*In mass communications there were 29 projects with budget appropriations ranging from no cost at all to \$62,502.*

These made a total of 179 projects. Obviously this is too many, and to cope somewhat with this situation, a Working Party was organized at the seventh session for the purpose of establishing priorities. The U. S. comment on its recommendations is as follows:

*The United States believes that the criteria set forth in the report of the Working Party are not sufficiently definitive. Of those stated, however, the most useful to the Executive Board and the Secretariat in the formulation of the 1955-56 program, in the view of the United States, are the following, because they would tend to strengthen UNESCO's activities in two priority areas:*

*The progressive realization of the right of everyone to free access to education as defined in the Preamble and Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.*

*The encouragement, through educational means, of training for living in a world community.*

*Utilization of science for improving the living conditions of mankind, especially in the underdeveloped regions of the world.*

Studies of specific and urgent problems of international importance which call for the immediate help of the social sciences.

To ensure better understanding and trust between peoples of different cultures and to increase respect for human rights.

To promote freedom of information, the free flow of educational, scientific and cultural material, and the free movement of persons.

To encourage the use of all techniques of mass communication, including press, film, radio and television to serve the purposes and program of the Organization.

It would seem desirable also, as a means of strengthening these priorities, that the Executive Board and the Secretariat, in developing resolutions and work plans for 1955-56, should give increased emphasis to the following program items:

#### *Education*

Maintenance of present international centres of fundamental education. Training of experts for international service. Assistance to Member States through the Associated Projects Scheme. Development of methods and techniques.

Campaign for free and compulsory primary education with some special attention to the access of girls to education.

Education for living in a world community, with reference to young children, children in school, young people in and out of schools, and adults.

#### *Natural Sciences*

"Research on scientific problems such as the arid zone, the humid tropical zone, and oceanography" should be directed toward this end, and hence resolutions and work plans under this item would merit high priority.

#### *Social Sciences*

Studies of tensions and prevention of conflicts.

Promotion of research on social impact of industrialization (specifically those situations likely to have international effects).

Evaluation of international cooperation programs.

#### *Cultural Activities*

\* \* \* Discussions, studies and publications concerning cultural relations between peoples, and likely to assist the understanding and implementation of human rights, such as the preparation of a Scientific and Cultural History of Mankind.

Stimulating translation of representative literary masterpieces. Development and improvement of public reading libraries (and museums as educational auxiliaries).

#### *Mass Communication*

Practical measures to promote the free flow of information.

Use of the means of communication to create understanding of the aims and activities of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies, particularly UNESCO, and to promote broad popular support for them.

### IV. BENEFITS THAT ACCRUE TO THE UNITED STATES FROM UNESCO

The foregoing indicates some areas in which our country benefits directly or indirectly from its membership in UNESCO, but later in this section these will be stated more specifically. However, it should be understood first of all that no evaluation of UNESCO would be adequate even from the American viewpoint if limited to such benefits. Ample weight should be given to the fact that through our participation in UNESCO important contributions toward the well-being and progress of underdeveloped nations are made possible. While we have an altruistic satisfaction in assisting them, we receive a more selfish benefit insofar as they improve their social and economic status, and we thus increase the market for our exports.

Our country does not always utilize the available materials and facilities offered by UNESCO to the same extent that most highly developed European countries do. Nevertheless there are a significant number of direct benefits which UNESCO offers to the United States. These are listed below so that our fellow Americans who have asked about this can judge for themselves whether or not we get our money's worth—in direct benefits alone:

1. UNESCO has helped American scientists and educators by providing access to the educational, scientific, and cultural resources of the entire free world.

2. UNESCO has helped American natural and social scientists; all types of cultural groups; and artists, libraries, museums, etc., by sponsoring about 80 meetings a year in the areas of their specific interests. Here they meet with others from many parts of the globe who have the same interests and receive the benefit of ideas in their respective fields. (At this writing there are approximately 300 members of American musical societies participating in a meeting of an international music group in Brussels under the auspices of UNESCO.)

3. It has helped American educators in the task of improving United States educational methods by apprising them of the methods, curricula, and operations of educational institutions in the other advanced countries of the world.

4. UNESCO is one of the best devices for conveying our cultural attainments abroad and thus is an effective instrument for making people in other countries understand us and our way of life. Every material excellence we demonstrate generates respect. We cannot begot respect merely from leadership, authority, or power. By means of cultural exchange with friendly nations we earn respect that we could not achieve through leadership or power.

5. Along the same line, or rather to achieve the same results, seminars and technical assistance missions in the scientific and educational fields help make the American way of life understood abroad. Americans by their presence are able to interpret our actions and also to introduce to the thinking of other countries American conceptions of education and democracy. Through the technical assistance program American ideas and methods are now known in almost all the underdeveloped countries. This has and will continue to make friends for us and win respect for our free economy and democratic political system—and incidentally create or increase the demand for American goods.

6. American publishers have gained much from the efforts of UNESCO in the direction of the free flow of information between countries: in the efforts toward easing the supply of newsprint; in the achievement of materially reducing telecommunication rates. The historic desire of the American people for an unrestricted flow of information makes UNESCO's efforts along this line especially noteworthy.

7. In the same general vein, through UNESCO's initiative international agreements have been adopted by many countries to abolish customs duties on books, newspapers, magazines, educational films, recordings, and other auditory-visual materials, works of art, certain categories of scientific equipment, and all articles of education for the blind.

This and the endeavors of UNESCO to secure reductions in postal and freight rates on educational materials and on telegraphic and press rates increase the opportunity of people to learn about each other and enable American educational materials to be purchased far more easily and freely throughout the world, benefiting us both financially and in furthering understanding of us by other nations.

8. UNESCO makes available to American radio stations a number of educational programs. UNESCO also makes available to American groups, art centers, and schools reproductions of the great paintings of the world, from the great masters to modern art.

9. To some extent the United States does draw on the vast storehouse of publications and information UNESCO has in the various fields of education, in the developments in natural sciences throughout the world, in the disciplines of the social sciences, and on international cultural activities in almost all forms. Much of this material, which can only be accumulated by an agency like UNESCO, is valuable in the American educational scene. Knowledge knows no national boundaries.

10. UNESCO is promoting the translation of the great works of literature, including that of American authors, into many of the less used languages of the underdeveloped countries. Also, in turn, they are having translated into English some of the philosophies, etc., that were only available in Hindu and the Oriental languages.

11. Of very practical benefit has been the Book Exchange (Coupon) plan, which has given American publishers and suppliers of educational materials

orders of over \$1,200,000 annually. Here again we benefit in terms of greater understanding of the United States.

12. UNESCO has promoted teaching about the principles of collective security, as defended by the United Nations in Korea, and therefore has reinforced the effort in which we carried so large a share. UNESCO has also promoted understanding of the entire United Nations system to which our Government has clearly enunciated its support. It thus, as much as circumstances permit, strengthens the fundamentals upon which the peace and security of the United States depend. Any democratic society based upon concepts of freedom, whether national or international in scope, needs the positive efforts of the kind in which UNESCO is engaged.

Beyond all considerations of direct benefits we receive from participation in UNESCO, it should at this time be reemphasized that, in the most nationalistic sense, it is in the United States interest to be engaged in this kind of international cooperation (see part VI). This was manifestly clear to this delegation at the Second Extraordinary Session of the General Conference. Our participation is a necessary evidence of our good faith and our belief in the liberal and democratic conceptions that underlie the free world struggle against authoritarianism and dictatorship. Help to others in strengthening the foundations of democratic free governments by raising educational standards is in the interest of promoting peace, strengthens the economic stability of the world, and therefore promotes world prosperity, on which most of our own prosperity depends.

A great Nation like ours, conceived and developed through many sacrifices for the promotion of human welfare, cannot fittingly isolate itself from world efforts toward the same end. Such a course could conceivably do us incalculable harm—in prestige, respect, and world trade. It therefore serves our own positive self-interest to associate ourselves with other freedom-loving people in furthering UNESCO's aims, principles, and activities.

#### V. MAJOR WEAKNESSES OF UNESCO

1. For a long time it has been the view of the United States Government that the program of UNESCO attempted to cover too many activities. With the budget limitations imposed by the economic capacities of UNESCO's member states, as well as by the involvement of many of the member states in national and regional educational, scientific, and cultural programs, it is our view that UNESCO could use its limited resources more wisely. To this end the United States delegation to the last General Conference in 1952 introduced the system of priorities, which was shown in the latter part of section III. We strongly feel that UNESCO could be improved by concentrating the bulk of its resources on these priorities and eliminating expenditures for some of the "fringe activities." Many of these have been included in the program to satisfy the "special interests" of certain member states rather than the essential needs of all member states. Other projects, though meritorious, should also be omitted rather than appropriate an inadequate sum which would be ineffective. It may be anticipated that the new Director General, who has been a member of the United States delegations to all but one of the sessions of the General Conference, will carry into his job the convictions which he demonstrated when speaking as United States delegate.

2. The above statement is predicated on the practical likelihood that UNESCO's budget will not be materially increased. As a matter of fact UNESCO can carry on a goodly number of its important projects within the present budget. Nevertheless any listing of the weaknesses of UNESCO would be remiss if it did not contain the statement that the Organization is woefully underfinanced to attempt to carry on its full purpose and mission in its fields of education, science, and culture. Because there is such a wide divergence between the demands and opportunities to serve and the inadequate funds at its disposal, UNESCO will always be criticized for the absence or insufficiency of efforts in some areas of its responsibility.

3. While this delegation felt that the caliber of personnel on the UNESCO Secretariat was generally satisfactory, there are individual instances that warrant replacement. It seems that some of the program specialists could be replaced with stronger individuals for the benefit of the Secretariat. It is our feeling that certain departments are not administered in a manner to adequately carry on all their functions and responsibilities.

Secondly it is suggested that UNESCO do more to improve its recruitment methods. While it is necessary to give due regard to geographic representation in the selection of personnel, it should insist that member states supply only truly



qualified personnel. UNESCO must not lose sight of the primary need for a highly competent staff, which, among other things, properly reflects the cultural diversities and achievements of the various member states. As far as American candidates are concerned, of which there is a need, mention should be made that the long delays of our present security procedures are militating against the employment of qualified and loyal Americans. Since our Government finds security measures necessary, these processes should be expedited in order to facilitate full American representation on the staff.

The third item which should be mentioned here again is the propensity of staff to engage in "lobbying" activities with the delegates to the conference and occasionally with the Executive Board. In view of the limited appropriations for UNESCO, this propensity operates against the overall program of UNESCO and favors the departments with the most effective lobbyists.

4. This delegation is critical of the composition, functioning, and unclear responsibilities of the Executive Board. For the past two sessions, the question has arisen of having the Executive Board be composed of representatives of member states, rather than consist of a group of individuals. It is the view of the U. S. Government that the members should represent their respective governments, not themselves. When UNESCO was created, it was hoped that by having the Executive Board composed of individuals, the most outstanding intellectuals of our time could be induced to become Board members. Such has not been the case. Moreover the degree of absenteeism has been high, so that frequently members are represented by permanent governmental representatives at UNESCO or merely Embassy officials located in Paris. UNESCO's constitution should be revised on the basis of governmental representation. By so doing the Board members would be properly instructed by their governments and would take greater responsibility for their actions, vis-a-vis an intergovernmental organization.

Perhaps because of the foregoing or maybe owing to the quality of the membership as a whole, the Executive Board does not function effectively. The issues laid before them are belabored and beclouded, resulting in prompt and intelligent action either being delayed or absent in many instances. Moreover they waste time with details of administrative affairs that should be the proper responsibility of the Director General.

When and if the Executive Board is composed of government representatives, and not individuals, there should be a constitutional amendment that will not only more clearly define its responsibilities and functions but perhaps increase them. It is conceivable that some of the matters now referred to the General Conference could be fittingly and finally acted upon by an Executive Board in which the members are the authorized representatives of their respective governments.

5. Throughout the world there is a definite lack of understanding of UNESCO's aims, purposes, and activities. Without such understanding UNESCO cannot secure the necessary public and governmental support for its operation. One reason for this lack of understanding is the failure of the mass media in the member states to interpret UNESCO's work and to point out ways in which member states can share in these efforts. A pressing requirement today is the development of a more effective program in this direction, which this delegation considers the first responsibility for the Mass Communications Department.

6. An important weakness in UNESCO lies in the absence of properly organized or functioning national commissions in most of the member states. Of 65 countries supporting UNESCO, only 13 (including the United States) have national commissions that represent to a goodly extent the various educational, scientific, and cultural interests of the country. Only these few have become well-rounded instruments for the execution of UNESCO's program and have sufficient professional staffs to secure full participation in the responsibilities or opportunities.

Only 13 other member nations have national commissions that are doing a reasonably adequate job, and 12 other member nations have commissions of a less active nature. The others have either no national commission or an exceedingly limited or inactive one. Apparently this is not due to any lack of good will toward UNESCO, but rather a lack of resources and/or inability to translate their good intentions into concrete action.

UNESCO is authorized by its constitution to assist member states with the organization of national commissions, and it has provided valuable help of this kind to several member states. But the problem of inactive national commissions is still so great an impediment to effective execution of UNESCO's program

that more resources resulting in a more determined effort will need to be devoted to this endeavor if UNESCO is to secure the help which only its member states can provide.

Until the national interest in UNESCO of the member states is represented by some cross section of the educational, scientific, and cultural life of a country and, moreover, is in reasonable proportion to the benefits it receives, UNESCO can never wholly perform the purposes for which it was intended.

#### VI. SOME OPINIONS OF UNESCO FROM OTHER COUNTRIES

Conversations were held with representatives from several other countries during the General Conference of UNESCO, July 1953.

Members of the U. S. delegation raised such questions as the following:

What is the general feeling about UNESCO in your country?

To what extent is UNESCO important to your country and why?

What has it done for your country?

Do you think you could have secured the same benefits through some other source, agency, or channel?

Has UNESCO helped develop a better understanding of other countries in your country?

In what field has UNESCO been most successful in your country?

What defects do you see in UNESCO's work in your country?

In what way has UNESCO failed to come up to your expectations?

What is the most important thing UNESCO is doing, in your view?

Naturally all these questions could not be raised in each of these informal conversations, but the pattern was followed as far as possible.

Following are notes of the conversations, which should throw some light on the opinions about UNESCO that are current in a number of representative countries. (It should be noted that these observations do not constitute in any way official statements by the countries concerned.)

##### *Representative From Brazil*

It behooves the older and developed countries like Sweden, the United States, etc., to finance or be donor countries to UNESCO, so as to bring the underdeveloped countries, in time, up to the standards of these developed countries. However, I do not consider it a philanthropic gesture. Markets follow the development of culture, science, and education and ultimately will provide a bigger market for the donor's products.

Brazil has signed 8 technical assistance contracts with UNESCO, which provided them with 11 technicians for working a year in Brazil in the following fields:

Cellulose and paper  
Agronomy  
Arid zone research

Biochemistry  
Biology  
Cosmic ray research

Also UNESCO has financed 15 fellowships. Through these the Brazilians may study in various countries, including the United States.

Without UNESCO we would have done these things ourselves but with a great deal of difficulty, there being no agency through which we could secure the men capable of doing this work; and then, of course, we could not be sure of their skill.

UNESCO has failed primarily in mass communication. Brazil has had far from sufficient data on UNESCO. Secondly, it has insufficient money for carrying on its important work. Its income does not begin to correspond with the needs.

Perhaps we were too optimistic, but I don't think UNESCO has given us what we had hoped for. However, the international situation has been a deterrent as well as the disturbed condition in many countries which have not been able to organize effective national commissions which are so essential for UNESCO's success.

The most important thing UNESCO is doing is its field science offices. These offices are supplying scientific help to the underdeveloped countries promptly and usefully.

##### *Representative From Sweden*

The general attitude in Sweden toward UNESCO was one of skepticism until 1950 and still is in higher educational circles. Among these groups there is skepticism but not antagonism. Other groups in Sweden are very ardent about UNESCO.

The only specific criticism I hear is that money is being spent for a great many projects which in their opinions are foolish.

UNESCO is important to Sweden, which is a donor country, because of the mutual interchange of culture and education. By aiding others Sweden gains in terms of useful influence abroad. National wealth is often a product of good fortune. We should share it with those who are poorer in the world because it is the logical thing to do.

We profited recently from a very useful seminar on the values and working methods of public libraries.

Three UNESCO activities are most useful that cannot be done by any other organization:

The coordination between international groups in the major fields of science, education, and culture.

The development of programs of fundamental education.

The development of programs of education for living in a world community. In a broader sense this means reducing national prejudices by bringing people together.

We are in the childhood of international relations, and an international organization like UNESCO can at least advance us to adolescence.

If UNESCO did not exist, we would have to invent a substitute that would do the same work.

During the beginning period things were very much up in the air, and there seemed to be very little accomplished.

There are defects in UNESCO's work. The administration is too expensive. Also there are too many projects, many of which are not down to earth.

The most important thing UNESCO is doing is fundamental education. I include all phases of fundamental education including the information service.

#### *Representative From Liberia*

As long as the underdeveloped countries do not evolve rapidly from their present stage of subsistence economy into a more balanced and progressive stage, which would make possible better and more scientific and rational methods of improved agricultural and small-scale local industrial production, there could be no appreciable social, economic, and subsequently, political progress. The most effective means of achieving the desired goal would be through the simultaneous development of human resources, along with development of national resources. This problem could only be solved by the establishment of community welfare projects such as national and regional fundamental education centers of training and production, whose primary tasks should aim at the eradication of the three main obstacles any country has to overcome: that is to say, ignorance, poverty, and disease.

Ninety percent of our people are illiterate. I think it would take 16 years to make my country literate, as the main problem is training teachers and developing facilities.

UNESCO has assisted Liberia in the field of technical assistance. The University of Liberia had no science department, and UNESCO furnished a team of 4 men, namely a professor of biology, chemistry, physics, and mathematics, who are building up a faculty by teaching teachers. Also the fundamental education project in October 1951 sent 3 people, namely, a fundamental education specialist, a rural elementary teacher training expert, and a specialist on women's education, who also worked in cooperation with an expert from FAO on agriculture, one from WHO on health, and one from ILO on arts and crafts. We now have 10 demonstration centers in fundamental education.

We have also had a team of teachers training specialists in the field of mathematics and physics, and others on a more temporary basis assisting in the overall Liberian educational project.

Through UNESCO Liberians also have 7 scholarship in the United States in mathematics, physics, and agriculture science, plus 6 in New Zealand and 1 in Edinburgh.

We could not have secured the same benefits through some other source. Point Four did supply us one man to help in the elementary schools. UNESCO has helped in fundamental education, rural elementary schools, high schools, and universities.

A defect in UNESCO's work in our country has been the question of selecting experts who can adjust themselves to life in Liberia. Moreover, it takes such a long time before they arrive, usually months later. Also, the shipments of laboratory equipment and other teaching material take too long to arrive. The

fact that scholarships are for only 2 years also presents a problem. They should be for 4 years.

UNESCO is giving the natives a conception of the United Nations and the world that is very satisfying.

#### *Representative From New Zealand*

The growing pains of administration of the first few years of UNESCO have been eliminated. The program is less confused and more direct in purpose.

I do not feel that the work done by UNESCO could be done by any other agency.

Because of UNESCO the people of New Zealand have a growing sense of responsibility for less fortunate people of the world. As a result of the work done by one of the men who had been on a mission in Liberia, five Liberians, under UNESCO scholarships, were brought to New Zealand. It was the first working contact New Zealand had had with "outsiders."

The reception of the Colombo plan was due in no small measure to the awakening of the conscience of a necessity of mutual understanding as inspired by UNESCO. New Zealand, which in the past had always thought of Asia as the Far East, now regards it as a continent with similar problems to those of New Zealand.

#### *Representative From Israel*

There is an active national commission in Israel, and UNESCO enjoys good relations with the press.

Israel derives much-needed technical assistance from UNESCO. The new immigrants, who have increased from 100,000 to 300,000 in 5 years, lack education and technical skills. There is a shortage of teachers. UNESCO has provided expert advice on training of teachers, particularly in fields of natural science.

UNESCO aided in the establishment of a soil stabilization laboratory. As a result of a scientific analysis of the soil, the roads in Israel have been improved 100 percent. Roadmaking had been a major problem owing to the type of soil found in Israel, which washed out at every rain.

UNESCO has also helped through expert advice on wind power and on the problems of water supply for arid zones. The symposium in arid zone research held in Israel was of international importance.

The study of social tensions now under consideration can be of infinite and permanent value to Israel, which is composed of immigrants from 60 nations. The interpretation and therapy resulting from this study will first help set our own house in order and in the long run will make for better international understanding.

No other agency could do these jobs as effectively as UNESCO.

#### *Representative From Belgium*

There has been some opposition to UNESCO in Belgium, but it is disappearing owing to better relations with the press and growing recognition of the fact that schools and universities are concerned with the generations ahead. A great deal of work is being done through the World Organization for Early Childhood Education, sponsored by UNESCO and concerned with the question of free school education and the training of parents.

Belgium has an alert national commission composed of representatives of education and authorities in foreign affairs, along with members of the radio and press.

In 1950 an international conference was held at the University of Brussels to study the revision of history textbooks, in cooperation with France, the Netherlands, Norway, Germany, and Luxembourg, along the lines of bilateral cultural agreements. After this meeting the ideas were introduced at a meeting of the European Council in order to coordinate plans and thus avoid overlapping in duplication. This conference in 1950 gave stimulus to the creation in Belgium of a Federation of Teachers, drawing its membership from elementary and secondary schools, training colleges, in both public, free and official schools. This has been important to Belgium because of the divergence of ideas within the country between those who speak Flemish and those who speak French.

The techniques of fundamental education practiced in Pátzcuaro and Egypt were used as a basis for work which Belgium is doing in the Belgian Congo and in Ruanda-Urundi under U. N. trusteeship, for which Belgium has responsibility for 10 years. Using UNESCO techniques, natives attending international conferences have brought back specific programs of education, particularly along

the lines of hygiene and home economics. Assisting in the development of these programs are educational specialists from Belgium and a priest.

The first international Conference in Musical Education is being held now in Belgium. There are 300 American participants. The Conference is interested in every phase of musical education. Special music was composed by Hindemith for the Conference, with accompanying poetry by Claudel. The Conference is receiving wide acclaim in Belgium.

UNESCO was the only agency which could accomplish the work that is being done along these lines.

The work of UNESCO toward international understanding was in part instrumental in making the people of Europe more conscious of the need of a federation of European states.

#### *Representative From Japan*

Interest in UNESCO within Japan is considerable. The "common man" knows what UNESCO is all about. Local groups interested in UNESCO were formed in all larger cities long before Japan was a member and a Japanese National Commission came into being.

It may be that the Gift Coupon Scheme for laboratory equipment will give Japan, as a donor nation, a greater sense of participation in UNESCO. There are those in Japan that fervently hope for establishment by UNESCO of a scientific center in Japan.

UNESCO has not done much of a specific nature in Japan that can be pointed to as an accomplishment. Japan did not become a member of UNESCO until the sixth session, which was in 1951.

UNESCO seems of greater importance to Japan in the work it can do in underdeveloped territories of the Far East and Near East. I have little sympathy with colonialism, but it did contribute to the development of standards of education, health, technical and scientific life, and richer culture in certain areas of the world. If colonialism is dead, as I hope it is, some international agency must be substituted for the contributions that colonial powers did make to underdeveloped territories.

The most important thing that UNESCO is doing is its fundamental education program.

#### *Representative From Syria*

UNESCO could do much to offset the too narrow and too technical training of people being educated under Point Four, which is only interested in short-term technical training programs, giving people "know-how" but little help with ideas. Persons so educated may actually be the ruination of a country and ultimately its enemies rather than its salvation.

If you want concrete illustrations of the importance and achievements of UNESCO, it is difficult to furnish them. UNESCO requires much patience and is definitely a long-term business. However, technical assistance and the fellowship programs of UNESCO have been a great help. The fellowship programs are used to train people for particular responsibilities that they may return to after study abroad. For example, the current need at the University of Beirut is to strengthen the faculty of sciences and engineering; all help being asked of UNESCO is directed to strengthening these faculties.

While there is no other agency through which Syria could receive exactly the same benefits as it does from UNESCO, other agencies have been more important to Syria. For example, loans from the International Bank. Economic aid is more needed than technical aid. Loans made by the International Bank have done more to bring about in the minds of the people an appreciation of other countries than any one other thing.

The people in the Arab countries are so disappointed in the results of political decisions of international agencies that it is very difficult for any information program promoting international understanding to have any great effect.

#### *Representative From Germany*

Germany has found UNESCO an important international forum in which to cooperate and in which any country should be willing to cooperate. For Germany it is taken for granted that cooperation in the fields of education, science, and culture is necessary in order to advance civilization and also in order to strengthen the foundations of world peace.

Germany has benefited very directly from the establishment of the three institutes in Cologne, Munich, and Hamburg. These have made it possible for Ger-

mans in the fields of education, social science and youth activities to come into direct contact with their colleagues from other countries.

While no doubt Germany could have secured some of the same benefits through other agencies and channels, the fact is that UNESCO actually brought about these results. Other agencies and channels were not at that moment in existence, and much more time would have elapsed before Germany could have joined international cooperation in this field. It is questionable whether any other factors could so soon have brought about a unification among the educational, scientific, and cultural forces within Germany itself. It is also doubtful that any other international body could have afforded Germany with the opportunity to co-operate internationally that has come through the work of seminars organized by UNESCO.

There is no doubt that UNESCO has helped develop a better understanding of other countries in Germany. The extensive cooperation of Germans in international seminars has noticeably widened the horizons of German participants.

In terms of defects Germany had been disturbed, as have other countries, by the proliferation of UNESCO's activities. They have also been concerned over the absence of any Germans on the UNESCO Secretariat.

The question of what is important is difficult to determine. No doubt this depends upon each country's interests. For Germany the most important thing has been what was stated by the representative from Brazil above. For the underdeveloped countries no doubt the most important thing is fundamental education. For the world as a whole the most important thing is the conscious effort to promote wider understanding among the peoples of various nations.

#### *Representative From Thailand*

UNESCO's educational missions under the technical assistance program are of tremendous importance to our country.

Many important steps had been taken to improve our educational system as the result of studies made and reports submitted by experts provided and selected by UNESCO.

#### *Representative From Indonesia*

UNESCO is still largely unknown in Indonesia, and the most immediate need was for publicity to inform the Indonesian people about the Organization, its purpose and program.

Indonesia has already received tangible assistance from UNESCO through the establishment in the country of a science cooperation office and through a UNESCO technical assistance mission which is working on fundamental education. Since 80 percent of the Indonesian people are illiterate, fundamental education is a problem of first importance.

The most important thing that UNESCO could do in the future for Indonesia is to assist in the educational field, particularly in the training of teachers. English has officially replaced Dutch as the second language of instruction; therefore a need for a vast program for providing teachers of English, textbooks in English, etc.

#### *Representative From Norway*

The growth of interest in UNESCO has been slow in my country. Norway has a national commission which is representative of different groups in the population, including scholars, teachers, labor, and so forth. It has recently been given a small appropriation and will from now on have a small full-time staff which will enable it to develop more effectively.

Norway has received relatively few direct benefits, aside from exchanges of information which have benefited scientists and other scholars, and a few fellowships.

UNESCO has served to develop better understanding in Norway and other countries, particularly among teachers and the labor movement. The labor groups are much interested in the UNESCO assistance program.

The Norwegians have the view that UNESCO has not accomplished as much as might have been expected in the light of the resources and staff which it has.

Its most important work is in the teachers' seminars, activities in social sciences, the science cooperation offices, and cultural activities.

#### *Representative From Lebanon*

UNESCO, with its emphasis on fundamental education, has become an indispensable institution for Lebanon and the other Arab States. In this field it is bringing them aid which they consider of the first importance. Further, Lebanon

needs to develop a knowledge and use of science if it is to develop economically and socially. It cannot develop scientifically in isolation; it must do this in cooperation with the other countries of the region. Here also it finds the help of UNESCO indispensable.

In addition to benefits of fundamental education and the stimulus to scientific development which Lebanon is receiving from UNESCO are the schools for Arab refugee children. Lebanon has 120,000 Arab refugees, and a large portion of their children are in UNESCO schools (largely financed by U. N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East funds, but with UNESCO teaching supervision).

Lebanon could not have secured these benefits from any other source or agency than UNESCO.

The political policy of the Western Powers tends to drive the Arab States away from the West. UNESCO, which is Western-centered, is the most important influence drawing the Arab States toward the West; and UNESCO does not engage in politics.

It is too soon to say if we have been disappointed in any phase of UNESCO's work. However, the Education Department is lacking imagination and failed to do anything significant in education on living in a world community or about teaching on human rights.

Mr. HAYS. Pardon me, Mr. Chairman. I assume Dr. Eisenhower's letter will be released to the press. I know this is a public meeting, but it occurred to me that the press has a lot of other meetings this afternoon and there might not be any representative here, but in view of the fact that his name has entered our discussion so often, I think there should be no delay in releasing that kind of statement.

Mr. MERROW. Without objection, I will be glad to have that taken care of.

Mrs. BOLTON. May I add to that that the chairman's letter to him be included?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Mr. MERROW. Very well.

Mr. Lecompte. Mr. Chairman, do you contemplate having these hearings printed and available for distribution?

Mr. MERROW. Yes.

Mr. Lecompte. That is what I had hoped. I feel there will be quite a demand for them.

Mr. MERROW. Hearings will be made available and if the committee wishes, we will have the letters released to the press.

We have with us this afternoon three witnesses. I call first Mr. Wallace Campbell, director, Washington office, Cooperative League of the U. S. A. Also, I should state that he is a member of the National Commission of UNESCO. If there are any other items you would like to mention, we would be glad to have them, Mr. Campbell.

#### STATEMENT OF WALLACE J. CAMPBELL, DIRECTOR, WASHINGTON OFFICE, COOPERATIVE LEAGUE OF THE U. S. A.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I know Mr. Paul French is on his way here and if it is desired that I shorten my statement when he arrives, I will be glad to do that. I know you have a heavy legislative load this afternoon.

It is a pleasure to have the opportunity to present to your committee a report on the Cooperative League of the U. S. A., its international work, and its wholehearted support of the specialized agencies of the United Nations charged with the responsibility for the day-to-day welfare of the United Nations and its members.

My name is Wallace J. Campbell. I am director of the Washington office of the Cooperative League of the U. S. A. Our organization is a federation of consumer, purchasing, and service cooperatives, serving a dues-paying membership of 2 million families, and in addition, having associated with it 9 million families which are members of rural electric cooperatives through membership in the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, and in credit unions through the Credit Union National Association.

The Cooperative League has a long history of support for international cooperative activities, both in the limited sense as applying to our own organization, and its work abroad, and in support of international cooperation in the broader sense, between our Government and governments and peoples throughout the world.

The Cooperative League of the U. S. A. was formed in 1916, and became a member of the International Cooperative Alliance a few years thereafter.

The International Cooperative Alliance was formed in London in 1895. It is an association formed mainly of national federations of cooperative associations. Its purposes are as follows: To serve as a clearinghouse for information about cooperatives around the world, to stimulate the development of cooperatives, to safeguard cooperative principles, and to extend cooperative methods throughout the world. It also serves to promote friendship and economic relations between cooperative organizations of all types, nationally and internationally. It has an overall membership of more than 116 million families.

In a letter to the Members of the Congress, which I would like the privilege of inserting in the record, Jerry Voorhis, for 10 years a Member of Congress from California, and now our executive director, points out in some detail the cooperative relations within the ICA. I would like to call your particular attention to a point on which we have suffered some criticism which Mr. Voorhis clarifies for the Congress:

Long before the Communist revolution, genuine cooperatives in Russia, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Rumania became members of the 59-year-old ICA. These groups—none of which is any longer anything like a true cooperative—still retain ICA membership. Under ICA rules, no organization in a Communist or Fascist country can be admitted to membership \* \* \*. Unfortunately, ICA now has no machinery for expelling members who no longer qualify as genuine cooperatives.

Mr. Voorhis points out that:

Cooperatives increase peoples' participation in their nation's life, especially in making significant decisions. Cooperatives have a greater stake in protecting and preserving democratic institutions all over the world than any other form of business organization.

This is the reason the Cooperative League continues as an ICA member \* \* \*. It is the same basic reason why the United States remains a member of the United Nations, despite the presence, obstructionism, and destructive influence of the Soviet Union and its satellites. To do otherwise would be to desert the other free peoples of the world at a critical hour of world history.

The full text of Mr. Voorhis' letter is here. I believe it was sent to all Members of the Congress earlier.

Mr. MERROW. Do you wish this included in the record?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. MERROW. Without objection, it is so ordered.



(The letter referred to is as follows:)

THE COOPERATIVE LEAGUE OF THE U. S. A.

A NATIONAL FEDERATION OF CONSUMER COOPERATIVES

National Capital Office: Washington 5, D. C.

General Offices: Chicago 4, Ill.

To: Members of Congress of the United States.

From: Jerry Voorhis, executive director of the Cooperative League of the U. S. A.

A recent letter to all Members of Congress tries to give sinister significance to my presence at a meeting of the International Cooperative Alliance executive committee. I doubt that many Members of Congress heeded this letter. Yet I feel I should set the record straight for those who may have read it.

The letter contains the flagrant untruth that cooperatives are engaged in some sort of conspiracy to destroy the economic system of the United States and even our form of government. The only answer needed to destroy such a fantastic charge is to point out that two-thirds of all cooperative members in the United States are farmers. True cooperatives cannot possibly exist as free, voluntary, privately owned enterprises except in a free economy under a democratic political system such as we have in our Republic. Every United States cooperative leader sincerely believes—certainly I believe—that the formation and successful operation of cooperatives serves greatly to strengthen a free economic system. Cooperatives do this—

(1) By spreading the responsibility of ownership broadly among many people;

(2) By enabling small independent producers and businessmen to protect themselves and to compete in an economy marked by very large enterprise; and

(3) By giving thousands of groups of people experience in solving their problems through their own independent effort without reliance on government or private monopoly.

Cooperatives increase peoples' participation in their nation's life, especially in making significant decisions. Cooperatives have a greater stake in protecting and preserving free, democratic institutions all over the world than any other form of business organization.

This is the reason the Cooperative League continues as an ICA member and why I attended its executive committee meeting. It is the same basic reason why the United States remains a member of the United Nations despite the presence, obstructionism, and destructive influence of the Soviet Union and its satellites. To do otherwise would be to desert the other free peoples of the world at a critical hour of world history.

We have a responsibility as good citizens of our country to work through private, voluntary organizations for the extension of freedom and the strengthening of the free world. In ICA are gathered representatives of more than 116 million families in nearly every country. We think we should be there to speak for America, as well as for cooperation.

Long before the Communist revolution, genuine cooperatives in Russia, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Romania became members of the 59-year-old ICA. These groups—none of which is any longer anything like a true cooperative—still retain ICA membership. Under ICA rules no organization in a Communist or Fascist country can be admitted to membership. At the very meeting which I am criticized for attending I had the satisfaction of voting with an overwhelming majority against the admission of an organization in Communist-dominated Poland. Unfortunately, ICA now has no machinery for expelling members who no longer qualify as genuine cooperatives. But again at the meeting I attended, a first step in that direction was taken—also by an overwhelming vote.

Iron Curtain representatives have absolutely no chance whatever to control ICA policies. They are a hopeless minority—though a noisy and very troublesome one. No organizations friendly to them can be admitted, but new members from the free nations are constantly being admitted.

So the Cooperative League has chosen to retain ICA membership—despite the presence of these Iron Curtain representatives—and to build a wall of freedom against their influence. We have strong and effective support from co-op leaders of the free nations of Western Europe in this endeavor. The Cooperative League believes that groups which have succumbed to government domination—whether Communist or Fascist—are no longer free, voluntary, mutual, self-help enterprises and should be stripped of ICA membership. Until this is done, we propose to offer the vast ICA majority such leadership as is ours from the only position where such leadership can be effective—from within the ICA.

Attached to this recent letter you received was a photo of ICA's 14-man committee, taken in London last November. My picture has been circled in red; likewise, the picture of the Russian representative. This attempt to show that I am engaged in some conspiracy with him is ridiculous. It's like marking a photo of leading United Nations delegates and then inferring that former Senator Lodge and Russia's Vishinsky are conspiring together.

Americans are not afraid to meet with other people—even when we flatly disagree with them. Indeed, we seek opportunities to gain an understanding of our true position in the world today, of our desire for peace, and of our determination to defend freedom. These are the purposes of the Cooperative League. The test is not where you go, but why you go.

Sincerely yours,

MARCH 1954

JERRY VOORHIS.

Mr. CAMPBELL. The relations of the Cooperative League with the United Nations have always been of the best. It was my privilege to be chosen by the league to represent it at the San Francisco conference at which the United Nations Organization was created. Even earlier, in 1943, Murray D. Lincoln, president of the Cooperative League, participated as 1 of the 5 United States delegates to the United Nations conference on food and agriculture at Hot Springs which led to the organization of the permanent Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.

At the San Francisco conference, we worked with a group of non-governmental organizations to support creation of the Economic and Social Council of the U. N. and to ask that nongovernmental organizations be given the right to permanent representation as advisers to the Economic and Social Council. The International Cooperative Alliance maintains permanent representatives in New York and Geneva to participate in meetings of ECOSOC.

Mr. HAYS. Would you mind an interruption, Mr. Campbell?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I will be glad to have one.

Mr. HAYS. I note that you ask that nongovernmental organizations be given the right to permanent representation as advisers. Was this request granted?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is now a part of the constitution and operation of the Economic and Social Council. I think about a dozen international organizations are permanently represented at the ECOSOC, and over 100 others have category B representation. They can sit in, but they do not submit items to the agenda or participate in debate.

We are very happy that the U. N. stretched a point from previous international organizations to bring in the nongovernmental organizations into that relationship. We feel it is very helpful.

In our work in Washington, the Cooperative League has consistently supported the United Nations and its specialized agencies. We have a very keen and practical interest in the Food and Agriculture Organization, for we, in our membership, serve both farmers and consumers and have a close identity of interest with the work of the FAO in

promoting better agricultural methods and better nutritional standards throughout the world.

The Cooperative League has been represented on the United States National Commission for UNESCO, since its inception, and even though UNESCO has suffered from unnecessary and unjustified criticism, we are continuing our strong support of its work. We feel that the UNESCO Target No. 1 in priority—to help abolish illiteracy throughout the world through its program of fundamental education—is a primary requisite to the entire technical assistance program.

The Cooperative League of the United States of America, and its sister organization, the Cooperative Health Federation of America, have a wholesome and growing interest in the work of the World Health Organization, and we expect to continue our wholehearted support of its work.

Already, several cooperative specialists are engaged in the technical assistance program of the International Labor Organization devoted to raising the standards of living in many of the underdeveloped countries.

At one of the earliest meetings of the Economic and Social Council, the International Cooperative Alliance proposed the creation of a United Nations authority to supervise petroleum production and distribution in the Middle East. Such a commission would have served much as statewide commissions do in the United States in regulating petroleum production and enforcing rules of conservation and practices of fair play within the industry. The ICA proposal was defeated, but several delegates who participated in the discussions have told us since that if the ICA proposal had been adopted the current oil crisis in Iran, and much of the troubled relations with the Middle East over petroleum could have been avoided.

One of the most dramatic developments in the field of international cooperation has been the creation of the International Cooperative Petroleum Association. This was set up on the initiative of the American cooperatives in 1946 under the active leadership of Albin Johansson of the cooperatives in Sweden, its president, and Howard A. Cowden of the Consumers Cooperative Association in Kansas City, its secretary-treasurer. The ICPA has built a substantial volume of world trade.

During the crisis in Iran, the ICPA literally "carried coals to Newcastle," shipping thousands of tons of lubricating oil to Iran when the gigantic oil refinery at Abadan was closed. Mr. Cowden suggested to our own United States Government that the ICPA would be willing and anxious to assist in the settlement of the Iranian dispute by establishing either a permanent or a caretaker organization to resume petroleum production in Iran with any earnings made therefrom held in escrow for final settlement by the World Court, or some other appropriate international body. Although this proposal was supported by the Iranian Government, the solution was blocked by the United States State Department and Great Britain.

The International Cooperative Petroleum Association is now serving more than 20 central cooperative organizations in 13 countries and is creating a small but important pattern of world trade.

At the close of World War II, the Cooperative League established a freedom fund devoted to the rehabilitation of cooperatives in the

war-torn countries of the world. About that time, the proposal was made that a group of national organizations pool their capital to set up a package service which could provide permanent stockpiles of food packages for distribution overseas. The freedom fund contributed \$30,000 to the organization of what is now known as the Cooperative for American Remittances Everywhere, and the Cooperative League became one of the first members of CARE.

Murray Lincoln, president of the Cooperative League, has served as president of CARE from its inception. We are proud to have served as 1 member of this cooperative association of 28 national organizations which make up the membership in CARE.

I, perhaps, should have inserted at this point what the membership of CARE is. It is made up primarily of the major relief organizations, religious organizations, educational organizations, labor, agriculture, and cooperative organizations. Twenty-eight national organizations in all own and control policy in CARE.

Mr. HAYS. It is a federation of associations, I believe.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. Strictly speaking, the initials have lost their significance, haven't they, in the present framework?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, the initials still are significant, but most people don't use the full name any more. CARE has become a word in itself, not only here, but in several languages throughout the world.

Mr. HAYS. What was the original name?

Mr. CAMPBELL. The Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe. The word "Everywhere" has been substituted for Europe. We don't serve every part of the world, but there wasn't another word starting with "E" that would serve the purpose.

There is a proposal before our board now that the name be changed again to become the Cooperative for Aid and Rehabilitation Everywhere, which would come closer to describing our present function of serving in the field of self-help and rehabilitation, as well as relief. We ceased being a purely relief organization several years ago, although we do supply \$6 million or \$8 million worth of relief each year overseas, even at this point.

Mr. HAYS. Thank you.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Paul Comly French, the executive director of CARE, will tell you in more detail of the accomplishment of this great organization. We are proud to have participated in its initiation and in its work through these last 8 years, not only because it has brought food and clothing to many millions of people throughout the world, not only because it is now providing tools for self-help in the underdeveloped countries, but most important of all, because CARE has demonstrated that private American citizens are willing and anxious to help their fellowmen to achieve better standards of living.

Earlier this year, we appeared before your committee and presented information about another important new development in the field of international cooperation. The occasion was the hearings on the Javits bill, House Joint Resolution 350, calling for the creation of a United States Travel Commission. We reported at that time that the Cooperative League has joined with six other important national organizations to form the American Travel Association, which is designed to stimulate international travel as a means of broadening

the horizons of our own memberships and creating greater international understanding and good will.

Participating with us in this venture are the National Education Association, Congress of Industrial Organizations, Americans for Democratic Action, National Farmers Union, Farm Bureau Insurance Companies, and the District of Columbia Credit Union League.

I appreciate this chance to have been here and talked to your committee on these matters.

**Mr. MERROW.** Thank you, Mr. Campbell, for your very fine informative and illuminating statement.

**Mrs. Bolton—**

**Mrs. BOLTON.** It is very nice to see you, Mr. Campbell.

If we understand the cooperatives, they are the Swedish form of cooperative.

**Mrs. CAMPBELL.** That is right. The pattern has developed further in Sweden and the Scandinavian countries than any other place in the world. They have created what Marquis Childs called "the middle way," which we feel is a very apt title.

You have a very great number of them back in Ohio, in your own constituency.

**Mrs. BOLTON.** They are no longer in my constituency, I am sorry to say.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

**Mr. MERROW.** Mr. Hays—

**Mr. HAYS.** No questions, thank you, sir.

**Mr. MERROW.** Mr. LeCompte—

**Mr. LECOMPTE.** No questions.

**Mr. MERROW.** Mr. Carnahan—

**Mr. CARNAHAN.** No questions, Mr. Chairman.

**Mr. CAMPBELL.** I notice that Mr. Norris Dodd, former Director General of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, just came in. CARE is very happy to be able to say at this point that Mr. Dodd is helping us now on a proposal which CARE has for, we hope, meeting the surplus food problem by getting food to many millions of people throughout the world.

**Mr. MERROW.** Mr. Dodd was very helpful to us when we were in Rome studying the Food and Agriculture Organization last October. We would be pleased to have Mr. Dodd say anything he wishes to the committee.

This is a hearing on the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

**Mr. CAMPBELL.** Mr. French has not yet come in. We are waiting for him.

#### STATEMENT OF NORRIS DODD, FORMER DIRECTOR GENERAL, U. N. FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION

**Mr. DODD.** Mr. Chairman, I don't think I have anything to say at this time. I was primarily interested in Mr. French's testimony, and I thought that perhaps at some later date I might be of some help to the committee, or be able to answer questions if there were any, on the way to use surplus foods, or what we call surplus in the United States, to build some friends for the United States, and some friends who, perhaps, we couldn't win otherwise.

Mr. MERROW. Thank you, Mr. Dodd.

Mr. Dodd is former Director General of FAO. I don't know whether any of the members might have any questions they would like to ask at this time.

Mrs. Bolton—

Mrs. BOLTON. I would like to ask this: You don't, then, see that as an impossible situation, do you?

Mr. DODD. No, I really think it is a very possible situation. I think if the committee could have been with me on some of the trips I have made to the underdeveloped areas—well, I would take, for example, South Africa. Last spring I traveled clear through the native areas. Almost every crossroad has a little school just bulging with children, and they were trying to set up a little lunch program for the children. The native women would use an iron kettle and make a bowl of mush. Just straight, cornmeal mush. That was the extent of their resources. They couldn't go any further, but it did give the children at least one full stomach a day. Think what you could have done with some dried milk or dried eggs or butter or something like that in that bowl of mush to fortify it nutritionally. There are a million children down there just begging for it. I just give that as one example.

Mrs. BOLTON. How would you handle it at this end? Does your thought take in this end of it, which seems to have so many hitches?

Mr. DODD. I think it would have to be done in the judgment of the Secretary of Agriculture, perhaps. Anything that he declared would be surplus to the needs of America, for whatever uses they might have in mind for it, could be used for some special program of that kind.

Mrs. BOLTON. We always seem to get to the point of saying that we are going to cut down our markets.

Mr. DODD. This should result in new consumers that you never had. They have no way to buy food, although the Government may be able to put up the transportation costs for some little help. Certainly you would depend upon local people to operate the schemes.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Hays—

Mr. HAYS. Where are the most critical areas from the standpoint of food deficits?

Mr. DODD. Well, Congressman Hays, I think you can take all of the Far East and you can take most of South Africa, and you can take a good part of Latin America. The picture, overall, is about like this: We have about 16 or 17 percent greater production overall more food than we had 15 years ago. North America is about 40 percent above and Europe is just about even. Some other areas are 10 percent above and 5 percent above, but you know, we have had an increase of some 20 million people during that time, with the result that in the Far East and many of the Near East countries, as well, that you have less food per capita than before the war. They had a very poor diet before the war. Today, they are worse off than they were then.

In other words, the people who were well fed before the war are better fed now. The people who were ill fed before the war are worse fed than they were before the war.

Mr. HAYS. Are there any substantial surplus countries in the world besides Canada and the United States?

Mr. DODD. There may be a little surplus rice in some areas now, but the rice production has stepped up until there may be a little extra rice, but it is only rice.

The only way you are going to get more food for most of those areas is for them to grow it themselves. I think you can give them technical assistance to get them to producing more food, but you have an area of child feeding and things of that kind where you can develop habits for people and build young folks who later on, when they are able to supply their own desires, will result in new customers in the world market.

In Italy, the United Nations Children's Fund started a school-feeding plan in southern Italy. Last year they had to discontinue it, because they were short of funds, but the Italian Government is now carrying the appropriation and the school-feeding program is going right along. You may have seen it while you were there.

When you get these new uses going, and feeding children particularly, it is pretty hard to stop it once you have it going. The local government has to make some effort to keep them up.

Mr. HAYS. I assume your policy is to undertake, where possible, to transfer the financial burden.

Mr. DODD. That is right. You couldn't do it, otherwise. It would be a load on the surplus of any taxpaying country that they couldn't take very long.

Mr. HAYS. If this were put on the basis of a dual service—that is, helping starving people and serving American strategy in a global struggle—could we carry that logically and intelligently, or do we have to leave the strategy factor out?

Mr. DODD. Well, personally, I think you have to leave the strategy out, but you know down deep in their hearts, they know where it comes from and you get the same support. I think any sort of a program of feeding children or hungry people, any other kind of help to those people, has to be on the straight basis of humanity. The same as you would your neighbors down the street. If you find your neighbors down the street need help, you don't try to make a deal with them to fight for you if you get in trouble or something else. But if you do help him, you find he is on your side all the time; isn't that right?

Mr. HAYS. You are speaking exactly to the point.

I was just wondering. The mere fact that in your international techniques of distributing food, that you do not stress the national interest of the providing country—that doesn't mean that in our long-range interests, there isn't a certain service to America, does it?

Mr. DODD. That is right. The service is there, and those people recognize the service. They are proud to be friends. But if you say, "We are going to give you a sack of flour or potatoes, but you will have to join our church," there is hesitancy on their part in accepting it.

Mr. HAYS. As a matter of fact, waiving any consideration of ethics, it would defeat its own purpose anyway, wouldn't it; you would get exactly the contrary reaction.

Mr. DODD. I think so.

Mr. HAYS. Which is the best way to do it, through our agencies, Government or private, or through international agencies?

Mr. DODD. Congressman, I think it would really need a combination. The reason I say that is, there may be some of these deals that may be too large—that is, you may want to take a close look at it—and there may be a tie-in with other programs that you may have.

I think in the greater part of the straight relief problem, not altogether having to do with economic development, I think it should be done through private agencies or international agencies.

Mr. HAYS. Would you mind enlarging on that just a little. Sometime we may have to choose between the approaches.

Mr. DODD. Well, I think in something that requires an administrative organization to supervise it at lower levels than Government level, I think it should be done through international, or private agencies. They are equipped to use local people, with some few of their own staff, where they can supervise it as a level where you couldn't ask your Ambassador or your own agency people to go down to that level.

If it was some big deal—I am thinking of one country I know of that asked for a pretty big loan to build some dams. I think if you would make a loan of wheat or corn or food, it would be just as effective if they sold that food to their people and used the money that way to pay part of the labor cost on their dam. I think that could be a government-to-government arrangement, because it would be a simple arrangement simply between governments for one single purpose. It wouldn't be scattered out over the many areas of that one particular country.

You've got to be awfully careful and keep track of this food to make sure it doesn't compete with food that normally flows in regular trade channels, or you will make people mad at the United States. You can take a pound of butter and if it says, "Made in America," it scares the daylight out of the Danish farmer who has to live by the churn.

However, if it is some child who wouldn't get any butter anyway, the farmer might put in some butter to help you.

Mr. HAYS. With regard to the school-lunch program, we have made friends for that, because we have kept it from acting in competition with producers.

Mr. DODD. You will remember I had something to do with that program.

Mr. HAYS. Yes. There is a parallel, is there not?

Mr. DODD. Yes. You can understand how these other countries would like to do what America did with their schoolchildren, but they don't have the resources to get going on their own. They don't have the resources that we had to get going in such abundance.

Mr. HAYS. I don't know a great deal about the food problem, but I just have the impression that we aren't making the serious, all-out effort to do a job that has to be done.

Mr. DODD. I think the United States could buy more peace and stability in the world through some friendship than you can with all the armies and ammunition in the world. You might tie people down for awhile, but you couldn't convince them.

Mrs. BOLTON. Would you mind if I objected to one word you used?

Mr. DODD. No.

Mrs. BOLTON. The United States "buying" these things. It is a matter of "producing." When we use the word "buy," we don't get very far with our dollars.

Mr. DODD. I didn't mean it that way, and I agree with you.

Perhaps I could give you a little story that might illustrate that point I was trying to make. Out in Oregon where I lived on my farm we had some pretty rough days in 1932 and 1933, and there were



quite a few men around town who made their living by working as farm laborers in the summertime. Well, there wasn't much work in the fall of 1932 and the winter of 1932-33 was pretty rough.

One morning I met one of them on the street and asked him how he was getting along. He said it was pretty bad, but, "I'm still living. The kids aren't doing as well as they have. How are you getting along?"

I said, "I'm in serious trouble." He said, "What do you mean? You have your ranch and your house and your fuel. You ought to be doing all right."

"But," I said, "I have my corrals to clean out; I have my fences to fix; I have my ditches to clean; I have my houses to repair; and I don't have a cent of money. I have everything else, but I don't have any money."

He said, "I'll help you out."

I said, "I'm glad you will help me out, but I can't pay you anything but food."

He said, "That is the thing I need the worst."

I said, "Fine. You come out tomorrow morning and bring your car and when you finish at night you load up with whatever you want."

He did that and within a week, I had three others who were helping me out.

People don't like charity, but those people worked harder for me that spring than they ever did when I paid them wages. It is the kind of thing I think the United States can do.

Now, whether I earned his friendship or bought his friendship, I don't care.

Mrs. BOLTON. I understand.

Mr. HAYS. This has been very helpful, Mr. Dodd. I think stating it negatively, if we allowed food to spoil in the United States, we would get some reactions in the world that would be hard to counteract, and some Soviet exploiting of that reaction that would be difficult to deal with; is that correct?

Mr. DODD. That is correct. I have a feeling we can't feel secure in an island of prosperity in this troubled sea. That is all around us. I think we are going to have to help the folks who need help.

Mr. HAYS. I am glad we had an opportunity to hear you. I know you hadn't planned to say anything, but you have lived with this problem and I know that you are respected by our farm leadership. They know that you have a practical approach to these questions and I think it has been extremely helpful.

You feel, in other words, that there is a way for us to serve our own national interests in this world crisis by getting more substantial shipments of food out of our surplus to the distressed areas?

Mr. DODD. I very definitely do, sir. Very definitely.

Mr. HAYS. Thank you.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. LeCompte—

Mr. Lecompte. No questions.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Carnahan—

Mr. CARNAHAN. We are getting some of the same reaction when we are attempting to label most of our sharing throughout the world as military assistance.

Mr. DODD. Well, I don't know whether it is possible for me to interpret my feelings about that. I have been to practically every country

in the world quite a few times in the last 10 years, and there is a difference in the way that those things come to people. There is a difference in the way the local people feel about them.

You will remember last fall there was a demonstration in Belgrade over the Trieste area thing, and there were some jeeps overturned, and so forth. There was a CARE truck distributing food to needy people. Everybody knew it was United States. Some people went out to overturn that truck and they said, "Oh, no, that is the butter and egg truck; don't touch that."

It was United States food and it was United States personnel distributing it, but it wasn't the same as the other. It was different to them.

I don't think I have words to interpret just what I would like to say to you as to the difference of approach. In Siam and Burma—Burma is a good illustration—Burma is so close to the fire that it is difficult for them to take United States aid. I was one of the first people who went up to Mandalay after the plot up there, and it is still a pretty dangerous place. Now, if you could do this on a basis of friendship to Burma, that is all right, but otherwise, they will just say, "Well, these people are trying to dominate our economy," and you don't get any results.

If you could do it through the Presbyterians, or any other groups—I don't have the letter here, but I just got a letter from an old friend in a farm school in Salonika, Greece. He refers to some of the efforts in the past year. The British Quakers are running a girl's school and the American institutions and churches are supporting the farm schools. One group is British and one is American. They don't look at them as Americans or British, but as a Christian group trying to help those people.

They couldn't have been there had it not been for MSA, or one of the first-aid programs you passed. They are operating through you, but they don't have that direct tie-in that people can use for propaganda.

Mr. CARNAHAN. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. HAYS. Could I ask another question?

Mr. MERROW. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. Are our relations with FAO satisfactory nationally, or do you have any suggestions about improving them?

Mr. DODD. I think they have been very good. In the field, you will find United States technicians are about the same as any other and we have no problem. They are wonderful.

You can run into some of the toughest looking problems you ever saw, but they all get worked out.

Mr. HAYS. FAO is highly influential, I assume, in the point 4 program.

Mr. DODD. As you know, I am not with FAO at the moment. FAO is a technical organization and most of the aid has to be technical. You furnish technicians to train people. We don't do the work, but you train people to do the work.

The United States point 4 people in FOA, they can buy equipment; they can establish a laboratory and do things that FAO couldn't do by itself. They furnish the money to help countries with a building, perhaps, maybe to buy laboratory equipment, and we furnish the technicians to teach in the laboratory, to train local people. I know of 3

or 4 places where we have built laboratories together. We have trained the local technicians. We couldn't have built the laboratory and I don't think they could have found the technicians—you have to comb the world, nearly, to supply all of these things.

Working together, the job was done.

Mr. HAYS. The whole program of technical assistance through the United Nations structure is fairly well coordinated, is it not?

Mr. DODD. It is very well coordinated.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Dodd, I want to compliment you on behalf of the mission that was in Rome, for the fine way in which you and your staff made available to the mission the information with respect to FAO.

We were impressed by the operation of the organization, and it seemed to me that you were getting a great deal of self-help among the nations you were assisting. In other words, on rather a small budget, it seemed as though there were valuable results, because the nations were being induced to help themselves.

Do you want to say a bit about that self-help?

Mr. DODD. Well, thank you, Congressman.

I still feel we can none of us do the work for somebody else. Particularly the underdeveloped areas are in a vicious circle. They have no trained technicians and, therefore, cannot develop their resources, particularly agricultural resources. Without the technicians, you just go around and around.

FAO has tried to go in and pick out some young folks who needed training and train them insofar as we could, locally.

You pick 50, maybe, and maybe 1 or 2 will stick their head up indicating that he should have better training and you send them to the United States or someplace for training. Then they go back and teach others of their people.

Again, to revert to Greece, immediately after the war, FAO sent in an American girl. She happened to be of Greek parentage but was educated in Nebraska and Cornell.

Most of the girls in Greece at the end of the war, from 6 and 7 years old to 15 and 16, had no education whatever; they didn't know their ABC's or any part of it. They certainly weren't very competent as homekeepers or helping with children and those things.

She got some interest going on the part of some of the people in smaller towns, as well as the government, and they made a little house or room available where she could teach. In the morning, she would spend 2 or 3 hours with them, teaching them their three R's, reading and writing.

Along toward noon, she would teach these girls how to prepare their lunch, using just the foods that they had available, but showing them the proper ways to prepare it so it was more palatable.

After lunch, she would give them lessons in how to prepare the little dresses and little hoods and things for children. Then, again, in the evening, she would prepare the evening meal.

After a few months of work in a village, there would be 1 or 2 girls who showed more promise than the rest, so she would take them with her over to the next town and then she would go through the same performance.

At the end of the year, she had about 200 of these better girls who were almost able, on their own, to go out and train girls in the country towns, just the same as they had been trained themselves.

Out of that, she was able to get through the Greek Parliament a law setting up their nutrition and home-demonstration program that is now in effect. We sent her back every 6 months or so to check with the local authorities, but this thing has just gone across the country like wildfire, and now the Greeks are training their own people and these girls who started first are the ones who are out in the front.

I think it is a grand example of teaching people to help themselves, and starting from the very lowest level. None of them could read nor write.

Mr. MERROW. The committee will recess for a short while.

(A short recess was taken.)

#### AFTER RECESS

Mr. MERROW. The committee will be in order.

We have Mr. Paul French with us, of CARE. We are very sorry that you had a difficult time in getting down here by plane from New York. We are happy that you are here and that you have had a safe arrival.

Mr. French.

#### STATEMENT OF PAUL FRENCH, COOPERATIVE FOR AMERICAN REMITTANCES TO EVERYWHERE, INC.

Mr. FRENCH. I apologize for being so late, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to give you briefly some of the background of CARE, where we started, what we have been doing and where we would like to move.

During the past 8 years CARE—the Cooperative for American Remittances to Everywhere, Inc.—has become widely known, both here and abroad, as a voluntary agency which distributes relief and rehabilitation assistance from the people of America to the people of other lands. CARE's funds have come primarily from private individuals and organizations. However, as one of 58 nongovernmental agencies registered with the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid of the United States Foreign Operations Administration, it has also received governmental shipping and distribution reimbursements, allocations of farm surpluses and other benefits made available under the ECA, MSA, and now the FOA.

The conduct of CARE's business is, therefore, properly the concern both of the general public and of the Members of Congress who are their representatives in Government. I would like to present to you a résumé of CARE's operations, with the particular emphasis on its financial expenses.

First, let me review the record of CARE's development, since this itself is indicative of CARE's efforts to merit the public's trust that it will put charitable dollars to the most effective use overseas.

Immediately after World War II, many Americans were anxious to send help to relatives and friends in devastated countries. Unscrupulous firms, trading on this charitable desire, were taking orders for goods that would never be delivered. Guided by former Presi-

dent Hoover's experience in dispensing relief at the end of the First World War, 22 major American religious, service, and labor organizations joined in November 1945, to incorporate CARE as a cooperative agency that would send specific relief supplies overseas on a person-to-person basis.

Food was the most urgent need, and so CARE went into business by acquiring surplus stocks of the Army's 10-in-1 ration packages. Americans were invited to subscribe the packages for relatives or friends abroad. CARE guaranteed delivery and promised to return to the donor as proof, a receipt signed by the designated recipient.

It set up foreign missions so that its own American personnel could control deliveries and minimize pilfering and black marketing. It negotiated contracts with each foreign government involved to permit ration and duty-free entry of CARE gifts and guarantee CARE control of distributions. Assured by these safeguards, orders from Americans poured in—not only from those with relatives or friends overseas but from warmhearted citizens who simply wanted to help someone in need. For them, too, CARE operated on a person-to-person basis, making delivery in their name; returning a receipt signed by the recipient.

Before the first year had passed, it became apparent that to do a real job special food packages were needed to meet varying national shortages and tastes. When the end of the 10-in-1 stockpile approached, CARE began to assemble its own standard food parcels, with special variations for different countries. Nor was food the only essential in short supply. Clothing, household linen, blankets—all were needed. CARE began to compile textile as well as food packages.

Originally, delivery of these supplies was limited to Europe. But the United States postwar efforts to build a world family of nations made it logical that individual aid, too, should be extended without geographic limits. Starting with Japan, CARE began deliveries to the Philippines, India, Pakistan, Israel, Korea, until today some form of CARE service is available for almost 50 countries in Europe, Asia, Latin America, and parts of Africa.

The further CARE traveled the more it realized that relief alone was not enough, that impoverished peoples must also be given the means to help themselves to decent living standards. And so CARE began to pack modern plows and tools to help farmers in backward areas increase their crop yields; industrial toolkits that enable carpenters, bricklayers, mechanics, to support themselves at their trade; midwifery kits, iron lungs and medical supplies to help bring people the health and strength to work; new books and school supplies to help the world's youth develop into alert, well-informed and self-supporting men and women.

This self-help program had its most recent development in the formation of a subsidiary organization, the CARE Development Corp., in which donors will be invited to buy stock. The funds thus derived will operate as a sort of private point 4 program to finance industrial and agricultural projects in private areas.

All of this adds up to \$165 million worth of voluntary relief, rehabilitation and self-help supplies distributed by CARE to date as gifts from the people of America. In the delivery CARE has established a network of missions that virtually ring the free world, bringing

daily assurance to its peoples that Americans are concerned with their welfare, as friend to friend. There is no longer any standard CARE gift: CARE stands ready at any time to use its facilities, its experience and personnel to bring help to the world's needy in whatever form they need help most.

Running a multimillion buying, packing, and shipping operation, as CARE does, obviously requires working capital. Maintaining supervisory personnel in foreign countries and keeping in contact with them costs money—even postage and cables can run into sizable figures. Raising funds to help people in some faraway land is more difficult than soliciting for local relief programs. Yet, despite these necessary expenses, CARE is able to report that only 7.6 percent of the moneys it spent in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1953, went for fund raising and 8.3 percent for administrative expenses.

A detailed statement of income and expenditures for that period is appended to this report, but to summarize: Of a total of \$7,877,845 expended in that fiscal year, \$601,056, or 7.6 percent, went for promotion and publicity, including all fund-raising costs, and \$655,678, or 8.3 percent, for administrative expenses, including management, salaries, travel, and research. The remaining \$6,621,110, or 84.1 percent, went directly into package costs, from components to signed receipt.

The low fund-raising figure is possible only because of the tremendous voluntary support CARE receives from America's communications media. CARE spends no money on commercial advertising; we do not employ any outside fund raisers. Our entire public relations and fund-raising staff, including executive staff and secretaries in New York and 13 key cities where CARE maintains field offices, numbers only 69 people. However, through the Advertising Council, which sponsors CARE as a continuing public service project, we receive invaluable free space and time from newspapers, magazines, radio, and television stations and networks and the outdoor advertising industry.

CARE's success in keeping administrative costs low is largely due to our utilization of business techniques and business machines that bring to philanthropy the same standards of efficiency that have benefited American industry.

Our purchasing department in New York plans the buying of package or project components as thoroughly as any chainstore. Several times a year there are conferences to study economic signs and try to assay them. These meetings also consider reports from our overseas personnel on various national needs and preferences. Supplies are bought at wholesale, from bids awarded on the basis of price and quality. All items are routed to our warehouse on the Philadelphia waterfront, where packing is done on an assembly-line basis and the completed CARE parcels loaded right onto freighters tied up at dockside of the plant. Money received from any CARE office or voluntary outlet is forwarded to New York headquarters, where a battery of machines record and process 420 orders an hour, preparing confirmation forms for the sender and delivery orders for the CARE representatives in the country involved.

In this connection, it is important to note that CARE never raises funds to support itself. We sell a specific package or project—food parcels for Korean war victims, tool kits for refugee carpenters in

Western Germany, audiovisual equipment for a community center in the Philippines. The donor knows exactly what he is buying for his money, and where it will go.

He can—and does—“shop” the gift and prove its value before making a contribution. This means that CARE itself must constantly shop retail markets to make certain that we are giving the fullest possible value for each dollar.

Our record on this score can be judged by CARE's latest comparison shopping of packages, a detailed copy of which is attached. For example, the “standard” food package CARE delivers in Germany, at a complete cost of \$10 to the donor, would cost \$14.11 if an individual were to purchase the contents at a supermarket and mail them overseas through parcel post. That \$14.11 figure, incidentally, does not include allowances for packing materials, nor the fact that many items which CARE sends in tins or other special containers to prevent spoilage and breakage are sold at retail in much less expensive cardboard or paper containers. CARE's \$13.50 woolen suiting package would cost \$21.75 for an individual to buy at retail and mail overseas on his own. The \$14 CARE festive food package for Israel would cost \$20.72 if purchased and mailed individually.

Thanks to the fact that CARE was able to buy some surplus commodities at concessional prices from CCC, our \$5 basic food package is a real bargain in relief—it would cost an individual \$13.87 to buy and send overseas a food package similar in contents and weight.

This difference between “wholesale” and “retail” provides the funds CARE needs to operate. The price CARE places upon each package or project includes the actual cost of the components, the packing materials, our overhead, the ocean freight, the insurance—we maintain a \$30 million blanket policy underwritten by Lloyd's—the cost of local delivery to the ultimate recipient, and a cushion against possible loss. This cushion, what would be called profit in a commercial organization, ranges from 10 to 35 cents on each \$10 unit.

As a nonprofit organization, CARE uses this “profit” in two ways. More than half of it is plowed back into additional “free” packages which are distributed as general relief to needy persons and groups in each country in which we operate. On this basis, of some \$6 million CARE has “made” in the past 8 years, about \$3,500,000 has been distributed overseas. The rest is held as working capital to launch new CARE projects; to permit us to purchase and ship commodities in advance of actual “orders”; to send emergency relief supplies to victims of floods, earthquakes and other sudden catastrophes, and to help us absorb “losses” that occur in some periods.

The reserve funds, for instance, have made it possible for CARE to launch its new self-help projects, and to absorb the deficits that are inevitable until the public has had a chance to become as familiar with this phase of CARE's work as they are with our food packages. Items like educational equipment, industrial tools, medical supplies, are important to the long-range stability of the free world—but none of them have the dramatic impact of an appeal to send food to the hungry.

The “cushion” CARE includes in the price of its food packages thus helps us do the long-range job of giving a farmer in India a modern plow that will help him grow more of the food his countrymen need, or means that we can place on the shelves of a university in South

Korea the new scientific and technical books that will help to train the engineers, doctors, and technicians the country needs for its full development.

Despite this provision for reserve funds, help sent abroad through CARE gives the donor more value for his dollar than he can send in any other way, as the attached financial statement and comparison shopping reports show. The very fact that we are voluntarily registered with the FOA Advisory Committee on Voluntary Aid attests our determination that this should be so.

The rules governing registration with this committee, as you gentlemen probably know, provide that—

the funds and resources of the registrant will be obtained, expended, and distributed in ways which conform to accepted ethical standards, without unreasonable cost for promotion, publicity, fund raising, and administration at home and abroad.

For public guidance, the committee maintains current information on each registrant—its purposes, programs, finances, including audits by certified public accountants, and other pertinent activities.

Within the past week, CARE gave the public still further assurance that it will operate as economically and efficiently as possible. We have organized a National Advisory Committee of top business leaders, including such men as Paul G. Hoffman; Gardner Cowles, president of Cowles Magazines, and Harry A. Bullis, chairman of the board of General Mills. These executives, all of whom have international business interests and experience, have agreed to lend their experience and counsel to help solve problems connected with CARE's foreign-aid programs, particularly in the self-help field and in possible distributions of surplus agricultural foods released by the United States Government.

Behind CARE's promise of efficient administration lies also the personal and professional integrity of each member of its board of directors, composed of representatives of each of the 25 member agencies that form our cooperative.

The record of CARE's achievements has been compiled in many countries. Testimonials from heads of state and decorations conferred upon our representatives speak for the high regard CARE enjoys in official circles abroad. Most telling is the recognition given by the recipient peoples themselves, for most of the supplies distributed by CARE overseas has gone directly into their homes. All over Europe there are children known as CARE babies because they and their mothers were nourished by CARE food packages. In Korea, the symbols used to write CARE signify "constant love." In West Berlin, streetcar conductors call our "CARE stop" as they approach the intersection nearest our mission. In every country, regardless of the language they speak, the people recognize the letters "CARE" as symbols of American goodwill.

We feel that we can be justifiably proud of the job we have done in the past. We believe we have the facilities and the know-how to do even more, on the person-to-person basis and that is most effective in forging international cooperation and friendship. We hope that in the future, through both private and governmental resources, CARE will be enabled to play a much larger role as a channel for interpreting



to our friends throughout the world the true heart and spirit of America.

Thank you, gentlemen.

(The statement attached to Mr. French's prepared statement is as follows:)

#### CARE FOOD PACKAGE COMPARISON

CARE's standard food package distributed in Germany was shopped recently at two leading chain supermarkets. Our findings were as follows:

CARE packaged delivered to the recipient.....	\$10. 00
Comparable package shopped in supermarkets and shipped from home to recipient.....	14. 11

It should be noted that the \$14.11 price does not include an allowance for packing or packing materials. Added advantage of the CARE package not shown in price is the fact that cocoa, coffee, and bacon are packed in tin. In the market, these items were in cardboard canister, paper bag, and wax paper respectively. CARE's sugar and lard are packed in cotton bag and tin respectively, as against the supermarkets' paper bag and cardboard carton.

CARE's standard food package which is distributed in Austria, Benelux, Finland, France, and Norway, with the same exception as listed for the German package, shows as follows:

CARE package delivered to the recipient.....	\$10. 00
Comparable package shopped in supermarkets and shipped from home to recipient.....	12. 83

CARE's standard food package for Great Britain, with same exception, showed the following:

CARE package delivered to the recipient.....	\$10. 00
Comparable package shopped in supermarkets and shipped from home to recipient.....	13. 55

CARE's basic food package revealed the following:

CARE package delivered to the recipient.....	\$5. 00
Comparable package shopped in supermarkets and shipped from home to recipient.....	13. 87
(Germany used for average parcel-post rate.)	

CARE's woolen suiting package was shopped at two large New York department stores. Findings were as follows:

CARE package delivered to the recipient.....	\$13. 50
Comparable package purchased in New York stores at retail and shipped from home to recipient.....	21. 75

CARE's household linen package was shopped at two department stores and showed the following:

CARE package delivered to the recipient.....	\$10. 00
Comparable package purchased in New York and shipped from home to recipient.....	10. 50

CARE's kosher festive food package was shopped in New York retail outlets (a few items not locally available had to be estimated against comparable products).

CARE's kosher food package delivered to recipient.....	\$14.00
Comparable package purchased and mailed to Israel.....	20.72

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Mr. FRENCH. To summarize, I will say that the CARE organization was organized by various organizations to set up a package operation overseas so that individuals here could send food to friends and relatives in Europe. That was the initial point.

It started out basically by using the Army "10-in-1" packs and gradually moved from that as other fields developed. It became obvious that there was a need in Europe for textiles, for household linen, baby diapers and things of that kind and it gradually extended to a number of different kinds of packages, from the original Army "10-in-1" including a series of food packages prepared by CARE to meet the dire deficiencies in various countries which were changed fairly regularly as deficiencies were filled in a certain country. When sugar was available, it would be replaced with something else which was in shortage.

We tried to fill in the various deficiencies of the country.

All along we have had what amounts to a very excellent self-policing arrangement. In the early days of the war, or after the war, there was a lot of commercial enterprises that distributed food overseas and did a fairly unscrupulous job in the amount of food that went for the amount of money paid.

We have had this self-policing operation, where a person can check what is in a package and go to the store and see what the prices were. Any time we couldn't deliver a \$10 unit anywhere in the world for less than you can go to a store and buy it yourself, then we discontinued that unit.

I have a table attached to this statement which shows the comparable prices where we shop all the packages about twice a month, so at any point you can see just what the comparable prices are. At no point will you ever be in a position to say that we are getting \$10 for a unit that was worth \$7. Anybody can go to the corner grocery store and see whether they are being gypped.

I think it has been an excellent thing and I think that is one of the reasons why we have had the public confidence. We have the confidence because you can always be sure of what you are getting for your money.

Another innovation which CARE inaugurated in things going overseas, is a signed receipt from the person receiving a package. Whether designated or undesignated a signed receipt comes back from the person receiving the package to the donor. Thus you have a complete self-policing sort of thing which I think is good in any form of relief and in any philanthropic organization. It is a good thing to know exactly what you bought and who got it.

We have been able to keep our operation costs at a fairly low level because of the support we have had from the Advertising Council which I am sure many of you know about. It represents all of the media of public information. CARE has had, for example, over \$4.5 million worth of free radio time over the radio stations of

America. Obviously you can't afford to buy that sort of thing. We have had terrific support from newspapers, radio, television, car cards, billboards and from everybody who has anything to do with public relations.

After we started the food and textile program in Europe it became obvious that there was a further need.

The Director General of UNESCO spoke to me in Paris about the need for technical books in university libraries in Europe which had been destroyed during the war. He pointed out that technical knowledge previously came from Germany but now comes from the United States. We started a program and raised almost \$2 million for scientific professional and technical books for university libraries. That was extended from Europe to South America, to Asia, to Africa, and the Near East.

Gradually during the course of this whole CARE program we have moved into the Far East, into South America and into parts of Africa. At one time or another CARE has operated various types of programs in over 60 countries. Some the full program, some just part.

The WHO people talked to us about the problem of getting supplies for medical institutions. We worked out in conjunction with WHO a program which is now going at a fairly sizable pace. We hope to distribute somewhere between \$750,000 and \$1 million worth of hospital equipment in southeast Asia. Many of the hospitals are short some of the elemental things we accept as a matter of course. They don't have sheets, pillow cases, rubber sheets and things like that which we just automatically assume a hospital has. So we think in that program we are doing a fairly useful job.

We have also gotten into various other things. In India, Mr. Nehru talked to me about the problem of the wooden plow and spoke of the value to them of getting a plow with an iron blade or a steel blade to turn the soil. After consulting with a great many experts—and I discovered there are more experts on Indian plows than I ever knew existed in the world—we evolved a plow which is now being used in India which is a fairly successful operation from their standpoint.

Mrs. BOLTON. How much?

Mr. FRENCH. It varies in price from \$12 to \$18. The one we make in India is cheaper than what we can produce it for here because there is no ocean freight. The plows vary according to areas of country. You have to have different kinds of blades for different kinds of soil in different part of India.

Chancellor Adenauer talked to me 3 or 4 years ago about the problem of their young people—refugees coming over from the lands the Soviets had taken over, or Poland—the problem of learning a trade. Under the German system the apprentice has to provide his own tools. If he doesn't have tools he can't learn the trade. They cost about 280 marks a set and the average refugee family didn't have 280 marks.

Adenauer was very much disturbed that here was a group of youngsters who were potential storm troopers of a new Hitler unless they could get into a trade. We developed packages of carpenter's tools, plasterers, and plumbers and so forth, that could be sent to a refugee youth to help him acquire a skill.

Likewise CARE has spread into all kinds of things as needs arose. As the American people would support us, we have developed new projects and programs to meet the needs.

In the Philippines, for example, we were asked by Quirino and also by Magsaysay, when he was Minister of Defense, to try to work out a community center which would teach democracy at the village level. To equip each center costs about \$5,500. The community sets up the center itself. It donates the land and builds the center and we equip it with a jeep, agricultural equipment, movie cameras, films, and so forth.

So that down at the level of the community where the average Filipino lives he has a chance to see some of the modern techniques without having to go too far away to get it. The Philippine Government is cooperating extremely well with us.

I guess we have 12 centers being operated now. Women's clubs around America finance them; a Rotary Club will take them on, or other groups of that kind.

Mrs. BOLTON. How many did you say you had?

Mr. FRENCH. There are about 12 running now. The beauty of it is that in each one of those cases the villagers themselves have contributed the land and physically built the building. In some cases they have as much as \$35,000 invested in land and building. In a Filipino village that is a lot of money. This is a major contribution they have put in themselves. You feel you are helping them to help themselves and they are willing to make a start and do something about it.

So often people ask us how we operate in terms of money, where we get the money to run all this sort of thing. We have raised over \$160 million since CARE started, and while that isn't much in terms of government budgets, it still impresses me as an awful lot of \$10 bills from a lot of individual people.

Mrs. BOLTON. Say how much again.

Mr. FRENCH. \$160 million. Better than \$160 million. Most of it from individual Americans. So it has been a fairly sizable operation. We have a markup on every CARE package that runs from maybe 10 to 35 cents. In any other organization that would be profit, but in CARE it is the cushion against losses. You can't make exact estimates in shipping costs and distribution costs and so forth. Out of this cushion so far we have given away over \$3.5 million in extra packages, books, tools, plows, and so forth, in different countries. When CARE finally concludes its usefulness, the surpluses left will be given away in the countries in which we operate.

The total cost of the operation, everything we do, comes out of the \$10-package unit. The overhead, the shipping cost, the distribution cost, the surplus, insurance on the goods, everything is included in that \$10. CARE does not at any time raise funds for its administration. We don't go out and try to get anybody to put up money to run it. It is all out of that unit.

One of the ways we think we have been able to run a fairly efficient and economic program is because we have used all the techniques of modern business. We have IBM and Remington Rand machines in the office. We have an efficient packing and production line in Philadelphia where we can handle up to 40,000 packages a day, 18 freight cars coming in an escalator going up to a second floor of a pier and out the second floor window into a ship docked at a siding. I think it is as efficient a packing line as anything in America. We have

adopted all the techniques of American business in terms of physical movement to do as economical and efficient a job as we can.

One of the things which we recently started doing—3 years ago as a matter of fact—is to use some of the farm surplus for distributing overseas. The first major program we had was in Yugoslavia. It is very interesting, I think, to note the results of what happened there. We worked out an agreement with the Yugoslavian Government that first of all, we, in conjunction with the government would determine the categories of people who would receive the food. Nursing mothers, outpatients, TB hospitals, and so forth. They would have a ration system which we would control so the individuals who received the surplus would lose nothing under their normal ration allotment. The surplus would be supplementary. Under the agreement we put American observers in who could move about freely in Yugoslavia, take pictures where they wanted, without any interference from anyone in the government.

When we finished the program we had reached individually 4 million people in all 6 republics—that is a quarter of the total population—we had 4 million individual signed receipts from people who received the goods and knew that they were from the American people.

After the thing was over, Marshal Tito made what I thought was a very interesting statement; that in a highly centralized state (which I thought was a delightful way of describing Yugoslavia at that point) it was always necessary to be aware of public sentiment and after this CARE distribution, which reached 4 million people, that if the government wanted to become anti-American, which it didn't, it would find it very difficult to do.

We had another interesting experience when the announcement was made that United States and British troops were leaving Trieste. There was considerable excitement in Belgrade. The United States Embassy and the British Embassy had a few rocks thrown at them and cars were turned over. We felt our car which has "CARE" USA, and the American flag painted on it would be treated likewise. The mob came down the street one day and a couple of young men picked up the front of the car to turn it over. Suddenly someone in the crowd shouted, "Don't touch that, that is the butter and egg car." The crowd passed on without molesting the car.

That indicates the kind of respect that can be generated at the person-to-person level when people feel there are no strings attached to a gift. It is just an evidence of goodwill.

We felt that this was a useful program. Since then we have distributed some of the surplus milk powder in programs in Latin America, in Bolivia, Colombia, Peru, Panama, more in Yugoslavia, some in Berlin, Italy, and Greece. Now, the thing that we have been trying to do—and I think with some degree of success in these programs—we have had a conviction that it is not wise to give this surplus away if the receiving government can possibly pay any of the cost. Perhaps the freight costs, the transport, the delivery cost, the administration—all or part might be paid. At least you should make an attempt to do that, first. Then in special cases, as would happen where it is impossible for a government to pay anything, you might decide that you want to give everything and pay all costs.

In this last program of milk distribution mentioned above, we were able to get from all of these countries the dollar costs of moving from the point of storage in the United States—say Green Bay, Wis., to New York—the ocean freight, the internal delivery cost within the country, including the payment of American observers hired by us to see that the program was carried out properly, and including the cost of the accounting, supervision, overhead, and so forth.

Now, I don't know to what extent that can be done in future food surplus distribution, but I am convinced that in a great many countries people and governments would much prefer to pay what they can within the limits of their ability than to have it just simply given to them.

And I think that the surplus programs that are being developed should certainly include provision that before anything is given to any country, an attempt should be made to find out what costs they are able to share. I think such a provision has several very real values. One, most of us don't like to be charity patients. It sort of goes against the grain. If a country can participate to the level they are able financially, they feel they are part of the program and it isn't just a handout, which I think is good. It is good from the standpoint of our relationships with them. It certainly creates better goodwill than to make them feel they are a charity operation. I am sure it helps their self-respect. I think it has a tendency to make them do a bit more for themselves than this continual business of saying "Well, here it is. We give it to you, we even deliver it to you. You don't have to lift a finger."

CARE has a conviction that in this whole surplus program in which CARE would like to share when the Congress comes to a conclusion about what should be done with it, that the first thing to do in every country is to attempt to see how much each recipient nation is able to contribute to the cost of distribution.

In some places it would be quite possible to set up a counterpart fund with some relationship to the world value of the goods transmitted—I don't know how much, maybe 25 percent, maybe 20, maybe more, that could be used within the country for projects that would be of some use to them—public health, sanitation, education, agriculture, and so forth. I don't know whether that can be done in every country. I don't know to what extent it could be done but I am convinced in a great many countries a sizable amount could be done.

We are awfully anxious that whatever legislation the Congress finally enacts, we will, at least, have a chance to try it. On the experience we have had we are convinced it could be done.

Well, that is just hitting the highlights of some of the things that CARE has done.

I would like to just throw in 2 or 3 little stories, if I might, and then I will be delighted to answer any questions.

Recently, in Germany, Chancellor Adenauer made an award to me as the executive director of CARE and when he got through with the formalities he said to me, "You know, Mr. French, I wouldn't be alive today if it hadn't been for some unknown American sending me a CARE package after the war."

Well, the effect such an experience has on a man in his position is tremendous. No matter what politics may be, the fact that Chancellor Adenauer is alive today because some unknown American sent him

some food, is very important. He will always remember this kindness and help. CARE runs into that sort of thing all over the world. It seems to me this whole surplus program is one of the greatest opportunities we have to make friends around the world.

I am certainly not competent to judge how we acquired these surpluses or the kind of programs we had to get them but now that the United States has them, it just seems obvious to me from the standpoint of our national policy and from a humanitarian standpoint, that we ought to use them in areas where they will not interfere with our normal commercial channels yet will make long-lasting friends.

I was in Canton just before the Communists got there, and talking with coolies about what they were going to do about the Communists. I think the story we got is a pretty interesting commentary on what hunger and food mean. Coolies get a bowl of rice a day. They are never sure of where tomorrow's is coming from. The Communists promised them two bowls a day. The coolies thought the Communists were probably lying but maybe they might give them an extra one a week. If they did, it was clear profit and why should they shoot them, they argued.

Most of us have never really been hungry so we don't quite know what that means. One of the things the Communists used in that part of the world with a great deal of effectiveness was to say that the Americans have all this food but they would rather see it spoil than "see your children fed." It is a very effective argument with someone who is thinking of his youngsters eating tomorrow.

It seems to me there is real value in using the surplus constructively, in terms of our foreign policy. From the standpoint of the distribution of it, I think there is very real value in having private American relief agencies do it in place of the Government, because governments by and large are suspected. People wonder what the strings are and what the motives are. Private agencies are fairly free of that element of suspicion. For example, I remember in making distribution of books to the university in Bangkok the Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs asked me two or three times during the preparations what our strings were and how the whole thing worked, and I kept assuring him there were no strings. He said, "I don't want to be impolite but I have been in the government for 4 years here, and the British and American Governments usually have strings. That is quite all right but I just want to know what they are."

So you have the element of "strings" in government which disturbs people. Distribution by private American agencies takes a lot of the "string" out, and creates good will that comes from the heart without a feeling that we are looking for something in return. I think it comes down to the point that you always get more by indirectness than you do by direction.

I will be delighted to answer any questions anyone would care to ask me.

Mr. MERROW. We thank you for your splendid statement.

Mrs. Bolton—

Mrs. BOLTON. Some years ago, we first heard of the sale of plows for India. Some of our Members were on a plane. Two men on the plane had a picture of a small plow. It was quite dramatic what they said that would do. It was said that Nehru had shown some interest but not very much, and it was unfortunate because close to

where he lived was one of the most poverty-stricken areas and that people could have been put to work making plows, that there was plenty of material.

At that time, the cost was something like \$2.50.

Mr. FRENCH. I think you are talking about Mr. Stevens and Mr. Miller.

Mrs. BOLTON. Yes, I am.

Mr. FRENCH. I have discussed it with them many times. It was possible for them to produce in India at that cost. The cost was figured on a mass-production basis that we have in this country. It included only the blade. You also have to have something to put the blade to, or it doesn't work very well.

Prices are a little higher there, where you do things by hand.

Mrs. BOLTON. I am very much interested that it is only between \$12 and \$18. It is quite amazing. Then, as I remember it, they told us it made the difference of preparing 2 acres or 10 acres per man.

Mr. FRENCH. That is right, and also the difference of the amount of soil that is turned over. They are just scraping the surface with a wooden stick, and with this thing you get down and dig a furrow with it.

Mrs. BOLTON. It made quite a real difference in the whole thing.

I am simply fascinated. I left downstairs with my heart in my boots, because I wanted to be over there, but I am glad I came.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Hays—

Mr. HAYS. You spoke of Chancellor Adenauer. Do you mean that he literally attributed to CARE packages his being alive today?

Mr. FRENCH. That is what he said. All the dealings I have ever had with him have been completely honest and that is what he told me.

Of course, after the war, there was a great shortage of food in Germany. At one point in 1946 a CARE package in Germany was worth \$210. That was the top it was ever worth anywhere.

Mrs. BOLTON. I was there in 1945, and talking with the man on the street. I remember one old fellow, a very, very nice old man—well, maybe he was 60—

Yes; it is good to be a democracy. It is good to have a bill of rights, but you can't eat the bill of rights, and we are hungry.

It made a great impression on the picture.

Mr. FRENCH. The meaning of food is hard for us Americans to understand. It has no meaning to you unless you have seen it, or unless you have lived through it or have seen it over and over again. It just doesn't have any meaning to you. It can't.

Mr. HAYS. Now, do you believe that the recipient countries should handle the distribution at that end by private agencies?

Mr. FRENCH. I believe that an American private agency should handle it, should supervise it. The agency works in conjunction with the Government, but I think the American private agency ought to supervise it. In many countries, and I mean not the slightest reflection on their honesty or integrity, the machinery of doing this kind of thing doesn't exist. With the best intentions in the world, things sort of slide off here and there. It is very useful to have 2 or 3 bright young Americans in jeeps who don't mind using sleeping bags if they



have to, just dropping in on the villages once in a while. You can just make sure that everything is going according to the plan agreed on.

Mr. HAYS. And that fixes the responsibility. You fix it with CARE in this country and that follows right through.

Mr. FRENCH. That is right, until it gets to the final individual who eats it and knows it comes from the American people.

Mr. HAYS. You advocate letting it be known that this is American generosity?

Mr. FRENCH. Everything we send has an American label on it. Every piece of goods that goes out has "America" all over it. All the jeeps around the country have the flag on one side and "CARE—USA" on the other. In Yugoslavia the boys developed such a clique of friends—the Yugoslavs are very generous and friendly and as soon as the boys would come into the village on the second round, the first thing the peasants would want to do would be throw their arms around them. It was all done in good will.

Mrs. BOLTON. You think that if Tito were to make a move away from America, it would be very difficult for him to do?

Mr. FRENCH. That is what he told me. He said it would be very difficult if the government wanted to change its policy—which it didn't, of course, but if it did, it would be very difficult.

When you go to a country and have 4 million people with knowledge that they have friends in a particular country, people they will never see, and who know that there are no strings attached to the gifts, then when someone comes in and says that we are a bunch of thieves over here, the 4 million people just won't believe it.

Mr. HAYS. That makes it easier for us to serve our—our propaganda program. I use the word loosely—through private agencies distribution rather than governmental enterprise. If we tie it in with our strategy purposes, it lessens its effectiveness?

Mr. FRENCH. You get by indirection, very often, things you don't get by direction.

As soon as there is a feeling that there is a string attached, everyone begins to look to see what the angles are. Who is trying to do what?

When a man gets something on a basis of friendship, and a desire to share with someone else, you gain in the long run what you can never buy with a checkbook.

Mr. HAYS. I would like to get something in the record about the ocean freight experience. I happen to have been one of the authors of the ocean freight amendment, and I know your appraisal of that, but I think in this connection it ought to go into the record.

You took the relatively small amount we made available from the Government appropriation for ocean-freight purposes, and multiplied that many times, in terms of goods finally deposited in the recipient countries; is that correct?

Mr. FRENCH. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. You referred to Europe and then India.

Mr. FRENCH. That is right.

Mr. HAYS. Do you have any figures with you?

Mr. FRENCH. I have no figures with me, but every bit of money paid by the Government for ocean freight, we just added additional material over and beyond the amount of the freight money.

I think that ought to be continued in terms of the regular program. But I think we should first see if the receiving country can share in the cost of it.

Mr. HAYS. And certainly in the distribution.

Mr. FRENCH. Any country is willing to do that.

Mr. HAYS. In many instances, you feel they can absorb the ocean freight?

Mr. FRENCH. Well, they have. Our experience has been that they do, so all I can base it on is the experience we have had.

The only thing I don't know, of course, is to what extent, how large that can be, what the economic capacity of the country is to absorb it.

There is a very interesting byproduct in this food, for example. In one Latin American country, the wife of the president told me that she and her husband had been trying to get the Congress for 2 years to appropriate money for a school-lunch program, for a milk program, basically, but they couldn't sell the Congress that it ought to be done. She was very hopeful, and her husband was, that after one round of this free American milk they would be able to convince the Congress of their country that they ought to start buying it because it would be so valuable to the country.

The other thing that has been developed which was quite interesting in Colombia and Bolivia when the programs were signed up—one country put up \$30,000 in dollars to buy plastic cups, plates, and so forth. They asked us to buy them from American manufacturers, and we put out bids. Thus there were commercial byproducts that came out of this program which were completely unsuspected when we started doing it.

Mr. HAYS. Getting back to the ocean freight, in the case of India, we did pay out some money under that amendment.

Mr. FRENCH. That is right.

Mr. HAYS. And your organization handled much of that, did you not?

Mr. FRENCH. Yes; all the private relief agencies were involved in it and benefited from the appropriation in their general programs.

I think some legislation of that kind should be continued for many programs other than surplus that all private agencies have. But I feel very strongly that on this surplus we should find out whether a country can absorb any of it, first.

Mr. HAYS. Would we lose any of the goodwill value if we utilized some of the international agencies in the world food distribution program?

Mr. FRENCH. Would we lose any?

Mr. HAYS. Would we lose any? How would you evaluate those two procedures, the American agencies—primarily private—and the international agencies? To what extent can we preserve the goodwill value in providing food for distribution by international organizations?

Mr. FRENCH. Through UNICEF and groups like that?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Mr. FRENCH. You get a lot of goodwill, undoubtedly. You don't identify it primarily as American, but there are many countries who would prefer to have help from an international agency than a directly national one.

Mr. HAYS. Thank you very much.

Mr. MERROW. How many countries are getting aid through CARE?

Mr. FRENCH. It is 51 at the moment that we are operating in.

Mr. MERROW. Which one is getting the most, at the present time?

Mr. FRENCH. Korea is the top. Korea, India, Israel, Germany.

Mrs. BOLTON. Do you send any to Syria and Lebanon?

Mr. FRENCH. We have never had any success in working out an agreement. I have been to Bagdad, Damascus, and Beirut on several occasions and have had our regional people in there.

Our basic agreement everywhere requires that everything must go in duty free. If there is any rationing in the country, that no ration coupons be lifted for any extra food that comes in, and that the distribution be under our control completely. The Syrian and Lebanese Government and Iraqi Government have never been willing to sign that kind of agreement. In the discussions I have had with the ministers, they have been, I should say, less than enthusiastic about working out the programs. In one discussion with several ministers in Damascus, when we were discussing the plight of the Arab refugees and trying to work something out, they said after all, it was not their problem, it was an American problem. They said that the United States had created the State of Israel and created the refugees. It was not their problem.

I pointed out they were co-religious, and therefore shouldn't it be their concern? They said no, that if they starved to death, it was the will of Allah.

With regard to Jordan, you have to ship through Lebanon, and if you can't get through Lebanon duty free, your contract with Jordan doesn't amount to much. But we are still working on it. Periodically, we go back to Damascus, Beirut, and Bagdad and try again, and some day I guess we will get something worked out.

Mrs. BOLTON. You won't mind if some of us work on it?

Mr. FRENCH. Oh, heavens, no. The ministers in those countries seem to have fairly fixed ideas, I gather.

Mrs. BOLTON. The people don't have the same ideas, though?

Mr. FRENCH. In Damascus, they talked about working with the Ministry of Welfare. Yet when this Prime Minister was talking to me he said, "We don't have a ministry like that, you understand, so you couldn't work with them."

There isn't such a thing in the country.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Carnahan.

Mr. CARNAHAN. You distribute packages just in countries with which you have an agreement?

Mr. FRENCH. Yes. We only operate if we have these three basic provisions. Duty free, no ration coupons, and our control of the distribution and handling.

We had some other provisions right after the war which we have now gotten away from pretty much—a certain amount of police protection and so forth where it was essential, where things were pretty chaotic, as they were earlier in Germany and Austria. But those three basic things we require everywhere.

Mr. CARNAHAN. You do take requests from individuals to deliver packages into countries designated by the individual?

Mr. FRENCH. Oh, yes. About half of CARE's total volume is for designated individuals in designated countries. Then we get a considerable amount of funds that are for categories of people, with

maybe no countries specified. The widow of a Protestant minister, an orphan child, a member of a philharmonic orchestra. We have even had Americans designate packages for people who collected cats, for people who delivered newspapers, for stamp collectors. We even had one from an ex-GI who said that so many kilometers northwest of Paris was a baker. The baker had seven daughters, and he wanted to give the eldest daughter a package. We delivered it.

We have had various combinations of designations that we have had to carry out to the best of our ability.

Mr. CARNAHAN. You must get requests, then, for deliveries within countries where you have no agreement. What do you do with those?

Mr. FRENCH. Return the money. We used to operate in Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. We withdrew from Rumania and Bulgaria. The Czech, Polish, and Hungarian Governments refused to renew the agreement. When they would not renew it we came out. When we get an order for 1 of these 5 countries we return the money. In all five there is great need. If we could find any way we could operate with any control, such as we had previously, I think our board would be willing to try again. However, there seems to be no great enthusiasm on the part of those Governments in having us operating there.

As a matter of fact, from their standpoint, I don't know why they didn't drop out a long time before they did, because when I was in Poland, near the end of our contract, I was near the Russian frontier, and a Polish peasant told me that the Russians were telling them the West was no longer their friend—their friend was in the East. But the peasant remembered that they had a package of food, and the package said, "CARE, USA," and for that reason he didn't believe the Government.

Every time we delivered a CARE package to one of those countries the contents, plus the friendship of some American, belied everything the Government said. This completely undermined Soviet propaganda.

Mrs. BOLTON. Do you work in France?

Mr. FRENCH. Yes. We don't do very much now in France with food, since France doesn't need it.

However, there are categories you find in many countries. When you get back of what we call the tourist curtain, you find blocs of people the average tourist never sees. If you are living on the American dollar in Paris, in a good hotel, it is a very delightful experience. But a lot of French workers in the suburbs around Paris aren't living that way. In those areas we do considerable. Two or three years ago a couple of girl tourists came into our office in Paris and said they thought it was hard to see why we were operating there. They were living in a good hotel, and why should CARE be there. We said the only trouble is that it takes the French worker 31½ days to earn 1,300 francs, and he didn't have much of a lunch that day.

Mrs. BOLTON. And the people who served them their food certainly didn't get 1,300 francs in 3 days.

Mr. MURROW. You work with WHO and FAO?

Mr. FRENCH. WHO made a survey of the world areas of need where we thought we could help them. For instance, they tell us which hospitals in Thailand or India need 10 beds or 20 beds or 100 sheets.

or hypodermic needles or whatever it may be. On a priority list, we try to supply the institutions they select. They continue to check to see if, in the meantime, from any other source, from an American foundation, an American missionary group or anybody else, those beds are coming in. If they are, they are taken off the list and somebody else is put on the list.

We also have a midwife program throughout southeast Asia, central Asia, and Latin America, where we are putting midwife kits in through WHO. In most of the countries—Mexico, for instance—WHO calls in midwives every 30 days for a refill of kit supplies and gives them a refresher course every 30 days.

Mrs. BOLTON. Wouldn't it be nice if we had one of those operations in this country?

Mr. FRENCH. A midwife operation?

Mrs. BOLTON. Yes. We need it very much. We need it all through the South and in practically every large city.

Mr. FRENCH. I am amazed at what they tell me one kit like that will do in some of the Latin countries in terms of mortality. It has amazing results.

Mrs. BOLTON. And the information that goes to the midwife, as to what she needs to protect her patients and what she doesn't want to do, lest she infect them, and so forth.

Mr. FRENCH. I have been amazed at what the doctors tell me about results a bloc of these kits will bring.

Mrs. BOLTON. Might this not be helpful to our Indian people and in the deep South?

Mr. FRENCH. I might explain a little further about our relationships with other agencies and UNESCO, for example.

We have a bibliographical committee which prepares, I guess it is about 104 categories, now—surgery, medicine, nursing education, agronomy, soil conservation, and so forth. They compile a list of the best and most scientific books in those categories.

Then, in conjunction with UNESCO, we find libraries in the world which are short of certain categories, and the university tells us which blocs of books they need. They do not furnish the titles. We pick them on the theory that the bibliographers we have are more familiar with the latest technical books. If the school wants books in obstetrics, Dr. Fulton at Yale is much more competent to tell which are the best and latest books in obstetrics. Then the university can go down that list and get the books they want. In other words the schools select the brackets they want and our committee picks out the actual titles and then delivers the books.

We have also sent iron lungs to Asia. We are trying, for instance, to set up an iron-lung bank in Tokyo. They had only one in the whole country. We have gotten four in there, now, in the Tokyo General Hospital.

We have tried to work fairly closely with the international agencies to avoid any duplication and overlapping anywhere, and to use their skill and knowledge in areas that can be most helpful to us.

The information has been quite useful.

Mr. MERROW. Do you think these international agencies are doing a good piece of work?

Mr. FRENCH. I would say in the main, yes. I think that WHO, for example, has a fairly modest budget for the things they are trying to do, and they can't do much in terms of supplies and equipment.

One of the problems is that you go out and do a demonstration somewhere and then there isn't any money to get equipment and material to carry it on. WHO doesn't have it and maybe the country doesn't have it, so some of the things can't really be carried to the point where they could be helpful.

Mrs. BOLTON. Is that where you would come in?

Mr. FRENCH. Of course, we have been trying to. Our resources are fairly limited.

UNICEF, I think, is doing an excellent job—the Children's Fund and WHO—from all I have seen—I know less about many phases of UNESCO than I do about UNICEF and WHO, but judging from relations we have had with UNESCO, it certainly seems to me they are doing a good job. Some of the things they are doing in Mexico are extremely useful.

We thought so much of what FAO has been doing that we asked Mr. Dodd to come with us.

Mr. MERROW. UNESCO in fighting illiteracy, ILO in fighting poverty, WHO in fighting diseases, and FAO in fighting hunger, we making a tremendous contribution. It is on these fronts that we should do more and more.

Mr. FRENCH. I would agree with that completely.

It is very difficult. You know the Salvation Army, a long time ago, learned something. When you pick up a man on the Bowery, before you start talking religion, you get him a bowl of soup and a cup of coffee. It is a very sound psychological observation to use. I am not, defining some of our friends around the world as being the Bowery, but hunger does strange things to human beings.

Mr. CARNAHAN. What percentage of the population of the world is hungry?

Mr. FRENCH. Half the human race goes to bed hungry every night.

Mr. CARNAHAN. What percentage of them are sick?

Mr. FRENCH. I don't know. An awful lot. You can go into an Arab country and practically everybody you see has something wrong with him. I don't know what the percentage on a worldwide basis would be, but it is pretty high.

Mr. CARNAHAN. What percentage is illiterate?

Mr. FRENCH. That is quite high. Higher than the hungry—considerably higher than the hungry. One of the problems, with all the technical assistance, is the problem of illiteracy. If a man is unable to read instruction in sanitation, in public health, in democracy, in almost anything, it makes it awfully difficult to start training. Literacy is such a slow process.

One of the men who was CARE's mission chief in Bremen spent about 9 months in India and North Africa, and then in Central Africa, making a study of the illiteracy program to see if there was anything CARE could do. For \$10 could you educate 2 people, 6 people, 3 people, or how many?

Mrs. BOLTON. Have you ever talked to Professor Richards at Harvard on the way to teach? He is doing what was originally basic English. He came to this country and stayed at Harvard on a language program. When the Chinese boys came over to learn

their airplane work in Miami, he and Miss Gibson went down during the war, and in 3 weeks he had the boys speaking English. He had taught the old, tough sergeants how to teach them and the results were amazing.

Mr. FRENCH. What is his name?

Mrs. BOLTON. Dr. I. A. Richards, at the Harvard language school. They have an enormous amount of material they have prepared for various languages. Basic English has been in China; it has been in Japan; it has been in quite a number of countries of Europe. It was taught over the air to South America by a Chinese girl. Her pupils ranged from 7 to 70 years old.

Mr. FRENCH. I think that is one of the extremely important things in the world.

Mrs. BOLTON. May I suggest that you contact the Payne Fund, at 7706 Interstate Building. Mrs. Walker there can give you all kinds of information on it.

Mr. MERROW. Is there anything else?

Mrs. BOLTON. We are very appreciative of your coming, Mr. French.

Mr. FRENCH. You are very nice to ask me to come. I am sorry to have been late.

Mrs. BOLTON. When we get into some of this in the full committee, I think it will be very helpful if we can have the rest of the committee really hear this from you, directly, on some of these problems. We flounder around, sometimes, wishing that we had just exactly what you have told us this afternoon.

Mr. FRENCH. Any time, at your convenience, it would be a pleasure to come.

Mr. MERROW. We think you and your organization are doing a remarkable service to the human race. We would like to be helpful in any way we can. We would be very happy to have you come to the subcommittee at any time and, as Mrs. Bolton has suggested, it would be splendid to have you come to the full committee sometime. We would like to have you keep in contact with us and we will keep in touch with you. Again, we thank you for your fine statement.

Mr. FRENCH. Thank you very much for letting me come.

Mr. MERROW. The hearing is adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 4:45 p. m., the subcommittee adjourned, to reconvene at the call of the chairman.)





# INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS

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WEDNESDAY, MAY 5, 1954

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL  
ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 2:30 p. m., in room G-3, United States Capitol, Hon. Chester E. Merrow (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. MERROW. The subcommittee will be in order.

This is a meeting of the subcommittee of the Foreign Affairs Committee, on International Organizations and Movements. It is a continuation of the hearings on the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations.

At this time, and without objection, I would like to insert in the record correspondence that I had with Dr. Quincy Wright of the Law School of the University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

Since he was referred to in testimony that came before the committee, I asked him to express his views in reference to matters in connection with UNESCO, particularly world government and he has done so in a three-page letter in response to a communication I sent to him and without objection we will include that in the record.

(The correspondence referred to is as follows:)

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
*March 30, 1954.*

Dr. QUINCY WRIGHT,  
*The Law School, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.*

DEAR DR. WRIGHT: In accordance with your telephone conversation with Mr. Kaplan, of the staff, on March 26, 1954, there follows the material which was submitted to the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements, by Mrs. J. C. Lucas, executive secretary, national defense committee, Daughters of the American Revolution, as part of that organization's documented proof that the aim of UNESCO through teaching world citizenship is to develop world government:

"Dr. Quincy Wright, professor of international law at the University of Chicago and a sponsor of the World Citizenship Movement is quoted in the June 1948, 'The World Citizen,' volume 8, No. 2, as having said that 'the world would be united before another generation was passed \* \* \*. This was the task of organizations like the W. C. M. (World Citizenship Movement), UNESCO and other world government organizations.' (Emphasis added.) The constitution of the World Citizenship Movement, states, 'Article I. The purpose of the World Citizenship Movement is to make people aware of the fact that they are world citizens, to enable them to function as world citizens, and to work for the creation of representative world government of the people of the world, by the people of the world and for the people of the world.'"

"Who would presume to disagree with the statements of such eminent authorities who certainly know the aim of UNESCO?" (The "eminent authorities" referred to are Dr. Milton Eisenhower and yourself.)

Since it is the desire of the subcommittee to obtain all the factual evidence that it can relating to the specialized agencies, and particularly to UNESCO, any statement or comments on the above you may wish to make for the public record would be very helpful in clarifying this matter.

Sincerely yours,

CHESTER E. MERROW,  
Chairman, Subcommittee on  
International Organizations and Movements.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO,  
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE,  
Chicago, Ill., April 5, 1954.

HON. CHESTER E. MERROW,  
*The House of Representatives,  
Congress of the United States, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. MERROW: I have your letter of March 30 and appreciate your interest in getting my opinion on the meaning of "world citizenship." I may say that I have recently been reading the number of the *Annals of the American Academy on Congress and Foreign Relations* which you edited along with Professor Kalijarvi, and looking over your remarks it seemed to me I could find no better statement of the aims of world citizenship than occurred in your address on page 7: "We must unswervingly dedicate ourselves to bringing about a decent international society and to the establishment of a just and lasting peace."

While the idea of world citizenship is an old one—the term has been used by Socrates and many philosophers since—perhaps in recent times the idea has been given a special meaning by the address of the late Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University, entitled "The International Mind." This and other essays were published in a volume by Scribners & Sons under the title "The International Mind" in 1913. President Butler did not use the word "world citizenship," but it seems to me he meant about the same thing when he used the term "the international mind." I have been rereading his essay and note that he said "that the international mind is not inconsistent with sincere and devoted patriotism is surely shown by the history of the great liberal statesmen of the 19th century who had to deal with the making of Europe as we know it." Among such statesmen he referred particularly to Gladstone in Europe and John Hay and Secretary Root in United States. Another point which he made was "in striving to gain the international mind, it is necessary, first of all, to learn to measure other peoples and other civilizations than ours from their own point of view and by their own standards rather than by our own."

Similar ideas were expressed by Elihu Root in addresses which he made as president of the American Society of International Law at time of the First World War. I remember particularly that which he gave in April 1917 just after the United States had entered the First World War, insisting that democracies, if they were to survive, must see that law had a larger role in the handling of international affairs. Ten years later, deploring the failure of the United States to implement the rule of law by going into the League of Nations, at a meeting called in his honor by the New York Council on Foreign Relations, Mr. Root said "for these years the League in the political field and the court in the judicial field have been rendering the best service in the cause of peace known to the history of civilization—incomparably the best. War results from a state of mind. These institutions have been teaching the people of Europe to think in terms of peace rather than in terms of war. We, the great peace-loving people, what have we done to help in this wonderful new work. No sympathy, no moral support, no brotherhood. Our executive department has done the best it could, but governments can do little. It is the people, the power of the people behind the government, that means everything." Then in 1930, at another meeting of the New York Council on Foreign Relations, Mr. Root said "civilization proceeds by changes within the individual and not by compulsion from without."

It was this order of ideas that long ago convinced me that if a rule of law was to be maintained in international affairs and that if institutions of international cooperation were to work, individuals in many countries must think of themselves as "world citizens." For that reason I was willing to join with the late Ray Lyman Wilbur, long president of Stanford University and Secretary of the Interior in President Hoover's Cabinet, with the late Mrs. Emmons Blaine, daughter of Cyrus McCormick who invented the reaper and a leading philanthropist of

Chicago, the late Edwin H. Cassels, a Chicago lawyer, and the late Edwin R. Embree, long president of the Rosenwald Foundation, in founding what we called the "World Citizens' Association" in 1939. A dozen other like-minded Americans joined us from various parts of the country and for a number of years during and after the war the organization carried on conferences and published pamphlets. It has now ceased to exist, most of the leading members having died.

I enclose herewith a copy of the bylaws of the organization and a statement which I wrote concerning its purposes. You will note that these purposes are primarily educational. No definite commitment, as to the forms of organization which the world community would take, is made. The organization was interested in the United Nations and particularly in UNESCO which it felt was to a considerable extent a realization of its objectives. You are of course better acquainted with UNESCO than I am, but it does seem to me that the opening statement of the constitution "that since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed" expresses the aims of world citizenship. These suggest that individuals must be aware of the existence, in our present shrinking world, of a universal community from which they cannot escape and continually seek to influence the structure of that community and the policies of its members so that they can all live in peace in spite of their differences in civilization, culture and economic and political structures. Certainly the task was never more difficult than it is today and for that reason it seems more necessary than ever that the people of the world shall think of themselves as "world citizens" and put forth their best efforts to develop a world in which all can be secure and can prosper.

I have never felt that "world government" in the sense of a centralized political structure analogous to that which exists in each of the nations was either practicable or desirable for the world as a whole. I have never been directly associated with any of the numerous world government or world federation organizations in the United States but have felt that more was to be gained by developing the United Nations and the specialized agencies all of which recognized the predominant importance of the member nations and are pledged not to interfere with their domestic jurisdiction. For this reason I have been associated with the American Association for the United Nations.

In saying this I do not mean that I have any objection to other groups exploring the possibilities of world federation or world government. The more such projects are explored the more it seems to me people will become convinced that for the world as a whole much less centralized institutions are desirable. I felt there was a great deal of value in the hearings before a subcommittee on foreign relations of the Senate of the 81st Congress, held in February 1950, under the chairmanship of Senator Elbert Thomas. At this time seven resolutions were before the Senate, all of them supported by a considerable number of Senators. Three dealt with proposals for world federation, one with proposals for Atlantic Union federation, one with proposals for the political federation of Europe, and two with proposals for strengthening the United Nations. These two were introduced respectively by Senators Douglas and Ferguson. I spoke in favor of the Douglas resolution on this occasion and I was also favorable to the Ferguson resolution. I am happy to say that the major proposals of these two resolutions have to some extent been adopted by the United Nations in the Uniting For Peace resolution of November 1950 which made it possible for the General Assembly, which is free of veto, to play a larger role in problems of collective security. This indicates my general approach to the problem and I believe that the more discussion there is the more people with the world citizenship point of view will come to see that it is through gradual improvement of existing institutions that progress will be made, rather than by any organization which might be called "world government."

In your letter you refer to the world citizenship movement, the purpose of which "is to make people aware of the fact that they are world citizens, to enable them to function as world citizens, and to work for the creation of representative world government of the people of the world, by the people of the world and for the people of the world." This organization had its office in Oberlin, Ohio, and was quite distinct from the World Citizens Association, of which I spoke, and I had no direct responsibility for it. I was however acquainted with the director, Col. Thomas Tehou, and from time to time corresponded with him. In my understanding, the term "world government" was in this context used in a very general sense, broad enough to include such international organizations as the United Nations. I certainly would not subscribe

to the statement if this term were intended in a sense as narrow as that usually applied when national governments are referred to.

However, whatever may have been intended by this particular "world citizenship movement" I am sure that my own view on the objectives of UNESCO are not directed toward any such narrow conception of world government. The constitution of UNESCO, as you know, includes the statement "with a view to preserving the independence, integrity, and fruitful diversity of the cultures and educational systems of the states members of this organization, the organization is prohibited from intervening in matters which are essentially within their domestic jurisdiction."

Sincerely yours,

QUINCY WRIGHT.

Mr. MERROW. I think Mr. McLean is not here. The second witness we have on the list is Mr. Clark Eichelberger, executive director of the American Association for the United Nations.

Mr. Eichelberger is here. We will be very glad to hear you, Mr. Eichelberger. Will you take a chair, sir.

**STATEMENT OF CLARK EICHELBERGER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR,  
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS, INC.**

Mr. MERROW. You may proceed as you wish.

Mr. EICHELBERGER. My name is Clark Eichelberger. I am director of the American Association for the United Nations. The history of our association goes back to 1923 when we were organized as the League of Nations Nonpartisan Association. Some distinguished Republicans, like Helen Reid of the New York Herald-Tribune and Judge Wickersham and some distinguished Democrats such as Raymond Fosdick and Judge Clarke who resigned from the Supreme Court organized the League of Nations Nonpartisan Association.

Of course, we were a minority movement until we changed the name to the American Association for the United Nations, which we did shortly before the conference at San Francisco was held because we felt certain the name of the new world organization would be United Nations.

The association, I might say, has a twofold purpose. We want to give the greatest amount of education and information about the United Nations and its specialized agencies. We hope this information will lead to an ever stronger public opinion in supporting the administration in making the United Nations the keystone of our foreign policy.

I have had an opportunity, I think, to observe American public opinion toward international cooperation over a long period of time, almost a longer period of time than I like to admit at the present moment. I can remember the return to isolation at the close of the First World War. I became director of the Midwest office of the League of Nations Association in the late twenties, and National director of the association in the late thirties when the international situation was so bad that no one else wanted to be national director.

Now, I know that there are people who must have appeared before you who have told you about certain spots in the country where public opinion was highly critical of the United Nations or its specialized agencies.

Well, Mr. Chairman, I want to say I don't believe any country in a comparable period of time underwent as profound a change in its attitude towards the rest of the world as did the United States.

Personally, I am an optimist about the capacity and willingness of the American people to assume their obligations. Consider the isolation of the Twenties and the policy of neutrality of the late Thirties that continued almost until our entrance into the war. If you compare that with a country which led the forces for collective security in Korea, the country that in addition to its general obligations to 59 other members of the United Nations, has specific military obligations of a multilateral or bilateral nature to some 40 nations—I think we have undergone a most profound change.

In 1945, the United Nations was an ideal. There are no grey shades about an ideal. Everyone was for the United Nations, except I think only two Senators who voted against it. Everyone was in favor of an organization or society to prevent another war.

Now, the United Nations is 9 years old and will soon celebrate its 10th birthday, a date about which there is a general belief that there may be a conference to review the charter and so on.

What has happened in that period of time? The United Nations is not only an ideal, it is an institution. And an institution is subject to appraisal, even after a 9-year record. Nothing that an institution does satisfies everybody. There are shades of opinion. But the American people today by every poll of public opinion are as firm for the United Nations as they were in 1945, but it is a much more realistic opinion, because it is an appraisal based upon experience.

You will remember that after the defeat of the United Nations forces at the Yalu River when the Chinese Communists came in, one of the American statesmen said that we'd better disassociate ourselves from our NATO and United Nations obligations and just defend the Western Hemisphere with Britain as an outpost in the Atlantic.

The public rejected such counsel. And again, when it seemed impossible to get an armistice and cease fire, another statesman advised that we should disentangle ourselves from the United Nations insofar as the Pacific area was concerned and go it alone. The American people ended that debate almost before it began. They rejected such counsel.

I want to say that I think the American people are becoming mature in their attitude toward the rest of the world. They are not thrown off base by the vicissitudes of the moment, by the rise and fall of the issues in the United Nations.

The latest Roper poll showed that only 9 percent of the people would return to isolation, as against 12 percent of the people who would go all the way to world government. 73 percent of the people supported the United Nations as it is, or strengthened, as the best move toward world peace.

At the suggestion of Mr. Cowles of Look magazine, who is a member of our association board of directors I wrote leading editors asking if the Roper poll was a proper reflection of public opinion in their community. I received quite a number of letters from editors, practically all of whom said it was a reflection of public opinion in their community.

Very recently we have been conducting a series of regional conferences throughout the country. They have been on a very nonpartisan basis. Dr. Charles Mayo, of Rochester, Minn., is president of the association. Mrs. Franklin Roosevelt who is no longer a member of the United States delegation to the United Nations is giving a major

portion of her time to the association. We have been holding conferences all over the country. I spoke in St. Louis last night and flew all night to get here.

I have never seen larger audiences than at the present time.

I do want to make this point, that I think public opinion is as strong as it ever was, and on a much more realistic basis.

Now, we need a public opinion in this country that not only wants to know about the United Nations, that is not only informed, but understands the problems of the United Nations, and in understanding its problems can give you the public opinion that you want in meeting those problems.

In other words, our association has discovered that it isn't good enough simply to tell people what the constitutional structure of the United Nations is. If you say that the UN has 3 councils and 1 assembly without illustrating, some people might repeat 3 assemblies and 1 council. People don't remember constitutional structure until it is illustrated.

But if you explained that 600 million people have won their independence in the last 8 years and that there are 200 million more who are wanting relief from colonialism and they represent the hard core of the most difficult to adjust; if you explain that the toughest problem the United Nations will meet next to the east-west conflict in the next few years, is the colonial problem, they understand. And they understand the interesting dilemma of the United States which wants to support its NATO partners some of whom have colonies, not embarrass them, but at the same time stand for its traditional principle of freedom of colonial peoples.

We find surprisingly little opposition, as an association, in discussing the United Nations when we talk about the United Nations in terms of problems and that the United States has to help solve those problems, and that in a democracy public opinion must give the Government the strength to solve those problems through the United Nations.

I know there are many questions raised about the specialized agencies and I would like to congratulate you, sir, for this very remarkable, thorough, comprehensive analysis of the specialized agencies. It is a job that I hope will be made available to libraries and every possible group throughout the country. Here is "it."

Of course, no specialized agency nor the United Nations, itself, can have a record of perfection any more than any government can, but you point out that for 9 years the record is pretty good.

I know that much of your testimony has been directed toward the specialized agencies and their relationship to the United Nations. Our Association feels—our approach is this—that peace must be approached on all points; that peace must be a matter of collective security. It must be a matter of disarmament. But it must also be a matter of food.

If half the people of the world are illiterate and half the people are hungry it is more difficult for them to appreciate the way of life that we must work for, through the United Nations and through every means that the charter provides.

Therefore, if UNESCO is doing something in the field of basic education, and the ILO is raising labor standards in other countries so that we don't have the competition from cheap, foreign labor; if

Food and Agriculture, and WHO are meeting these fundamental problems of human want, we believe they are all part and parcel of the total approach to world peace. That is why I think it is part of the genius of the United Nations, that it does provide these many approaches.

We organized in Luxemburg in 1946, the World Federation of United Nations Associations. I go to the meeting of the federation once a year. I am interested in the different approaches the different United Nations associations have.

I remember hearing the representative of an Asiatic association say that if the Asiatic countries were now to be industrialized with help through point 4, and United Nations technical assistance, one of the missions of the United Nations associations in those countries was to see that human betterment kept pace with industrialization, so industrialization in Asia wouldn't produce the slums of Manchester and Liverpool that the industrial revolution produced in Great Britain.

I met young people from Africa, some in tribal dress and some in the latest European fashions, young men and women representing United Nations associations of Africa, because the British have been very intelligent in urging that associations be organized. Tribal chieftains in some of the British territories, like Togoland, have encouraged United Nations associations. They are thinking of the United Nations primarily in terms of what it will mean in the way of freedom of colonial and trust areas.

I find that each country sees the United Nations in terms of what is most pressing for its interests. I think the American people, wealthier, not having to call upon the United Nations for relief from malaria and for food supply, are in a position to have a more balanced approach than many other people, because we can see it from the standpoint of collective security, technical assistance, and everything else.

I would like to conclude in this way: We feel that the United Nations must be the foundation of American foreign policy and not be an instrument of convenience. When we joined the United Nations, we did not join a world government. I wish that phrase were not used because it has become a symbol, and scares people away from a fundamental discussion of UNESCO or various agencies of the United Nations.

However, when the United States and other countries ratified the charter, they did something very fundamental. They accepted something that has some aspects of sovereignty. The United States offered to give the United Nations agencies sovereignty for inspection and control of Atomic Energy. We are glad to do it to save ourselves from destruction. But it is not total world government as such.

Now, I believe that the United States has fulfilled its obligations under the United Nations more fully than any other great power. Nevertheless, I do not believe that either this country or any other country is making the maximum use of the United Nations. It is not to take the place of normal diplomacy. It is not to take the place of regionalism, which is perfectly proper and recognized in the charter. Nevertheless, I do not think that any nation today is getting the maximum advantage and giving the maximum support to the United Nations.

I don't know any way in which our Government can do it except as Congress, you gentlemen, the President and the executive departments know that they have a public opinion which will support them.

I think I knew President Truman's views toward the United Nations. I think I know President Eisenhower's views. I am convinced that both of them regard the United Nations as a keystone of American foreign policy.

The purpose of our association, and the many agencies with which it works, is to develop a strong, public opinion. I think we should be ahead of the Government. I am sure you don't object when organizations urge a position beyond which you can go.

We had a conference in Washington in March, on United States responsibility for world leadership in 1954. One hundred and two organizations sent delegates to our conference. They were voting as individuals and these resolutions are not binding on the organizations except as they ratify them. I will leave copies of these here because I think they do reflect a general opinion.

However, I would just like to point out what is happening now in Geneva. I think the conference at Geneva—and I hope and pray that it succeeds as much as anyone in this room—is a demonstration of the fact that old-fashioned conferences outside the United Nations cannot do any better than a United Nations conference. A United Nations conference has a better chance of success because it can be continuous, because it has the moral impact of a great many nations who do not have the issue at hand as their immediate concern, but a major concern nevertheless. I would say that I think what is happening in Geneva could very well result in returning major problems to the United Nations. I know a year ago Secretary Dulles was anxious to have the Indochinese situation in the United Nations. I imagine the French and everybody wish now it had been internationalized under the United Nations.

Now, those are rather random remarks, Mr. Chairman, but I wanted to just say a word about our association: Education and the development of public opinion. I wanted to say a word about what I think American public opinion is, because it irritates me when I hear someone say, "Well, there is a lot of isolationism in Los Angeles." Yes, there is, but there are 22 chapters in support of the United Nations, in support of our association in southern California. I can pick out a lot of spots where there is a lot of silly, negative criticism but I can show you the forces working to counteract them. Basically, I think the American people are growing up. They are becoming a mature people. It is a great demonstration of democracy for some 160 million people to think their way through their foreign problems in the very critical period through which we are now going, and remain steadfast in their United Nations obligations.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Eichelberger, I am a supporter of the United Nations, also. I have been very happy to have your point of view.

How are we going to overcome the practical difficulty which I think perhaps you will agree with me exists; namely, the recalcitrance on the part of the Soviet Union to reach any kind of agreement, or if they reach any kind of agreements, their refusal to abide by them, and thus, dividing the United Nations?

Mr. EICHELBERGER. Mr. Chairman, I see no way of overcoming it now. It is a fact that we may have to live with for a long time. It



is a fact that causes tremendous military appropriations and affects the lives of all of us.

I can only make this comparison, that in the United Nations, the Soviet Union sees frequently that the votes go 45, 47, and 50, and in a few instances even 55, to 5, against it; that a conference in the United Nations does have in back of it a considerable moral opinion of mankind. The Soviets are being just as recalcitrant at Geneva, in a conference outside of the United Nations, as they would have been had the conference been within the United Nations. I think they will try to be just as obstructionist one place as another, but in the United Nations, there is a greater moral impact of world opinion than outside.

I have no illusions as to how utterly impossible they are to deal with and that they are going to be so for some long time to come.

MR. MERROW. We wrote in the conclusion of the report of the mission to which you referred that probably the specialized agencies would exist without the United Nations, but it would be difficult for the UN, itself, to exist without the ground work that is being laid by the specialized agencies.

Of course, the United Nations deals with political questions and these specialized agencies are more or less technical, with the exception of UNESCO.

Of course, we would hate to see a failure of the UN, but I have often felt that if this attempt at an international organization should fail, there would have to be another attempt.

Now, do you think these specialized agencies could continue on, if anything happened to the UN?

MR. EICHELBERGER. I doubt it, because if anything happened to the UN, I think we'd move into a war situation so rapidly that these agencies would just go by the board. If anything happened to the UN, I would expect the world to divide even more than it is now, into two blocs, and a great many nations trying to avoid involvement in either. The International Labor Organization, maintained itself during the Second World War through the hospitality of Canada, but I don't think the specialized agencies would exist if the UN were destroyed.

I would not disassociate the agencies from the United Nations. Together they are part of the common front against war. I think the United Nations has been very helpful in coordinating the program of the agencies. There might have been a danger in the early days of agency rivalry, but the United Nations has achieved considerable coordination through its technical assistance program.

Our Government and others contribute to the common fund which is divided among the agencies on the basis of programming and performance. I think the more that the United Nations can do, the more you can do and the more that governments can help to bring about increased coordination of the specialized agencies under the technical assistance program, the stronger the impact will be on the problems of human want. The agencies have done a magnificent job.

I would like to say this too, if I am not going too far afield. I understand there is developing the very finest cooperation in the field between our point 4 people and the United Nations representatives. You have pointed it out in your report, and I have heard about it from other sources.

MR. MERROW. MR. HAYS—

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Eichelberger, is it too late for the United Nations to do anything about the issues involved in Geneva?

Mr. EICHELBERGER. No, I don't think so. I saw one dispatch—I don't know whether it was in a Chicago or St. Louis newspaper. One of the thoughts Secretary Dulles had was that the Indochinese affair could be brought to the United Nations. I realize that these negotiations will have to run their course, and all of us hope and pray they will be successful. But if an agreement is not reached, I should think the Indochinese problem should go to the United Nations.

The French have been in a highly sensitive mood because of the humiliation of years of defeat and occupation and their feeling that their empire was slipping. Consequently, they have followed an inconsistent policy. They moved that the three states of Indochina be members of the United Nations, which is a recognition of their independence, but they objected when Thailand, supported by Secretary Dulles, wanted to bring the Indochinese matter to the United Nations because they said it was a civil war. They are reluctant to give independence to the states of Indochina as the British did to India and Pakistan. The latter, when given independence, elected voluntarily to be members of the British Commonwealth.

It seems to me that if Indochina had been brought to the United Nations, all of Asia would be sitting in on the deliberations.

What I am terribly afraid of is this: that India and other Asiatic states, who unfortunately tend toward a neutralist policy anyway, may be forced into further neutrality by not being consulted. You will remember that at the Seventh General Assembly last August, meeting to set up the political conference on Korean unity, our Government took the position that it could not have India at the conference. This was primarily because of Syngman Rhee's objection. We took the position that those who had fighting forces in Korea were the proper ones to be on our side in the negotiations. However, over 40 nations gave material aid to the United Nations side in Korea and voted Communist China the aggressor. Any nation that gives as much as a single bushel of rice must somehow count—any nation that goes with collective security to any degree—should be given some chance to participate somehow on our side. I am a little worried lest a policy of restricted conferences forces us into a position we may later deplore.

Mr. HAYS. But you think with the conclusion of the Geneva discussions there may be the opportunity for a fresh beginning by the United Nations?

Mr. EICHELBERGER. Yes. I would like to see Indochina and Korea come back within the circle of the United Nations for future conferences. After all, we used the United Nations to stop aggression at the 38th parallel. Logically the nations should use the machinery of the United Nations to bring about the result that the fighting is supposed to have made possible.

Quite obviously, the Geneva Conference is to carry out a resolution of the General Assembly, but what happened was that apparently the regimes in Moscow and Peiping said they didn't want the Geneva Conference under the United Nations, because the United Nations had been a belligerent.

In other words, the United Nations had fought against aggression, therefore, they the aggressors, didn't want the conference under the

U. N. They presented our Government with a cruel choice, either a conference outside the United Nations or no conference at all.

I think if we had gone to the Assembly, the conference would have been held and the others would have attended.

Mr. HAYS. I presume there is no question but that the French were responsible for it taking the turn that it took.

Mr. EICHELBERGER. That is right to the extent that they are responsible for Indochina not coming before the United Nations. It is a matter that Mr. Dulles anticipated. He wanted it to come before the UN.

You will remember we were up against a not altogether somewhat similar situation when we wanted to support Indonesia and the Dutch said if we did, they would not join NATO, but our Government supported the UN anyway and the Dutch did join NATO. We could say something similar to the French and the French might acquiesce.

I don't want to imply any criticism of the policy of Secretary Dulles, whose zeal, energy, hard work and courage in trying at the present time to check Communist advance in Asia should have our unanimous support.

If I were talking to our delegates, today, I would urge, "Bring it all back to the UN. It would be bad enough inside, but it is much worse outside."

Mr. HAYS. With reference to the UN, is it a matter of record that French policy is related to their difficulties in the African colonies?

Mr. EICHELBERGER. Yes. The French are under terrific pressure in north Africa. I have much sympathy for them. They have built some beautiful cities. I am sure you have been there in some of your travels. They have built some beautiful cities and invested money and built hospitals and improved the lot of a lot of people who were pretty miserable.

However, nationalism is an important factor in this world. The British faced it wisely and kept a considerable part of their Empire by giving people freedom and then having the people voluntarily stay in the Commonwealth.

I am somewhat pro-French in my sympathies. I hope they will meet the problems in north Africa in a liberal spirit so they can keep their economic position. When people want independence, sometimes they are not very polite in the way they ask for it.

France is afraid to have Indochina internationalized because they are afraid that would press India and others to ask for further consideration of the north African problem.

I think the north African situation is different, however. A columnist recently pointed out something I am sure that most of us knew at the time but had forgotten—that President Roosevelt wanted Indochina to be put under United Nations trusteeship. Since the French had lost Indochina, he was not in favor of returning it to them. Unfortunately he died before such a plan could be put into effect.

However, once the French were fighting communism there we couldn't afford to have them let go. We have had to back them against Communist expansion.

Mr. HAYS. Now, I would like to turn to another subject. You are familiar with the steps taken by our Government to reduce to a minimum any of the risks of Communist espionage by reason of the UN being located in this country?

Mr. EICHELBERGER. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. Do you have any suggestions that would belong in the public record, of further steps that might be taken to make this Nation secure against any penetration of that kind? Do you care to express an opinion as to the extent to which that danger exists?

Mr. EICHELBERGER. Frankly, Mr. Hays, I don't think the danger exists at the present time. I think that very drastic steps were taken to see that all Americans underwent loyalty tests. I believe those are to be completed, now, within 3 months. That is the estimate I have heard. Certainly it would have been the most thorough casing of all the Americans.

Ambassador Lodge has pointed out time and time again how few secrets there are in the United Nations.

I would like to call attention to a situation on the reverse side. One time Trygve Lie got a letter from the Communist Government of Czechoslovakia saying the Czechs on the UN Secretariat had been there too long and should be replaced by some new people. They would just withdraw their passports and the UN could send them home.

Trygve Lie took the position he wouldn't let any government dictate to him as to what persons should be on the staff, and we applauded him.

We don't want to go so far as to give every government the right to dictate the entire personnel, because the Secretariat would be divided into people whose main thought was to being identified with whatever revolutionary government was in power, say in Latin America, so they could hold their jobs.

Under the doctrine of the host country, we have a right to insist that this country is protected. The Secretary General has said he would not have on his staff anyone who engages in any subversive or political activity. If the problem isn't handled delicately, much harm can be done by destroying the independent character of the Secretariat by dictation from 60 governments.

It is a very delicate situation and I wish it could have been handled a little more smoothly and not so much by the meat axe technique that has been used by various people.

Frankly, I think we have gone so far, now, in searching the Secretariat for any Americans who are security risks, I think now, just as a baseball pitcher shows a change of pace, we should make every effort in helping the Secretary General to build the finest, most independent staff possible.

Mr. HAYS. And I assume there is every reason for the responsibility for personnel being clearly fixed in the office of the Secretary General?

Mr. EICHELBERGER. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. It is in our interests to have it in his hands, rather than on any kind of allocation basis, so that some other nation holds a veto over it.

Mr. EICHELBERGER. Exactly. We don't want to do it in such a way that we give any dictator an opportunity to dictate to the staff. We don't want to create a situation where each country would like to examine everybody at the Secretariat to make sure they are in sympathy with the particular regime at home.

Mr. HAYS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MERROW. You made it a point that these matters ought to be considered in the United Nations. Of course, the matter of Korea was considered in the United Nations and we did 95 percent of the fighting and so on.

With that kind of a situation, how can you hope to get effective action on these matters?

Mr. EICHELBERGER. Well, could I break that down just a second, Mr. Chairman? We would have had to fight in Korea anyway. We couldn't let Korea go. We could have done it alone. We could have done more than 95 percent, and we would have been accused of an imperialist venture.

We had the blessing of 53 members of the United Nations who informed the Secretary General that they supported the first Security Council resolution. We had fighting forces from 16 nations, but in addition to that, forty-some accepted material aid of some kind and 46 voted the regime was an aggressor.

Furthermore, while we did a disproportionate share of the fighting, we had the moral and the legal support of the world community in what otherwise we would have had to do alone. Both the material and moral help we received was very important to us.

Now, if it was good for us to use the United Nations to resist aggression at the 38th Parallel, I think we would have been doing a great service to the strength of the United Nations had we seen to it that the conference to bring peace after the resistance to aggression, was as clearly in the United Nations as the part about aggression was.

You have pointed out a very interesting fact in your report, regarding the difficulty of getting a university professor for a technical assistance job. He can't be cleared in time for the job to be done. Something has to be done to make it possible for reputable men to be called in emergency jobs for the U. N. At the moment, they are crying for Americans in Korea but they can't send Americans to Korea because of the length of time it takes to get them cleared.

Mr. MERROW. Thank you very much.

Mr. HAYS. Thank you very much, Mr. Eichelberger.

Mr. MERROW. Our next witness is Mr. McLean, General Secretary, World Movement for World Federal Government, Amsterdam.

Mr. MERROW. You may proceed.

**STATEMENT OF MACLEAN W. McLEAN, GENERAL SECRETARY,  
WORLD MOVEMENT FOR WORLD FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, AM-  
STERDAM; RESIDENCE, PITTSBURGH, PA.**

Mr. McLEAN. I think perhaps it might be well to give a little background as to when the world movement was formed. It was formed immediately after the effect of the explosion in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, when the world knew that the atom had been—that nuclear fission was possible.

I think we can go back a bit further and say that in the early part of 1945, when the U. N. Charter was being drawn up, I think the people who took part in that were not in the main aware that that had been done, and that mass destruction had entered a new phase.

Perhaps for that reason, when the World Movement for World Federal Government was formed in Switzerland in 1947, there was

considerable stress on the fear of such weapons, the fear of a Third World War. There was a considerable amount of rather urgent feeling among the people from different countries who came to Switzerland and took part in the conference when the world movement was set up.

In that same conference in Switzerland, the European Union of Federalists was also established and they immediately had a sensational rise in interest, and very soon we became a sort of semiofficial organization, many people taking part in that European Union of Federalists effort have continued and are now taking part in the Strasbourg meetings of the progress of Europe.

I believe we were in a unique position. We were doing a pioneering thing. This sense of urgency which world federalists had, led to distinct differences between leaders in different countries so that the world movement was made up of a sort of negative and positive need. (1) People who felt something must be done to set up an international organization which would effectively keep peace, which was not dependent on the sort of treaty formation of the United Nations, but to see if we couldn't develop something along the line of our own federation.

This sense of urgency at the beginning I think led some people to rather belittle the effectiveness of the United Nations as it was. As time went on, I think the very real purpose of the United Nations has been demonstrated in many ways, and as time has passed in all of the areas where the world movement has member groups, there have been better relations with the United Nations groups, better relations with those people who have not felt quite the urgency of getting a structural change in the United Nations.

The World Movement for World Federal Government is a sort of clearinghouse and although, oddly enough, we are talking about a federal system of a very limited type for the world, we are not ourselves federal in character. I mean we are just sort of a clearinghouse for a league of organizations working for a strengthened United Nations, one that can operate to assure peace and to create a situation in which the strange dilemma in which all nations today find themselves, will no longer be necessary.

It is our function in the world movement to gather information about all studies made in the direction of strengthening the United Nations, to encourage such studies to be made in all parts of the world by all kinds of groups, not only in our own, to find out what kind of conclusions they come to, to see what areas of agreement there may be, and what kind of differences exist, and to see, in other words, if we can help to create a public opinion, an acceptance of personal responsibility by citizen groups, for overcoming this extremely basic and vital problem in the world, today. In that we have two rather diametrically opposed growths, I think, in that nationalism has had a very great rise in the last years, in many parts of the world where countries have just achieved their political independence. Nationalism is very pronounced. In many other areas where peoples are trying to achieve national independence, that feeling of nationalism is rampant.

We feel that this effort by all people everywhere to find their own way of life, to find a way in which they can live according to their own way of life, to do as their traditions, as their education and so on has taught them is the best way, is a healthy thing. That is the

healthy side of nationalism. The unhealthy side is the side which says that the foreign areas are wrong and the foreign areas are not as good as we, and as long as any nation, we believe, is able to threaten, to turn neighbors into a subsidiary of its force, there is great danger.

It is extremely difficult, of course, to find any blueprint that will solve this problem. We know, for instance, that the Moscow regime is very much opposed to the giving up, as they say, of any kind of sovereignty. Interesting tests of that point of view came about recently in Denmark and in the Netherlands where the constitutional changes have been made which will permit those countries to enter the European Federation. The Communist parties in those two countries oppose any giving up of sovereignty.

We also find that the fear of giving up sovereignty appears on the other extreme, from people who feel that in giving up any kind of sovereignty anywhere in the world, the United States will lose its way of life. We feel that it is extremely important right now in the world for the good of people everywhere, to begin to find out if there is an area of agreement, where, by pooling our sovereignty in certain areas, it will be possible to find a security which we no longer have as nations, and, in other words, to find a kind of sovereignty which has largely, in reality passed, even in terms of the most powerful nation.

The world movement has conferences each year and last year in Copenhagen it was possible for the World Movement for World Federal Government to hold joint commission meetings, with the World Association of Parliamentarians for World Government, which is a group of the members of parliaments or former members of parliaments who also are trying to find a way to overcome this present world dilemma. As a result of these meetings, commissions which represented people from many countries came up with some reports and those reports have been sent out into areas where we have interested groups. They are translated into some 12 languages and between now and the end of the summer when the next conference will be held, we hope very much that we can assemble a number of reports to see how this thing looks in southeast Asian countries and African areas and South America, in this country and the various parts of Europe, and in analyzing those, see if we can find to what extent this common area of agreement in terms of international control might be accomplished.

The world movement believes that this area of international control must cover four points, at the minimum.

1. To prohibit by enforceable law the right of nations to use force or the threat of force in international affairs:

2. To make laws binding upon individuals and national governments prohibiting the construction or possession of armaments beyond that required for international police purposes, and to administer an agreed schedule for universal disarmament;

3. To maintain adequate and effective civilian inspection and police forces to ensure that the world law affecting armaments is respected:

4. To bring to trial in world courts any individuals and groups who conspire to make weapons of war in violation of world law;

Now, I know it has been an extremely encouraging thing for me as an American abroad, and for many other people who are Americans overseas, to know that in this country hearings are being held. We

in the world movement are most interested to see what kind of objections there are. Many of these objections are valid. Many of them have some validity. Some of them are based on misinformation, and it seems to us if we can encourage not only the positive side, but find out what kind of negative thing was said, and proceed along the line of analyzing in an objective way, to see to what extent these objections are really valid, that it will have an enormously helpful effect in creating this world opinion, to try to get at the root of the problem.

Very recently, the Federal Union, the member group in Britain, has sent a delegation to see Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, the Minister for Foreign Affairs in London and they have presented certain proposals.

The Parliament group has also gone to Mr. Lloyd with similar proposals.

The efforts of these groups were made at the suggestion of Anthony Eden who feels that this type of activity is really very useful in the sense that I think all people who are interested in political affairs realize it is very hard to get the ordinary man to accept personal responsibility, particularly for things as widespread and complex as world problems of this sort.

The Netherlands Government, as you probably know, has set up an actual, official commission to study the United Nations Charter provisions and our member branch—it isn't a branch because it is a member group—in the Netherlands has been working along with the official Netherlands Government committee, there, in exploring the possibility of strengthening the United Nations along these lines.

The same kind of action has been taken, I believe, in Denmark and several other countries and I am hoping that as this thing begins to grow, we will have a much better opportunity of knowing whether, as some people say, to change the United Nations into a federal type of structure, with certain enforceable power, is really as Utopian as it has been said that it is. Under the present cost of armament it is very difficult for any government, no matter what the political ideology may be, to effectively work out its own plans for the better living conditions of the people, and if it is possible to find some way for all nations to feel that they are not going to have their internal affairs interfered with, we think that it may very well be that it is more practical, rather than more Utopian as a way to move forward.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Hays—

Mr. HAYS. Well, Mr. Chairman, I appreciate Mr. McLean's statement. I think there have been some clarifying contributions in this statement, since reference has been made to the organizations with which he is identified. And, I should say that they are alike in their purposes, in defining what their essential objectives are.

I am grateful to you for coming. I think it enlightens the committee to get all of these viewpoints before us.

I wonder if you have had an opportunity to see the testimony that was offered with reference to—

Mr. McLEAN. I haven't, I'm sorry to say. I just arrived this morning. Did you have anything in mind?

Mr. HAYS. No, I don't think it is necessary to make a statement. It is a matter of getting as much information as we can and as many viewpoints as we can.



Mr. McLEAN. It might interest you to know that at the conference in Copenhagen we had the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the South Korean Republic, there. There were eight representatives from Vietnam. We had a strong delegation from Japan. There were people from the Gold Coast and Liberia. The Minister of Commerce and Industry from the Gold Coast was present, actually working on the commissions there, as was the Minister of Education from Nigeria.

There have been allegations that this is the sort of thing which appeals to the Soviet. In fact, of course, unless they are able to have their own kind of world government, they will not be happy about anything else. We are talking about something that would be rather at odds with that under their present policy of dominating from one spot.

Mr. HAYS. Now, the group of parliamentarians to which you refer is made up strictly of members of legislative bodies?

Mr. McLEAN. Yes, I think the Secretary General. Mr. Gilbert McAllister is a former member of the British Parliament. The president is Mr. Clement Davies, leader of the Liberal Party.

Mr. HAYS. Only parliamentarians are eligible?

Mr. McLEAN. That's right.

Mr. HAYS. That has no organic relationship with the group?

Mr. McLEAN. No, we are simply working in the same direction and in many ways are able to exchange information, in terms of what is seemingly acceptable in various areas.

Mr. HAYS. And, the members of the parliamentarians group sit in their individual capacity and not as representatives of governments?

Mr. McLEAN. That's correct. Most of the parliamentary groups, so far as I know, have been set up—in fact, I know of none which have not—in such a way as to avoid any possibility of being identified with any particular party. In Britain, for instance, it includes Liberal, Labor, and Conservative members.

Mr. MERROW. Thank you.

The next witness will be Mrs. Annalee Stewart, legislative secretary, United States Section, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

My name is Mrs. Annalee Stewart. I am legislative secretary of the United States Section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1734 F Street NW., Washington 6, D. C.

Mrs. STEWART. Mrs. Gladys Walser, our U. N. observer, was the one who was supposed to testify, but she is on a field trip throughout the Middle West and was unable to come. Among her subjects, she is discussing the United Nations and encouraging support for it. I am substituting for her at somewhat the last minute, today.

#### **STATEMENT OF MRS. ANNALEE STEWART, LEGISLATIVE SECRETARY, UNITED STATES SECTION, WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM**

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom was founded in 1915 at the Hague, by Jane Addams and a group of internationally minded women. The league is an international, inter-faith

and inter-racial organization whose aim is to establish by democratic methods those political, economic, and psychological conditions which will assure the inherent rights of man and bring peace and freedom among nations.

The Women's International League is one of the 70 nongovernmental international organizations which have been granted consultative status under the Economic and Social Council of the U. N., and takes very seriously its consultative status with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, UNESCO; the Food and Agricultural Organization, FAO; and the United Nations Children's Fund, UNICEF.

The permanent consultant from the League's international headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland, attends and participates actively in the meetings of the various organs of the UN, both in Geneva and at the UN headquarters in New York. She has contributed studies which have been circulated as UN documents—one, *The Status of Women in the UN* and another, *The Trusteeship System*. In her absence from the New York office, the accredited observer from the United States Section of the WIL represents the International WILPF as well as the United States section at the UN. Our UN observer has an office in the Carnegie International Center across from the UN Buildings.

The league's international consultant and the observer for the United States section at the UN both provide our members with UN publications and with reports of current happenings at the UN. The league also encourages its branches and national sections to organize study groups, institutes and public meetings to help create an enlightened public opinion about the UN. It is my responsibility as legislative secretary for the United States section to work closely with the WIL observer at the UN to the end that UN proposals may be supported by necessary appropriations and legislative action in the United States Congress.

Throughout the 39 years of its existence the league has stood for a strong international organization functioning democratically within the framework of law as essential to lasting peace. We believe that the United Nations represents a stage of such an organization and as such we give it full support.

The league believes that the principle of universal membership in the United Nations and its specialized agencies offers the best hope of resolving tensions and suspicions and of strengthening a cooperative constructive worldwide community of nations.

The league believes that to function effectively as an international body the Secretariat must have genuine independence from interference, intimidation or limitation by any national group operating in its own limited interests rather than for the welfare of the international body.

The league believes that the primary responsibility of the United Nations as outlined in the charter is to operate as an instrument of mediation, negotiation, conciliation and judicial review in resolving world tensions rather than to rely on collective security by military might as a means of stopping aggression or settling international disputes.

The league urges the governments represented in the United Nations to use the facilities of the International Court of Justice for the settlement of disputes.

The league holds the goal of the United Nations to be total world disarmament enforceable under law. It believes that the extension of the services of the specialized agencies, dedicated to removing the age-old causes of war—poverty, hunger, and disease—will be an effective means to that end. Likewise, the resources in money, manpower and the treasures of the earth released when the crushing burden of armaments is lifted and the threat of the desolation of war is removed will make this program possible.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom has watched with deep concern the extension of militarism and rearmament throughout the world. It, therefore, welcomes and accepts as encouraging signs along the road toward total world disarmament, the establishment of the Disarmament Commission by the United Nations General Assembly and the efforts this commission has made. The league strongly supports the resolutions on world disarmament and development introduced in the Senate by Senators Ralph E. Flanders and John J. Sparkman with 32 other Senators and in the House by Representatives Leslie C. Arends and Brooks Hays with 50 other Representatives, including 7 members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

These beginnings and these hopes need to be extended and implemented. The league hopes that your committee will hold hearings on the Arends-Hays resolution some time in the very near future. The league welcomes the steps already taken to follow up President Eisenhower's message to the United Nations on December 8, 1953, when he proposed the development of an atomic pool plan for the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

The steps necessary for universal disarmament should include a practical program for enforcement by a United Nations police force operating under law; a trustworthy system of international control and inspection; and genuine efforts to solve those scientific and technical problems involved in the effective control and elimination of atomic and other weapons of mass destruction along with all weapons of war, including conventional arms.

Recognizing that the low economic status of vast areas of the world results in human suffering as well as in serious international problems, and believing in the use of the resources of the world for the benefit of its people, we support an international program of mutual assistance free from military commitment and courageous in magnitude. While we recognize certain values in programs of economic development initiated by individual countries and private enterprise we prefer to support such programs as those carried on by and through the United Nations and its specialized agencies. Only such programs can, we believe, furnish adequate safeguards against economic exploitation, avoid the fear of imperialistic aims or military commitments, and inspire the confidence essential to achieve democratic and peaceful development.

We believe that economic crises and despair often drive people to the desperate remedies offered by totalitarianism but that economic and social welfare promotes the growth of peace and democracy.

We would emphasize again the importance of the specialized agencies such as FAO, WHO, UNICEF, and UNESCO through which to attack hunger, poverty, disease, and ignorance. We would like to call attention especially to the estimate made by the officials of FAO that nearly three-fourths of the human race go to bed hungry each night. We believe that it is possible to help eliminate famine and slow starvation by more equitable distribution of material resources to help provide all men with a decent living. As a means to this end the establishment of a world food pool such as recommended by FAO might help prevent the accumulation of food surpluses in one part of the world while peoples in other parts of the world are starving. The expansion of the technical assistance program under the UN might increase the food supply sufficiently to the level necessary to meet man's basic needs.

The United Nations Children's Fund—UNICEF—established in 1946 was started to meet the emergency needs of children. We are glad that the status of the Children's Fund has been changed from an emergency operation to a continuing agency. A number of our Women's International League officers and members have seen at first hand the excellent work done by UNICEF in the 69 countries and territories where it has functioned.

I should say that Mrs. Walser had a trip around the world this past year, where she was able to observe firsthand the work of the Children's Fund, as well as some of the other specialized agencies. She watched the inoculations for yaws in Indonesia and reported the gratitude of the people in saving their children.

UNICEF has brought hope and life through its programs to help children and mothers, particularly in the treatment of tuberculosis, yaws, malaria and various other childhood diseases.

While it is desirable to get dollar-for-dollar matching funds, it is the league's hope that the United States will continue to support wholeheartedly the United Nations Children's Fund and encourage generous and adequate contributions to the budget for the fiscal year 1955 to cover the 18-month period January 1, 1954 to June 30, 1955, which we understand would not exceed \$13,500,000.

Helping children and mothers is one of the most effective ways to create understanding between nations and increase faith in each other in this difficult period through which the world is passing.

The league has also encouraged support of the emergency fund for the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees. We would make an especial appeal now for this fund in order that those unfortunate people who have been affected so seriously by the ravages of war and political persecution may be helped and may feel the concern of our people.

When we look at the billions of dollars which go into the United States defense budget and compare them with the \$28.4 millions which is the United States budget request for the United Nations, the specialized agencies and the 16 other organizations of which we are a member, it causes us to urgently appeal that appropriations for the UN agencies be fully met. In this way, the United Nations, as an instrument for international cooperation, can help to create the foundations for peace and freedom here and around the world.

Our organization is working vigorously to support the United Nations and its specialized agencies in every constructive effort.

We appreciate this opportunity to appear before you and encourage you who are working so hard in this direction.

Mr. HAYS. Mrs. Stewart, you have no organic ties with the organization which Mr. Eichelberger represents?

Mrs. STEWART. We are one of the 100 and some organizations who work with the AAUN and we always attend their annual conference. I usually represent our organization on the resolutions committee, so that in that way, as far as one of the cooperating organizations are concerned, we are considered one. Our organization was founded, of course, long before the AAUN and has its own separate program, but we both work in many of the same areas.

Mr. HAYS. But you are completely independent of his organization?

Mrs. STEWART. Oh, yes. Our organization and budget are completely independent though cooperative. We emphasize certain things more than they do, particularly in the area of negotiation, mediation, and conciliation and in having as one of our priorities, world disarmament and development. The AAUN is primarily an American organization. The Women's International League in our relations with the UN always act as a member of an international organization which had consultative status.

Mr. HAYS. You have interests outside the peace program, strictly?

Mrs. STEWART. Our organization believes in both peace and freedom and that you cannot have one without the other. We believe also that domestic and foreign policy are interrelated. Therefore, in order to have good international relations, we must have good domestic policy. So in our principles and policies which are prepared by our National Policy Committee and presented to the annual meeting in June each year, we present our principles in relation to both domestic policies and foreign policy.

We think whatever happens in the United States has an effect upon our relations with other countries, and vice versa.

Mr. HAYS. I don't recall whether or not you gave the number of countries in which you have activities.

Mrs. STEWART. No, I didn't. We have sections and members in 34 countries. Our newest branch is in India. Madam Pandit, President of the UN General Assembly, who has long been a member of our organization, is president of the Indian branch.

Mr. MERROW. Thank you very much, Mrs. Stewart.

If there is nothing further at the moment, the subcommittee will stand adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 3:50 p. m., the subcommittee adjourned, to reconvene at the call of the chairman.)



# INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS

FRIDAY, JULY 9, 1954

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS  
AND MOVEMENTS,  
*Washington, D. C.*

(The subcommittee met pursuant to call at 2:45 p. m., in room G-3, United States Capitol, Hon. Chester E. Merrow (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.)

Mr. MERROW. The subcommittee will be in order.

This is a continuation of the hearings of the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements.

We have with us this afternoon, Mr. James Tanham, former vice president of the Texas Co. and member of the foreign policy committee and a special subcommittee on UNESCO, of the United States Chamber of Commerce; accompanied by Dr. J. Warren Nystrom, manager of the foreign policy department, United States Chamber of Commerce and Richard E. Low, research assistant, foreign policy department, of the United States Chamber of Commerce.

We are certainly very pleased to have you with us this afternoon, Mr. Tanham. You may proceed as you see fit.

Mr. TANHAM. Thank you, sir.

**STATEMENT OF JAMES TANHAM, FORMER VICE PRESIDENT OF THE TEXAS CO., AND MEMBER OF FOREIGN POLICY COMMITTEE AND SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON UNESCO, UNITED STATES CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, ACCOMPANIED BY DR. J. WARREN NYSTROM, MANAGER, FOREIGN POLICY DEPARTMENT, UNITED STATES CHAMBER OF COMMERCE; AND RICHARD E. LOW, RESEARCH ASSISTANT, FOREIGN POLICY DEPARTMENT, UNITED STATES CHAMBER OF COMMERCE**

Mr. TANHAM. My name is James Tanham. Before retiring from active business, I was vice president of the Texas Co., New York City. I appear here today on behalf of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States to present the results of a chamber study of the United Nations' Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.

For 7 of the past 8 years, I have been a member of the chamber's committee on foreign policy and I served as chairman of that committee from 1950 to 1951. From 1949 to 1952, I was a member of the chamber's board of directors.

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States is a national federation of over 3,000 trade and industrial associations and State and local chambers of commerce and, also, of over 20,000 direct business members with an underlying membership of 1,600,000 businessmen.

Because the chamber's membership embraces practically every important activity in our economy, it presents the opinion of a cross-section of our country. Since it is a democratic organization encompassing a wide range of interests, its members retain every right to express themselves as individuals. Its policy positions are derived through the democratic processes of full debate, discussion, and voting, and represent the viewpoints of the majority of its membership.

On April 28, 1954, the delegates to the 42d annual meeting of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States unanimously adopted this declaration of policy on UNESCO:

The national chamber supports the stated purposes of UNESCO; "To contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture." It is our belief, however, that UNESCO can be made more efficient and more effective by adopting the following suggestions:

1. The total number of projects should be reduced and the remainder evaluated in view of their practical short and long-range contributions to the objectives of the organization. With the available resources at its disposal, both in funds and personnel, concentration should be on the most urgent projects and activities.

2. Stress should be laid on "pilot projects" with the expectation that the individual countries will assume full responsibility for carrying them forward as soon as practicable.

3. In order that publications of UNESCO will be readily understandable by lay persons and more accurately reflect the purposes of the organization, careful examination and approval of everything proposed to be published by UNESCO should be made by a responsible authority within that organization.

It is essential that the viewpoints of American business concerning international affairs be made known to other groups of our society so that business can exert its full influence in the shaping of American opinion and policy. To this end, the chamber should participate in UNESCO and other international affairs, meetings, and conferences.

Mr. MERROW. Just in reference to the first recommendation you have made, that the total number of projects be reduced, you made quite a careful study of the variety of projects UNESCO is currently undertaking.

Mr. TANHAM. Yes, sir; we were impressed with the great number of projects they were going to undertake and, therefore, we felt they might make better progress in achieving their essential objectives if the number was reduced and concentration placed on the most desirable.

Mr. MERROW. You feel they are spreading their efforts rather thin over so many?

Mr. TANHAM. We felt, considering the limited finances and personnel available to them, that they could be more effective in not spreading out so thinly and, rather, concentrate on the selected, shorter list.

My reason for appearing before this subcommittee is not only to present this declaration of policy, but to present to you the facts about national chamber action concerning UNESCO and the results of the study we made which led to the adoption of this declaration of policy. It is our hope that we may play some small part in increasing the understanding of the American people of UNESCO and in encouraging more business and professional people to take an active interest in the formulation and carrying out of our foreign policies.

Recent national chamber action concerning UNESCO grew out of a number of inquiries which it had received about our representation



on the United States National Commission for UNESCO. We have been represented on the National Commission since its founding. Some of our members were aware of the accusations which had been leveled against UNESCO and believed that, if these accusations were true, the chamber should withdraw its representative from the national Commission and perhaps advocate American withdrawal from the organization.

The chamber felt that whatever action was decided upon should be taken on the basis of a thorough study of the facts concerning the activities of UNESCO and of the charges against it. Our foreign policies are surely too important to us today to permit actions based upon undue haste or ignorance. The chamber felt also that a study of this nature should be conducted primarily by men possessing as few preconceptions as possible about UNESCO. While a more professional job perhaps could be done by men experienced in the work of the organization, it was decided that what was wanted was the judgment of those who could look into the matter from the viewpoint and experience of our members.

As the national chamber representative on the United States National Commission for UNESCO and as a member of the chamber's 1953-54 committee on education, Dr. Hubert H. Race, consultant on manager development for the General Electric Co., New York City, was asked to serve on the special study group. Its other six members were chosen from the viewpoint of general familiarity with educational and foreign policy matters rather than for any particular familiarity with the work of UNESCO itself.

During the summer of 1953, therefore, the chamber appointed a special joint subcommittee of its committees on foreign policy and education to make a thorough study of the matter. Jarvis Davenport, a director of the national chamber and president of the Sturgis Waterworks of Sturgis, S. Dak.; Bradshaw Mintener, another director of the National chamber and vice president and general counsel of Pillsbury Mills of Minneapolis, Minn.; and Dr. Race represented the chamber's committee on education. Robert G. Bodet, vice president of the Home Insurance Co. of New York; Charles J. Hearst of Maplehearst Farm, Cedar Falls, Iowa; A. B. Sparboe, vice president of Pillsbury Mills, Minneapolis, Minn.; and I represented the chamber's committee on foreign policy. Mr. Sparboe acted as chairman of this joint subcommittee.

In setting up this subcommittee, Richard L. Bowditch, then president of the national chamber, asked it to pay particular attention to the following five goals:

1. Clarifying what UNESCO is.
2. Reviewing its program and activities.
3. Examining criticisms made regarding UNESCO.
4. Suggesting improvements in UNESCO and its operations.
5. Proposing to the board of directors of the chamber a course of action for the chamber regarding UNESCO, based on a recommended new policy on UNESCO.

In setting about this somewhat difficult task the UNESCO subcommittee had several guideposts relating to chamber positions on American participation in international organizations, on the proper limits of the jurisdiction of these organizations and on the importance

of education in expanding output in a growing national and world economy.

The national chamber has supported the principles of the United Nations since before its founding. During the Second World War our membership approved by overwhelming referendum vote American participation in a postwar international organization for the maintenance of peace and security. The chamber strongly supported the ratification of the San Francisco Charter and has consistently reaffirmed its support of the United Nations ever since 1945. As recently as April, 1954, the delegates to our 42d annual meeting reaffirmed a statement of policy to this effect. Thus, the principle of international organization, when utilized for objectives in the national interest of the United States and when not used to interfere in matters essentially within the jurisdiction of sovereign nations, has the strong support of the national chamber. It became, therefore, the function of the UNESCO subcommittee to determine whether these qualifications were met in the work of UNESCO.

The subcommittee had as guideposts several prior chamber policies and positions. Our policy on the United Nations, for example, has for a number of years included the following paragraph:

The United States should be constantly watchful to see that no action taken by the United Nations violates that part of the United Nations Charter which specifically prohibits intervention in matters which are within the jurisdiction of any member nation.

Clearly one of the functions of the UNESCO subcommittee was to determine whether that organization as well was bound both in theory and in practice by such a limitation.

The UNESCO subcommittee was aware as well of the emphasis which the national chamber has always given to the importance of education in economic growth and well-being both nationally and around the world. In 1945, the chamber published a graphic study of 10 countries entitled "Education Steps Up Living Standards."

This study concluded as follows:

Our comparative study of various countries of the world gives strong support to the argument that education raises the level of production of a people. The case of a country such as Denmark provides further striking proof over a long period of time. Here we have a country that 100 years ago was poor and had few resources. It did increase its technical training and a high income has resulted. There is every reason to think that the same result would follow in the rest of the world if education were increased. \* \* \* A traveler soon notices the wide range in resources among countries. After a little study, however, one quickly discovers that the countries with high incomes are not necessarily those with great resources. \* \* \*

A study just published on June 8, 1954, by the education department of the national chamber entitled "Education—An Investment in People" shows the correlation between literacy and per-capita income in 10 countries. While not included in this particular study the correlation between literacy and foreign trade abroad is also very close. The interest of the national chamber and American business in increasing educational standards throughout the world was thus one of the factors guiding our UNESCO subcommittee.

With these standards to guide its work, the UNESCO subcommittee proceeded to study the activities of UNESCO and the accusations concerning it. It decided to meet in Minneapolis, Minn., at the

time of the Fourth National Conference of the United States National Commission for UNESCO on September 16, 1953, in order to give itself an opportunity to study at firsthand the activities of that group.

The question of the accusations leveled against UNESCO was of first interest to the subcommittee. It found first that the most serious of these charges could be divided into four groups: That UNESCO advocated world government; that it advocated subversion or communism; that it advocated atheism; and that it was a sort of worldwide WPA with the American taxpayer being forced to foot some huge bill for the sole benefit of other nations. Needless to say, if the facts had shown that any one of these charges was correct our UNESCO subcommittee would have returned an adverse report.

But when we looked into these specific charges we found them basically without substance. We looked for evidence and could not find it. A number of quotations have been offered at times to prove these specific points. Yet the subcommittee found that in some cases these were misquotations, in others they were parceled together from different pages and presented as a whole, while in still others they were quotations from opinions published by but not endorsed by UNESCO.

The subcommittee felt that UNESCO had not exercised sufficient care in selecting its material for publication but that no evidence had been produced from these publications to support any of the above charges.

In regard to the charge of atheism the subcommittee was impressed by the support afforded UNESCO by the leading religious organizations of this country including the National Council of Churches, the National Catholic Welfare Council, and the Synagogue Council of America.

It noted too that the Vatican itself has a permanent representative at UNESCO and that the Catholic Church has been active in combating what it considers unwarranted attacks on UNESCO on the grounds of atheism.

On the question of expense the subcommittee did not believe that the \$12 million expended by UNESCO in 1953, of which one-third was contributed by the United States, was excessive, if wisely spent, considering the importance of the objectives of the organization.

The subcommittee was particularly struck by the contrast between the charge of Communist intent sometimes leveled in this country against UNESCO and the violent opposition of the Communist countries to its work. It could not help notice that up until that time the Soviet Union had never belonged to UNESCO and that the satellite states of Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia had tendered their resignations charging UNESCO with being "an instrument of American imperialist propaganda." The subcommittee on UNESCO could find no evidence to support the statements either of the Communist bloc or of the American opponents of UNESCO that the organization was a tool of either the United States or the Soviet Union.

The UNESCO subcommittee next considered the more moderate charges of inefficiency and waste concerning the programs and methods of the organization. While it did not consider itself competent to judge exactly the effectiveness of UNESCO's work it felt that a number of reforms was clearly desirable. Any new organization, of

course, must go through a period of experimentation in which failures, as well as successes, figure and in which much energy, time, and money are wasted in working out the best methods and programs.

The subcommittee felt that this period in UNESCO work should be about over. It felt that a very strict order of priority should be established in regard to possible projects and that attention should be given only to those on the very top of the priority list.

With the limited funds at UNESCO's disposal the major consideration must obviously be the resources of the organization rather than the limitless needs of the world. Important too must be the willingness of the cooperating country to contribute itself to the project to the best of its ability.

The subcommittee also felt that UNESCO's role in each project should be considered transitional. Projects should be established with the expectation that they will be turned over completely to the participating country or countries as soon as possible. The idea of "pilot projects" rather than permanent ones should be the driving force of the organization.

A teacher's success, after all, is determined by the speed and ability with which the student can emulate him. No teacher would be considered a success if his students went through life still dependent upon him for what they were supposed to have learned in school.

The UNESCO subcommittee submitted to the full foreign policy committee of the chamber a report the conclusion of which opened with the following paragraph:

The UNESCO subcommittee has carefully considered the charges against UNESCO and believes that most of them are based on a lack of information concerning the real nature and activities of the organization. The UNESCO subcommittee, therefore, unanimously recommends that the Chamber of Commerce of the United States adopt a policy supporting UNESCO's stated purpose as contained in article I of UNESCO's constitution, "To contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science, and culture." In making this recommendation we point out specifically that it is not and never has been any part of the purpose of UNESCO to promote in any manner the theory of world government or world citizenship in a political sense.

The report went on to explain why, in the opinion of the subcommittee, membership in UNESCO is in the national interest of the United States for two major reasons:

1. There are important advantages in human understanding and in international commerce which accompany and can result from the exchange of ideas and methods between American and foreign scientists and educators. In this regard the subcommittee was mindful of the great benefits which have come to the United States in its own development because of free access to the educational, scientific, and cultural resources of the whole free world.

2. The subcommittee was also conscious that any organization which helps to preserve the peace is in the national interest of the United States. In addition, however, in encouraging the idea of collective responsibility UNESCO increases the chances that we will not have to fight alone if we are again forced to fight against Communist aggression.

In addition to the suggestions for improving the effectiveness of UNESCO's work already mentioned in this testimony, the subcommittee further recommended some national chamber action concerning UNESCO.

It recommended that the national chamber continue its participation in the work of the United States National Commission for UNESCO and that in line with this objective it should take action to broaden our national knowledge and understanding of the purposes and functions of UNESCO.

As an example of the need for greater public knowledge of UNESCO, the subcommittee noted that Mr. Harry A. Bullis, chairman of the board of General Mills, Inc., Minneapolis, Minn., a national chamber director and chairman of the chamber's committee on foreign policy, had taken an informal poll of about 50 persons on UNESCO when asked to serve as chairman of the local sponsoring committee for the Fourth National Conference of the United States National Commission for UNESCO.

Mr. Bullis, in his opening remarks at the conference, reported that about half of the persons interviewed had never heard of UNESCO while the remaining 25 had definitions ranging from a receptionist's opinion that UNESCO was "one of those chocolate wafer sandwiches with vanilla cream filling" to a banker's view that it was one of those subversive organizations on the Attorney General's list.

The subcommittee further recommended that the chamber should participate in UNESCO and other international affairs meetings and conferences in order that the viewpoints of American business be made known to other groups in our society.

On a more general level, the subcommittee recommended that the chamber should continue to work toward increasing the participation of businessmen in the formulation of our foreign policies and toward increasing public understanding of America's leadership role in the world today.

The report and recommendations of the UNESCO subcommittee were considered by the full foreign policy committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. Bullis, at its October 16, 1953, meeting.

The 1953-54 committee on foreign policy of the national chamber consisted of 36 prominent business and professional people representing all parts of the country and many segments of American business life.

The foreign policy committee gave the report and recommendations of the subcommittee on UNESCO a thorough examination. Here, too, the large majority of committee members was not hitherto familiar with the work of UNESCO but care was taken to send each member full explanatory material concerning UNESCO and the work of the subcommittee enough in advance of the meeting to enable the members to give sufficient study to the problem.

After a full day's debate and deliberation, the foreign policy committee voted unanimously to recommend a declaration of policy supporting the objectives of UNESCO and recommending certain reforms.

This recommendation by the committee on foreign policy was considered by the chamber's board of directors at its November 13-14, 1953, meeting. After due deliberation, the board voted without dissent to recommend it to the chamber's committee on policy.

The chamber's committee on policy, then under the chairmanship of Mr. Clement D. Johnston, now president of the chamber, has the function of reviewing all proposed chamber policies with the view of passing them on for annual meeting consideration.

It considered the proposed policy on UNESCO at its February 19, 1954, meeting and made some editorial revisions which shortened the text of the proposed declaration. The committee then approved the revised declaration for annual meeting consideration.

All proposed new or revised chamber policies are sent to all members of the national chamber at least a month before the annual meeting so that there will be ample time for due consideration.

At the annual meeting, held each spring, all new and revised policies are voted on by the membership. Ample opportunity is given to any delegate who wishes to object to or speak against a policy to do so. Those policies to which there is no objection are passed and then those which have aroused opposition are debated and voted on. The proposed policy on UNESCO was one of those this year to which objection was raised.

It was, therefore, passed over in the general vote on policies.

When the time for the debate on UNESCO came the gentleman who had raised the objection asked for the reasons which had led to its recommendation.

Mr. Harry A. Bullis, as chairman of the foreign policy committee, laid the facts behind the recommended policy before the delegates in somewhat the same manner in which I have attempted to do today. After him, some additional information was supplied by Mr. Bradshaw Mintener, a member of the joint subcommittee on UNESCO.

As a result of these explanations the gentleman who had raised the objection withdrew it and the policy on UNESCO was adopted unanimously by the 42d annual meeting of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

As this process shows, policies of the chamber undergo a long and thorough scrutiny before adoption. Our policy on UNESCO represents a sincere attempt to find out the facts and, acting upon the basis of them, to support what we think right in our foreign policies.

We hope that our experience in this work will encourage other groups to take a "new look" at aspects of our foreign policies and to make the results of their inquiries available to the Congress and to the public at large.

If the well-being of our country depends upon the soundness of our foreign policies, surely that soundness itself depends upon the active participation of private citizens and groups in the formulation and carrying out of these foreign policies.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Tanham, we thank you for presenting this statement for the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. It is a lucid, comprehensive, and most constructive analysis of UNESCO. We are pleased to have your recommendations.

As you have stated, the chamber is going to conduct a continuing study of this organization.

Mr. TANHAM. Yes, sir. It is the intent of the chamber to become well informed on developments in that respect; yes sir.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. LeCompte—

Mr. Lecompte. The head of UNESCO, now, is Dr. Evans who was over here as the head of the Library of Congress. We knew him intimately when he was here and we have a very high regard for him.

I am interested in your statement that your committee has gone into the charge that was made in some quarters that publications of

UNESCO did have a left wing or radical slant, and that they were socialistic in some of their proposals.

Your committee was convinced that there is nothing wrong with UNESCO? Is it true that there were some unfortunate statements made at times?

Mr. TANHAM. I'll put it this way: Our committee could find no evidence that we felt substantiated those charges. I would say the nearest we could come to anything that might even verge on substantiation was in some of the printed publications of UNESCO and in reports of speeches that have been made. They did not at all reflect a position or policy of UNESCO, but were a report of a speech, or an address that might have been delivered at some meeting. It could happen in any organization.

Mr. Lecompte. It could occur with a daily newspaper. The publisher doesn't necessarily endorse everything a columnist writes.

Mr. TANHAM. Neither does a sponsor endorse everything the radio commentator may say, fortunately.

Mr. Lecompte. Someone up here quoted something from UNESCO regarding world government. Do you remember that?

Mr. Merrow. I think they quoted a speech made by Dr. Milton Eisenhower, and I corresponded with Dr. Eisenhower and in the hearings is a statement he made on that subject.

Mr. Lecompte. He qualified that statement afterwards, did he not?

Mr. Merrow. Yes; he wrote a long letter of explanation and the letter is included in the hearings. In the letter, he stated that he used the phrase "world government" in a philosophical sense and that he was opposed to world government.

Mr. Lecompte. Thank you, Mr. Tanham.

I have no further questions and can only commend you and your organization for your splendid statement.

Mr. TANHAM. Thank you very much, sir.

Mr. Merrow. I think this is a very excellent statement.

Your subcommittee examined practically all of the literature of UNESCO?

Dr. Nystrom. Particularly the publications "Toward World Understanding" about which there was greatest criticism. We recognized that these pamphlets were a collection of opinions of various teachers made at international seminars and were not necessarily endorsed by UNESCO.

Mr. Lecompte. It seems to me in an organization like UNESCO you have to follow the admonition of Holy Writ and not only avoid evil but avoid even the appearance of evil. I think if the quotations were correct, that some of them were unfortunate.

Dr. Nystrom. I think that was the reason for the No. 3 point of the chamber policy statement, that there should be more careful examination and approval.

Mr. TANHAM. I think what would be unfortunate in that respect would be to condemn the organization, for not expressing the policy of the organization. That is what our committee set out to investigate.

Mr. Merrow. You have had constant representation as you said on the national committee?

Mr. TANHAM. I did not but the chamber did.

Mr. MERROW. The chamber will continue its representation, and your report, of course, will be brought to the attention of the National Commission.

Dr. NYSTROM. For the first 2 years there was representation by the president of the chamber of commerce. We found that was rather unsatisfactory since the president was involved in many other activities and we have had Dr. Race as the chamber's representative since 1949.

Mr. MERROW. Dr. Nystrom, do you wish to say anything further?

Dr. NYSTROM. I have nothing further to add.

Mr. MERROW. We certainly appreciate your coming, Mr. Tanham, and presenting this fine statement.

Mr. TANHAM. For the chamber and for myself, thank you and the committee for hearing us and for your courteous treatment of us while here.

Mr. MERROW. I appreciate that and thank you.

We have a statement from the American Legion, on UNESCO. Without objection it will be inserted in the record. We have a communication from Mrs. Bolton, a member of the subcommittee, and an insertion, which will be placed in the record, without objection.

We have a communication and insertion from the Daughters of the American Revolution. Without objection it will be inserted in the record.

We have the following statements also to be included in the record:

A letter from the League of Women Voters. Without objection it will be inserted in the record.

A statement from the American Parents Committee. Without objection it will be inserted in the record.

A letter from the American Home Economics Association, a letter from the chairman. Without objection it will be inserted in the record.

A letter from the National Fisheries Institute. Without objection it will be inserted in the record.

A further statement from the Cooperative League which will be included in the record.

A statement from the National Farmers Union. Without objection it will be inserted in the record.

A letter from the Women's University Club of America which will be inserted in the record.

A statement from the National Council of Churches of Christ. Without objection that will be placed in the record.

(The documents referred to are as follows:)

THE AMERICAN LEGION,  
NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE COMMISSION,  
Washington 6, D. C., May 19, 1954.

HON. CHESTER E. MERROW,  
*Chairman, Subcommittee on International Organizations,  
Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives,*  
Washington 25, D. C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I am enclosing a copy of the report of Special Committee on Covenant of Human Rights and United Nations, to the National Executive Committee of the American Legion at Indianapolis, Ind., May 2, 3, and 4, 1954. The report was approved by the latter body.

Your attention is invited to section 2 at page 5, et seq., ending at page 15, and which presents views of the Committee and of the American Legion pertaining to UNESCO.



This office has no objection to this being entered into the record of hearings of your committee.

Sincerely yours,

MILES D. KENNEDY, *Director.*

REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON COVENANT OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND UNITED NATIONS, TO THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, THE AMERICAN LEGION, INDIANAPOLIS, IND., MAY 2, 3, 4, 1954.

The special committee on Covenant of Human Rights and United Nations last reported to the national executive committee at the April-May 1953 meeting. Since that time the committee has held two meetings—one at New York City on December 21, 1953, the other at New York City on April 27, 1954.

At the meeting first mentioned, the committee gave special consideration to the matter of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, designed to prevent abuse, misuse or misconstruction of the present treaty-making powers, with particular reference to Senate Joint Resolution No. 1 by Senator Bricker of Ohio (in which some 63 other Senators joined) and the treaty amendment proposed by a committee of the American Bar Association (S. J. Res. No. 43). Further reference will be made to this subject later on in this report.

The meeting of April 27 concerned itself principally with the Covenant of Human Rights and with the subject of UNESCO. This committee suggests that this present report might well be read in conjunction with the rather extensive reports of this committee made not only at the April-May 1953 meeting of the national executive committee, but also the very extensive report of the committee made at the May 1952 meeting of the national executive committee.

Section 1. The Covenant of Human Rights: On April 27, 1954, this committee met with Mrs. Oswald Bates Lord, United States representative on the United Nations Human Rights Commission. Our purpose was to check the present status of the covenants. In this connection, it will be recalled that on April 8, 1953, at Geneva, Switzerland, Mrs. Lord made a statement to the Commission on Human Rights, a copy of which was attached to the 1953 report of this committee. Mrs. Lord's statement at that time was based upon a letter directed to Mrs. Lord, under date of April 3, 1953, by the Honorable John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, a copy of which letter was also attached to this committee's 1953 report. Briefly summarized, the Secretary of State's communication to Mrs. Lord was as follows:

1. The United States stands for full and complete enjoyment of fundamental human rights in the conviction that they are God-given and inalienable.

2. Through education and publicity the United States has developed a "human rights conscience" which is perhaps the strongest factor in our nation's progress.

3. Injustices occurring in all countries, including our own, cannot be overcome in a day.

4. The Declaration of Human rights adopted by the General Assembly at Paris in 1948 enumerated goals. It is likely they will not be accepted by United Nations members as widely as initially anticipated, and in areas are being persistently and flagrantly violated. Under these circumstances there is grave question whether the completion, signing, and ratification of the two Covenants of Human Rights at this time is the most desirable method of contributing to human betterment, particularly in areas of greatest need.

5. The United States representative is asked to present to the Commission on Human Rights a statement of American goals and policies in this field; to point out the need for reexamining the approach of the Human Rights Covenants, and to suggest methods based on American experience which will bring nearer the goals sought, giving special weight to the value of bringing facts to the light of day, to common discussion of problems, and to "each country drawing on the experience of other countries for inspiration and practical guidance in solving its own problems."

6. "The United States Government has reached the conclusion that we should not at this time become a party to any multilateral treaty such as those contemplated in the Draft Covenants of Human Rights, and that we should now work toward the objectives of the declaration by other means."

7. It is incumbent on the United States as a loyal member of the United Nations to continue to participate in the drafting of the covenants.

8. The United States will support every effort of the United States representative on the Commission to bring about, through the United Nations, higher standards of living throughout the world and a full life to millions of persons who struggle merely to exist, and the removal of restraints on the rights of expression and association so as to release the creative energies of the human spirit.

Mrs. Lord, on April 27, 1954, fully confirmed to this committee that it had been her policy as United States representative on the United Nations Commission on Human Rights to conform fully to the basic directions contained in the Secretary of State's communication, and she reiterated that it was the intention of the United States Government not to become a party to the Covenants of Human Rights. Mrs. Lord expressed the belief to your committee that the position of the United States in this respect was receiving increasing acceptance and understanding by other nations, and that there was reason to believe that other important nations would take the same position as the United States in this respect has taken. Subject to this understanding, the United States representatives to the Commission on Human Rights are continuing to assist in the drafting of covenants and have been looked to for help and guidance by other members of the Commission for this purpose. Mrs. Lord indicated her belief that this course could be pursued with best results on behalf of the United States and with best results in the drafting of the covenants.

Mrs. Lord further indicated that sentiment had developed among other important nations for simplification in the direction of covenants which would more nearly approach our own Bill of Rights. It will be noted that two covenants are involved—one dealing primarily with civil and political rights, and the other dealing with economic, social, and cultural rights.

It is the distinct impression of your committee that under the present leadership of the United States the best interests of the American people will be protected, and that no harmful results will come to our people as a result of participation by the United States representatives in the drafting of the covenants, but that on the other hand such participation should tend to protect the interests of our people. While it appears that the Commission on Human Rights to all intents and purposes completed its drafting work, it is significant that the drafts contain no "Federal-State" clauses. The covenants are now before the Economic and Social Council. This committee will endeavor to keep advised of whatever development may occur with respect to the covenants.

Section 2. UNESCO: On August 25, 1953, a subcommittee of this committee, consisting of Robert R. Sugarman, William G. McKinley, and the chairman, met with representatives of the State Department and of the United States National Commission for UNESCO, at the offices of the United States mission to the United Nations, 2 Park Avenue, New York City. A very thorough discussion ensued pertaining to the origin, purposes, and work of UNESCO. Since that meeting, members of the committee have given a very great deal of study to the subject of UNESCO, and have read and studied almost innumerable documents and publications relating thereto, including controversial subject matter emanating from various groups and localities within the United States.

As a result of such study, it is fair to say that UNESCO is little understood by the very great majority of the people of this country. Accordingly, your committee believes it advisable to devote some space in this report to a discussion of UNESCO, what it is, how it is organized, what it costs, what is its membership, and what is the United States representation therein, and what are its purposes, programs, and methods, etc., etc.

UNESCO is 1 of 10 specialized agencies affiliated with, but not directly controlled by, the United Nations. It originated at a conference held in London in 1942, which was attended by the ministers of education of nine allied countries. Its present authority is found in article 55 of the United Nations Charter, which states that the members of the organization shall promote "international cultural and educational cooperation." The quoted phrase was recommended by American consultants who were representatives of business, agriculture, civic, labor, religious, and educational groups. On May 22, 1945, prior to the adoption of the United Nations Charter, the United States Congress unanimously adopted resolutions favoring the creation of a permanent international agency to promote educational and cultural relations. Members of the United States Senate attended a conference in November 1945 as members of a United States delegation. At this conference the constitution of UNESCO was drawn. Authority for United States membership and participation in UNESCO, and for the establishment of a United States National Commission was approved by joint congressional reso-

lution on July 30, 1946, by a vote of 264 to 41 in the House, and without dissent in the Senate (Public Law 565, 79th Cong., 2d sess.).

UNESCO consists of a General Conference, an Executive Board, and a Secretariat. The General Conference meets at least once each year. Its functions are to determine the policies and main lines of work of the organization, and to make decisions on programs drawn up by the Executive Board.

The Executive Board consists of 18 members, and the United States has been represented continuously thereon.

The Secretariat is a permanent staff appointed by the Director General, as chief administrative officer, who in turn is appointed by the General Conference on nomination of the Executive Board. Headquarters are in Paris. Some 67 United States nationals work at UNESCO headquarters, and about 35 with UNESCO missions throughout the world, including about half a dozen in New York.

The United States Government has a security clearance with UNESCO's Director General, regarding the employment of Americans by the international agency. This action parallels the agreement worked out by the United States and the United Nations in this regard.

The current budget of UNESCO is about eight and a half million dollars, of which the United States pays about one-third, or \$2.8 million. Any United States contribution is authorized and appropriated by the United States Congress, year by year, and is included in the appropriations for the Department of State. In addition, approximately \$3 million is allocated for UNESCO use from the United Nations technical assistance program. This is used for technical assistance, principally in the field of education.

UNESCO has some 67 member states at this time. The Soviet Union joined UNESCO only within the past 2 weeks or so. Three Communist satellite states, Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, have resigned from UNESCO—each in substance stating in its letter of resignation to the Director General that UNESCO "had joined the camp that preaches hatred and war among peoples," had placed itself at the service of the American warmongers and "had raised no protest against the shameful Anglo-American aggression in Korea." They charged UNESCO with being a "tool of the United States policy of aggression" and with having "become a refuge for all that is the negation of culture and science, a refuge of Fascist barbarism." They deplored what they termed "the flood of worthless American films, broadcasts, publications, and other materials with gangsterism, worship of force, and glorification of war" imposed, as Poland said, on the culture of the people of the world. It will be noted that membership in the United Nations carries with it the right to membership in UNESCO, and that it is by virtue of such right that Russia has now joined UNESCO, where it appears she has already begun her usual obstructive tactics.

The United States National Commission for UNESCO consists of a group of 100 United States citizens, including 60 representatives of nongovernmental organizations, 10 Federal Government representatives, 15 representing State and local governments, and 15 members at large. This Commission meets twice annually. Its purposes are to advise the Government of the United States in matters relating to UNESCO, to act in consultative capacity with regard to the appointment of United States delegates to the General Conference of UNESCO, to advise with the delegations of the United States to the General Conference of UNESCO, to serve as an agency of liaison with organizations, institutions and individuals in the United States interested in matters relating to UNESCO, and to promote an understanding of the general objectives of UNESCO with the people of the United States. The chief purposes of UNESCO are as follows:

1. To eliminate illiteracy and encourage fundamental education;
2. To obtain for each person an education conforming to his aptitudes and to the needs of society, including technological training and higher education;
3. To promote through education respect for human rights throughout all nations.
4. To overcome the obstacles to the free flow of persons, ideas, and knowledge between the countries of the world;
5. To promote the progress and utilization of science for mankind;
6. To study the causes of tensions that may lead to war and to fight them through education;
7. To demonstrate world cultural interdependence;
8. To advance through the press, radio, and motion pictures the cause of truth, freedom, and peace;

9. To bring about better understanding among the peoples of the world and to convince them of the necessity of cooperating loyally with one another in the framework of the United Nations;

10. To render clearinghouse and exchange services in all its fields of action, together with services in reconstruction and relief assistance.

The program centers around efforts to raise levels of education; the improvement of health, nutrition, and literacy; assisting in scientific research to improve living conditions; the exchange of students and teachers among nations; and together with other international agencies, to aid in the development of healthy productive communities and citizens with a sense of self-direction and responsibility.

In carrying out its program UNESCO has evolved a number of methods, including meetings of experts, missions, seminars, pilot projects, the calling of international conferences, and the submission of recommendations or international conventions to member states.

UNESCO cannot operate in the United States without the approval of our own National Commission. Its programs of educational and technical assistance, which are designed and fitting for less developed areas, are not conducted in this country. UNESCO supporters, however, believe that we benefit directly from UNESCO operations in three ways:

1. In teaching the inhabitants of the underdeveloped areas modern techniques in science, education, and technology it helps draw these regions closer to American ideas, standards, and trade.

2. It benefits American science, education, and culture by facilitating the exchange of ideas and methods between American and foreign scientists and educators.

3. Any organization which helps to preserve the peace is to the interest of the United States which has the most to lose through war. In addition, however, in encouraging the idea of collective responsibility it increases the chances that we will not have to fight alone if we are again forced to fight against Communist aggression.

As is well known to the national executive committee, UNESCO has become involved in local controversies in some areas. There can be no doubt that some overzealous supporters of UNESCO have gone overboard in ascribing benefits to and from UNESCO which cannot be realized in fact. Such may have been the case in Los Angeles where a booklet called *The E in UNESCO* was attributed to UNESCO itself, when in fact the booklet was a production of the Los Angeles school system itself, and the controversy was local, involving the question of what should and should not be taught in Los Angeles schools pertaining to UNESCO and its programs and work. Similar situations have existed elsewhere. The public misunderstanding of UNESCO may be attributed in large part to the fact that very few people indeed know what UNESCO is all about. This is not the fault of UNESCO itself, which is not of itself a propaganda organization. While Communist countries have criticized UNESCO as the tool of the United States, on the other hand, individuals and groups in the United States have attacked UNESCO on the basis that it has reflected ideals and philosophies alien to the American tradition. Among the attacks on UNESCO is one to the effect that UNESCO advocates world government. As a matter of fact, the constitution of UNESCO expressly forbids it "from intervening in matters that are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction" of the member states, and the United States National Commission for UNESCO states in substance that such charges have no basis in fact. President Eisenhower's committee to examine into UNESCO concluded, after an examination of a series of publications *Toward World Understanding*, that "a careful study of them fails to reveal that this terminology connotes world government in any political sense." UNESCO has been attacked as atheistic, although none of its member nations except Yugoslavia is officially atheistic, and membership on our own National Commission includes representatives of the National Council of Churches, the National Catholic Welfare Council, and the Synagogue Council of America. The Vatican has a permanent representative at UNESCO. The Catholic Church, which is hardly atheistic or communistic, has actively fought what it considers unwarranted attacks on UNESCO as atheistic.

A principal charge against UNESCO is that it is subversive; that it is influenced or controlled by Communists, with the intention of undermining its influence on American education, respect for the capitalistic system and private ownership of property in the minds of American school children; that it seeks to pervert the American teaching profession; and to destroy the worth and integrity of our public schools.

It may and should be said that the origin of at least a great deal of these charges is the American Flag Committee, and that due to such charges and to certain material issued by that group, and allegedly substantiating them, a small number of patriotic organizations, as well as the National Committee for the Abolition of the United Nations, headed by Gerald L. K. Smith, have taken stands in support of such charges. If true, the charges would certainly warrant the actions and positions taken by such groups.

This reporting committee holds no brief for UNESCO, but it is charged with the duty of reporting facts as it finds them. It reports certain facts in relation to charges of subversion by UNESCO of our public-school system and of the minds of our school children as follows:

The Congressional Record of April 1, 1952, contains a statement by Congressman A. S. J. Carnahan (Missouri) denouncing one of the supporting charges of the American Flag Committee, on which the positions taken by various other groups heretofore referred to have been based, as a "complete fabrication," not to be found in any report, publication, or statement of UNESCO. The Congressman's statement of record further points out that the American Flag Committee has given as a literal quotation from a UNESCO publication consisting in fact of sentences lifted from context, whereby certain sentences from a certain page (58) are followed by phrases from another page (60), then joined to words from another page (58), then followed by more material from another page (59) then by other material from another page (60)—all put together as though it were one direct quote. It is this material on which the national executive committee apparently based its resolution No. 33, at its meeting of April 29–May 1, 1953.

This reporting committee has given most careful study to this particular matter, and it finds that the charges of Congressman Carnahan in this respect are correct, this after thorough study of the publications of UNESCO involved. It should be pointed out that UNESCO issues many publications which are available for purchase, but which do not necessarily represent any policy view or program of UNESCO itself, and may be contrary or irrelevant thereto, as for example, reports of educational seminars in which individual educators participate and express their own views, perhaps different from or even conflicting with views expressed by other educators at the same or like seminars or elsewhere. This reporting committee will continue observation and study of UNESCO as it has done with the Covenants of Human Rights.

It is the view of those who favor UNESCO that—

1. Any organization which by encouraging ideas of cooperation and understanding among the nations of the world, thus helping preserve the peace of the world, is to the interest of the United States.

2. Any organization that contributes to raising living standards throughout the world also contributes to the growth of the democratic way of life, and that in making known to the inhabitants of the underdeveloped areas the modern techniques of science, education, and technology, contributes to the growth of democracy throughout the world.

3. UNESCO in facilitating the exchange of ideas and methods between the United States and foreign scientists and educators, works directly toward increasing the knowledge and competency of our own scientists and educators.

Officials of the United States National Commission have indicated their desire that the American Legion be represented on the United States National Commission for UNESCO, as one of the 60 nongovernmental organizations comprising a part of the United States National Commission. This reporting committee believes that the national organization should give serious consideration to the informal invitation extended to the American Legion to have representation on the United States National Commission. Other national organizations, such as the United States Chamber of Commerce, have taken an increasing interest in UNESCO for the purpose of knowing what it is and does, and this without any limitation on such organizations to criticize or disagree with any policy or program of UNESCO. Membership of the national organization of the American Legion on the United States National Commission for UNESCO would in no way limit the right of the American Legion to express its views either for or against UNESCO, but would permit of a much closer observation of the work of UNESCO than is now possible. Such participation should not involve any substantial expense to the national organization.

As in the case of the Covenants of Human Rights, our first report on UNESCO is somewhat lengthy, and yet it is by no means fully exhaustive of the subject matter involved. It would be quite impossible in this report to cover all the study made by this committee and the material which it has examined.

**Section 3. Treaty amendment:** In its report of last year, made to the NEC, this committee covered at considerable length the question of treaty amendment. Since that time, the national convention of the American Legion has recorded its conviction by resolution that an amendment to the United States Constitution is necessary, which will assure that treaties, pacts, and agreements made on behalf of the United States "shall not become operative as internal law in the United States without specific legislation by the Congress."

The members of the national executive committee are familiar with the debate on this momentous question which has occurred in the past few months in the Senate of the United States, and with the action taken by the United States Senate whereby the so-called George amendment was defeated in the Senate by a margin of one single vote. With but one more favorable vote, the necessary two-thirds majority for acceptance of the treaty amendment by the Senate, would have been obtained. In the course of Senate consideration, the so-called George amendment emerged as a compromise of the views of many who favored the adoption of a treaty amendment. The George amendment is still subject to reconsideration, but as this reporting committee is advised, Senator Bricker will probably introduce a new proposed amendment in the not distant future, drawn in the light of Senate discussion and debate and consistent with the views of the American Bar Association and other organizations interested. This committee is pleased to report that the views of the American Legion have heretofore received, and the committee is certain in the future will receive, full consideration by Members of the Senate in favor of a treaty amendment, and by the American Bar Association and other groups with which the American Legion has been cooperating closely in reference to the treaty amendment proposals. The American Legion has not heretofore recorded itself as in favor of or wedded to any particular language for a treaty amendment. This committee believes that this course has proved to be the course of wisdom. It has permitted, and if continued, will permit flexibility and will not tie our organization down if and when there is need for change or compromise in any particular language. This committee recommends continuation of a policy of supporting any treaty amendment which in its judgment will accomplish the necessary results. This course would envisage continued close cooperation with Senate leaders and the representatives of other national organizations, such as the American Bar Association.

This committee has followed closely the public debate on the question of treaty amendment. The subject has aroused tremendous interest in many quarters, and has received a vast amount of attention editorially, particularly in the powerful metropolitan press of eastern cities. This reporting committee believes that many honest and patriotic American citizens have been misled on the issue, and it must be conceded that a very considerable number of the American people so misled are doubtful of the wisdom of "tampering" with our Constitution by way of a treaty amendment. Proponents of such an amendment have been branded in leading newspapers, editorially, almost in words as enemies of the Republic. Profound pronouncements of constitutional lawyers opposing such an amendment have added to the general confusion when in fact the issue is simple in its essence. Many sincere people feel that there is danger in a treaty amendment because it might tie the hands of the Chief Executive in his day-to-day negotiations or contacts with other governments. Some authorities contend that a treaty amendment would eliminate any effective system of executive agreements necessary to the conduct of the multitudinous foreign affairs affecting our country, our people, and our national policies. Some contend that by change of the Senate rules pertaining to adoption of treaties, including a requirement for a rollcall vote on all treaty proposals, might be sufficient to meet the problems involved.

The simple issue is whether America and the American people shall be protected by treaty amendment against the loss of rights affirmed by the Constitution of the United States. There is no doubt in the minds of this committee that such rights are endangered or susceptible of danger by reason of the tremendous change in the number and character of international contacts at the present time, as compared to the comparatively simple times when the Constitution was adopted. The danger is great, and cannot be allayed by reliance on the good faith of men in office. It must be eliminated by law, and this can be done only by a constitutional amendment.

This reporting committee, therefore, urgently recommends that the national organization designate a National Treaty Week, during which every American Legion post shall be called on to express in public meetings its desire and the

need for a treaty amendment, and during which the American Legion shall bring to the attention of the American people in every feasible way the complete necessity of the adoption of a treaty amendment, in order that the rights of the American people may be preserved. The importance of such a program can hardly be overestimated, and this committee is certain it expresses the views of Senators prominent in the foreground of the treaty amendment fight that such a program on the part of the American Legion would be extremely encouraging and helpful to the cause. This committee believes that seldom, if ever, has a more important issue confronted the American people than is involved in the proposal for a treaty amendment. There is great need for education not only of our own membership, but of the entire American people, and a dire need to alert the American public to the true facts and to the existing dangers. These facts cannot be discounted by the fulminations of either the profound constitutional lawyers or the internationalist or the world federalist. Such an amendment will in no way restrict the proper functions of the Chief Executive or the Congress of the United States, and will in no way hamper the conduct of foreign affairs by the Chief Executive and the Department of State.

Accordingly, your committee reiterates its belief that an American Legion Treaty Amendment Week should be designated, so that the American people and the American Legion may be adequately informed and better enabled to present their views and their convictions to the Congress of the United States.

Respectfully submitted.

WILLIAM G. MCKINLEY.

PAUL M. HERBERT.

REV. GORDON L. KIDD.

JACOB ARK.

MRS. HAROLD S. BURDETT, *Vice Chairman.*

RAY MURPHY, *Chairman.*

APRIL 30, 1954.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
*Washington, D. C., March 9, 1954.*

HON. CHESTER E. MERROW,  
*Chairman, Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements,  
Foreign Affairs Committee, House of Representatives,  
Washington 25, D. C.*

MY DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I had opportunity the other day to ask one of the State Department people to send me material relative to the Los Angeles UNESCO matter. If you will glance through this, you will see that even the Los Angeles fact-finding committee found there was no basis for the charges that the UNESCO school program was "an unpatriotic Communist attempt to sell one-world propaganda to children."

Not mentioned in this particular article was the fact that Mr. Paul Hoffman appeared at the board of education hearings to defend the program but the opposition was of such a hysterical nature that even Mr. Hoffman was booed as a Communist.

I am enclosing also a recent booklet put out by the United Nations on last year's activities of the specialized agencies and the Children's Fund, which I believe you will also find of interest.

With kind regards always,

Sincerely,

FRANCES P. BOLTON.

[New York Times, January 21, 1953, p. 33]

#### LOS ANGELES BANS UNESCO PROGRAM

ADOPTS AN AMENDED RESOLUTION AND ABOLISHES ALL OFFICIAL STUDY IN CITY SCHOOLS—NEW STANDARDS SET UP—BOARD OF EDUCATION TO ALLOW AN "IMPARTIAL" PRESENTATION WITHOUT "UNDUE EMPHASIS"

(Special to the New York Times)

LOS ANGELES, January 20.—Amid partisan cheers and applause, the board of education virtually abolished last night the controversial United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization program from the Los Angeles school system.

The UNESCO program had been set up by the United Nations to promote the interchange of science and culture among nations.

The board's decision came after more than 4 hours of haggling and represented a reversal of what UNESCO opponents feared was a movement to restore the specialized program backed by the United Nations.

What the board actually did was to adopt a policy resolution embodying the recommendations of a fact-finding committee that had studied the issue for 6 months.

The resolution, introduced by Harry H. Hillman, member of the board, was amended, however, to read:

"There shall be no official or unofficial UNESCO program in the Los Angeles City schools, and the UNESCO chairmanships and central advisory committee shall be abolished."

The policy constituted a victory for anti-UNESCO forces, after a battle of more than a year, although the board left the way open for impartial, factual presentation of subjects related to the United Nations.

#### REVERT TO PRE-1946 STATUS

In its amended resolution, the board decreed:

"Los Angeles schools shall continue to teach subjects of human relations and moral and spiritual values. Between 1946 and January 1952, they were assimilated into the UNESCO program. Henceforth, these subjects shall revert to the status they had in the school system prior to 1946."

The amendments were submitted by Paul Burke, board president, amid a fight led by Mrs. Edith K. Stafford for even more stringent restrictions.

They were adopted after 50 persons, organized as the Emergency Citizens Committee Against UNESCO in Los Angeles, distributed copies of a statement demanding that all action be postponed and that the board hold a public hearing before adopting the fact-finders' recommendations.

The three-member committee, headed by Dr. Hugh C. Willett, had called for a deemphasized version of the program. The group said it had found no basis for charges that the UNESCO school program was an unpatriotic, Communist attempt to sell "one world" propaganda to children.

#### REMOVED FROM U. N. INFLUENCE

The board's policy is calculated to retain, in substance, what the board considers the good features of the UNESCO and do away with what it terms the undesirable elements, such as promotional literature.

In other words, anything formerly in the UNESCO program now will be taught by the school system's own curriculum standards and the study of the United Nations is removed from the influence of the organization.

The board set up these standards for handling United Nations matters:

"Schools may provide opportunities for the factual study and impartial discussion of the history, organization, purpose, activities, achievements and weaknesses of the United Nations and its agencies.

"Publications or instructional materials will be issued only as the need arises and after rigid scrutiny for possible bias.

"Training classes, study groups and teacher institutes sessions will be approved if they meet the requirements of objectivity and impartiality.

"Extracurricular activities will be allowed as long as no attempt is made to 'make them the instruments for advocating or opposing certain social, economic, political or governmental philosophies.'

"Teachers must not give undue emphasis to the United Nations or stretch it out of proportion to its significance in the educational program as a whole."

The board also directed a thorough review and reevaluation of "all materials, methods, and techniques of teaching" that might not conform to school policies.

NATIONAL SOCIETY, DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION,

NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE,

Washington 6, D. C., April 28, 1954.

CONGRESSMAN CHESTER E. MERROW,

House Office Building, Washington 25, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MERROW: Enclosed please find an original copy of Department of State Publication No. 3378. May I respectfully request that you include in the hearings before your subcommittee on the United Nations the para-



graphs which I have marked, either preceding or following the letter which you wrote to Dr. Milton Eisenhower and his reply, which I understand will be included in the printed hearings. One paragraph is on page 23 and the other on page 24.

We have a deep respect for your fairness in this situation and know that you will present both sides of this question.

Thank you for your courtesy, Congressman Merrow.

Respectfully yours,

FRANCES BARRETT LUCAS,  
*Executive Secretary.*

#### KEYNOTE FOR UNESCO COUNCILS

Wichita's Arcadia Auditorium was filled, despite bitterly cold weather, when Dr. Eisenhower delivered his address at the closing session of the conference's first day. He spoke on the Mexico City conference and the future of UNESCO, but he spoke of this future "as a continuation, a flowering so to speak, of the past." For, he went on, "one can truly understand UNESCO only if one views it in its historical context [and] viewed in this way it reveals itself as one more step in our halting, painful, but I think very real progress toward a genuine world government."

\* \* \* \* \*

He described the United Nations, with its specialized agencies, as the latest attempt to create world government out of international anarchy by establishing a proper balance between force and persuasion. He expressed the hope that the Security Council could be sufficiently strengthened to enforce peace, through a world police force, upon all nations and individuals who sought to destroy it. But he pointed out that the United Nations would not be altogether an agency of force even if it possessed in fact the police power it now possesses only in theory.

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NATIONAL SOCIETY, DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION,  
NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE,  
Washington, D. C., May 13, 1954.

Congressman CHESTER E. MERROW,  
House of Representatives,  
House Office Building, Room 1541,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MERROW: Thank you for your gracious letter of May 1. Placing the documented information of the State Department publication No. 3378 in the printed hearing will prove that if there were a distorted statement of fact, it is not the fault of the Daughters of the American Revolution but the person in the State Department who reported on the speech given by Dr. Milton Eisenhower.

Twice I have written to Dr. Eisenhower for a copy of his speech, but have received both times a reply without the speech being included.

Thank you, Congressman Merrow, for your fair action in this situation. This is deeply appreciated by the Daughters of the American Revolution, and by me personally.

A couple of days ago, one of the members of your committee requested the enclosed, World Government Score by States; to which I referred in my testimony. I am sorry that my secretary did not get the name of the young man.

Thank you again, Mr. Merrow.

Sincerely yours,

FRANCES BARRETT LUCAS  
(Mrs. James C. Lucas),  
*Executive Secretary.*

#### WORLD GOVERNMENT SCORE BY STATES

Out of 23 States that originally endorsed world government, resolutions for world government still stand in:

1. Utah.
2. Washington.

States that have rescinded within the past year and a half :

1. Georgia (January 27, 1950).
2. California (April 7, 1950).
3. Rhode Island (April 22, 1950).
4. Alabama (June 1950).
5. Louisiana (June 1950).
6. Oklahoma (by referendum, November 1950).
7. Tennessee (January 11, 1951).
8. Missouri (January 29, 1951).
9. Massachusetts (March 15, 1951).
10. Colorado (February 5, 1951).
11. Oregon (February 21, 1951).
12. Maryland (March 8, 1951).
13. Kentucky (March 7 and August, 1951).
14. Florida (April 20, 1951).
15. New Jersey (May 3, 1951).
16. Maine (May 16, 1951).
17. New Hampshire (July 31, 1951).
18. Virginia (February 15, 1952).
19. Connecticut (January 1953).
20. Arkansas (March 27, 1953).
21. North Carolina (April 13, 1953).

World government resolution rejected by the legislatures of :

1. Delaware (also adopted resolution opposing all forms of world government).
2. Michigan (adopted resolution opposing world government).

World government resolutions rejected by committees of the legislatures of :

- |               |                |
|---------------|----------------|
| 1. Iowa.      | 5. New Mexico. |
| 2. Indiana.   | 6. New York.   |
| 3. Minnesota. | 7. Vermont.    |
| 4. Nebraska.  |                |

FRANCES B. LUCAS

(Mrs. James C. Lucas),

*Executive Secretary,*

*National Defense Committee, NSDAR.*

OCTOBER 1953.

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LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
Washington 6, D. C., May 17, 1954.

HON. CHESTER E. MERROW,

*Chairman, Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements,  
Committee on Foreign Affairs,  
House of Representatives, Washington 25, D. C.*

DEAR MR. MERROW : When I appeared before the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements, March 4, you suggested that I might submit a statement for insertion in the record on continuing league support of the United Nations if such support were indicated during the biennial convention in Denver, April 26-30. I am very happy to be able to do this, as the convention did, indeed, reaffirm the league's long-time support.

In attendance at the convention were 739 delegates from the 48 States, Alaska, Hawaii, and the District of Columbia. They represented a membership of 126,000. There are now 959 local leagues.

The convention adopted as a part of the league program for 1954-56 : United States support of the United Nations and its specialized agencies, including adequate financial contributions, increased use, and improved procedures. This was an expression of continued interest in the overall activities of the United Nations, including its agencies.

A motion was adopted unanimously that it was the sense of the convention that all local leagues continue year-round activities in building community understanding and support of the United Nations.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted at one of the closing sessions : "*Resolved*, That the League of Women Voters of the United States has long dedicated itself to creating public understanding of the United Nations.

Assembled in its 21st national convention, the League of Women Voters declares its continued support of the principles of the international cooperation and reaffirms its belief in the United Nations as an instrument of peace."

Sincerely yours,

PERCY MAXIM LEE  
(Mrs. John G. Lee),  
President.

THE AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE, INC.,  
New York 17, N. Y., March 3, 1954.

Congressman CHESTER E. MERROW,

Chairman, Subcommittee of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs,  
The Capitol, Washington 25, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MERROW: I have just been informed that your subcommittee is holding hearings on the various agencies of the United Nations and that you will welcome ideas from persons and organizations.

I would like to register with your committee my views about the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). My recent trip around the world gave me an opportunity to study a number of the projects of UNICEF and their effectiveness in some of the underdeveloped countries, and I believe that UNICEF is the greatest child-welfare effort of all time.

With this letter I am enclosing a copy of Parents' Magazine, which contains, on page 48, an article I have written entitled "The Greatest Child-Welfare Effort of All Time." I would be happy to have you include all or any part of it in the record of your hearings.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE J. HECHT, Chairman.

#### THE GREATEST CHILD-WELFARE EFFORT OF ALL TIME

*Here is the eye-witness story of what UNICEF is doing in southeast Asia to save the lives of millions of children. You will read it with a deep sense of pride in America's share of this United Nations effort to help others less fortunate than ourselves*

(By George J. Hecht, publisher of Parents' magazine)

I am recently back from a plane trip around the world. I did not go for business or on behalf of any organization. I went to see the great sights of the world and the conditions under which people live, particularly the children. I found the famous pyramids near Cairo, the Taj Mahal in India, the Shwedagon Pagoda in Rangoon, the unbelievable Temple of the Emerald Buddha in Bangkok, and Angkor Wat, the city buried for a thousand years in Indochina, more fascinating than I ever dreamed. But the conditions of the children in southeast Asia were beyond my worst imagining.

The suffering of children in the underdeveloped countries of the world is a horror to see—the hunger, disease, and neglect in which they seem doomed to live are unbelievable. But there is new hope for them now in the great efforts that are being made to raise standards of health and welfare in defiance of seemingly insurmountable age-old obstacles. Thousands of local people and a few internationals are in the vanguard—men and women who have the kind of courage it takes to plan and push ahead vast health campaigns to change the lives of hundreds of millions of people.

Here in the United States we tend to think of the United Nations as a congregation of politicians and diplomats who do nothing but talk. But in India, Burma, Thailand, Indochina, and Hong Kong I saw the U. N. agencies in action. I saw the United Nations International Children's Fund—UNICEF—sending supplies and equipment that make local child care programs come to reality. I saw the Food and Agriculture Organization—FAO—helping to get more and better rice grown in the paddies, more fish out of the waters, more wheat from the fields of these desperately underdeveloped, hungry lands. I saw the World Health Organization—WHO—helping to train great numbers of new health workers, suggesting new attacks on ancient ills.

"If you have any doubts about the vitality of the U. N.," an American told me in Bangkok, "go to the jungles and villages of southeast Asia. That's where you find the U. N. very much alive and very much appreciated. It's there, and not in New York, that you see the dramatic possibilities of international cooperation for human betterment."

Because we are among the best-clothed, best-housed, and best-fed people in the world, we are just barely aware of these most universally acclaimed of all U. N. activities. Our apparent indifference to the need and value of these U. N. activities is pointed up by Congress's hesitation last winter to vote a United States contribution for the support of UNICEF's 1953 activities. Fortunately at the last moment \$9,800,000 was voted. For 1954 a \$9 million contribution for UNICEF has been authorized, but Congress has not yet appropriated the money. This is likely to come up for a vote soon.

Yet UNICEF today is the greatest child welfare effort of all time. Certainly it is the least costly, for thousands of children are being saved every day from living permanently crippled, unproductive, burdensome lives for as little as 15 cents' worth of drugs for each child. I have seen this with my own eyes. It is happening.

Failure of the United States to participate along with 43 other countries in this greatest of all humanitarian efforts would be intolerable social anarchy. If we expect to hold our position of leadership in the world, we must support the cooperative efforts that most clearly show our good intentions.

Few people realize UNICEF's position as the organization that specializes not merely in advice, but in putting up the equipment, the medicines and often the technical skills that make the advice practical. There is no use explaining about miracle drugs to a Burmese doctor or telling about the magic of X-ray to a Thai physician. But give him the drugs and the equipment; show him how to use them and he will do the job. This is UNICEF's work all over the world.

When I was in India, former United States Ambassador Chester Bowles told me that half the children die before they reach their tenth year. I hardly see how that many survive.

From the day they are conceived most of these children are doomed. Their mothers often haven't enough to eat. The babies are born—almost all of them—under the most primitive conditions. An ignorant midwife officiates with the time-honored, deadly methods of her trade. She may cut the baby's cord with a dirty bamboo knife, cover his navel with a poultice of dung, wash him in a broth of onion rings. His mother will not have enough milk for the baby.

This baby has but a slim chance of seeing a trained doctor if he lives in a rural village, like 85 percent of his Indian brothers. There are about 48,000 doctors in India for a population of 360 million. But of these, only some 13,000 are on the staff of medical institutions maintained by the Government or other public health agencies. The rest are in private practice in the cities.

His chance of seeing a public-health nurse is even slimmer. Available vital statistics on India don't tell all the truth, for records are kept only in the more advanced villages. But the figures are shocking enough to convey at least some idea of how hard it is for a child to stay alive.

At birth an Indian baby has an average of 25 years of life to look forward to, an American child has 66. In their first year, some 150 out of every 1,000 Indian babies die. Twenty-three times as many mothers die in childbirth as in the United States. If a child survives the first year without succumbing to the host of intestinal ills that prevail, there are still tuberculosis, malaria, yaws, leprosy and always, starvation. Rarely will the Indian child get enough to get. Nutritional deficiencies will threaten him with everything from pellagra to blindness and they will lower his resistance to the diseases that surround him.

Malaria, of course, is the country's No. 1 health problem. It lays low 100 million people a year. At least 1 million die. Every year tuberculosis kills about half a million Indians—most of them young. Another 2,500,000 have open, infectious cases.

The catalog of India's ills is long, but no longer than that of her neighbors. Actually, the mortality and sickness rates are not too different from those in the United States at the turn of the century. The compounding difficulties are the great numbers of people involved and their terrible poverty and illiteracy.

But what is being done about all this? The countries themselves know they can no longer afford the human and economic waste of generations of sickness. They are making in many cases incredibly large investments in the future, investing money in child care programs, maternal welfare, mass health projects.

Backing them up are UNICEF, WHO, FAO—as well as our bilateral aid. None of these is a giveaway program. UNICEF, for example, requires that countries match the value of aid with local goods and services. But I was interested to learn how many countries are overmatching. A UNICEF allocation of \$40,000 in equipment and supplies for the first children's hospital in Vietnam, for example, is pushing through local expenditures of \$850,000 in construction and a year's operating expenses.

I flew on the same plane from Bombay to New Delhi with Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, India's Union Health Minister. From the air she pointed to the factory being built on the outskirts of Bombay. A DDT plant—India's first, she told me. This plant will operate with technical equipment provided by UNICEF and with the planning guidance of WHO. The equipment is costing UNICEF \$250,000. India's investment will be \$600,000 in land, labor and buildings. But the 700 tons of DDT it will produce annually will protect 7 million every year from malaria.

Ninety miles outside of Bombay at the village of Pimpri, another factory is rising. Here, again with UNICEF and WHO help, India will have her first penicillin production plant. Indians are now in Belgium studying techniques at a penicillin factory under WHO grants. Homes for 250 workers are being built on the site. The penicillin produced here will be used to treat children and mothers in government health services free.

"These are the fundamental projects the U. N. is helping India with that will really make the difference in the long run," Rajkumari Amrit Kaur told me.

Probably the most appealing of UNICEF's operations is the distribution of milk to children. I agree with the Health Minister, however, that from a long-range point of view it is basic aid—helping others set up their own sources of vaccine, DDT, penicillin; helping them train more auxiliary child care personnel, expand their network of rural maternal and child welfare centers and extend basic disease protection—that will make the permanent improvement in conditions of child life.

In the field of food, of course, much can and is being done. But no one seriously considers the continuous import of large quantities of food as a long-range solution to the problem of child feeding. The point of U. N. aid to underdeveloped countries is to help them set up food production programs that are within their capacity to carry on alone.

Malaria control, however, has a very direct bearing on food production. In northern India, a UNICEF-WHO-aided DDT-spraying project not only wiped out malaria among children, but brought 30,000 acres which had been ridden with disease-carrying mosquitoes under cultivation. Land values doubled and the area is now producing 75,500 tons of food a year.

In other instances, attempts are made to find new sources of proteins and other essential foodstuffs. A UNICEF-FAO team is now in Indonesia studying the possibilities of helping the country produce soybean meal for child feeding. Since the islands can produce almost no milk, it is hoped that the low-cost, high-protein soybean may hold the answer to the chronic hunger that weakens the country's children.

Arriving in New Delhi from Bombay, I landed in the midst of the state's all-out BCG anti-tuberculosis vaccination drive. Every drummer and band in town was out, calling the people to the vaccination posts. Children followed the drummers as they did the Pied Piper. Testing and vaccination were given at improvised clinics on street corners, market places, in shops.

Before this 1-month offensive, Delhi's BCG teams had barely begun to cover the state's 1,700,000 population. But by month's end, 750,000 had been tested; 750,000 vaccinated. Teams were on loan from East Punjab and Uttar Pradesh. The campaign had the all-out support of top government officials, who believe this is the way to curb tuberculosis.

Of the many BCG campaigns by UNICEF and WHO, India's is by far the largest. It is planned to cover 170 million young people within a decade and competition among the states for top score in vaccination is keen. "We're watching BCG campaigns as closely as end-of-play cricket scores," UNICEF's Mission Chief in India, Glan T. Davies, told me.

This energetic effort to make progress I saw all over southeast Asia.

I saw it in an efficient, clean and wonderfully active maternal and child health clinic in Rangoon. Burmese and international personnel were working together in complete harmony; hundreds of mothers and children were getting their first introduction to modern child care.

If malaria can be wiped out—as is now possible, given sufficient supplies of DDT—millions of acres will be brought into food production. If people can be cured of yaws, protected against tuberculosis and other ills, they will be fit to take an active, productive part in their countries' economy and to work for a better future for southeast Asia. To help them get on their feet is the aim of UN aid. It must be strongly backed by the United States in the struggle for world peace and prosperity.

In the 7 years of its existence UNICEF has helped more than 60 million children in 72 different countries. During the coming year it expects to aid more than 25 million mothers and children. UNICEF has received financial support from 63 different countries, many of them giving year after year. Never in history has there been such a worldwide activity on behalf of children. Unquestionably it is the greatest child-welfare effort of all time.

[Reprinted by American Association for the United Nations, Inc., 345 East 46th St., New York 17, N. Y.]

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AMERICAN HOME ECONOMICS ASSOCIATION.

*Washington 9, D. C., April 8, 1954.*

Hon. CHESTER E. MERROW,

*Chairman, Special Study Mission on International Organizations and Movements, House Office Building, Washington 25, D. C.*

MY DEAR MR. MERROW: The American Home Economics Association, having studied the report of the Special Study Mission on International Organizations and Movements of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, would like to give strong support to and concur with the findings of the committee regarding the excellent work being done by the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and the World Health Organization (WHO) in their overall programs. The FAO and WHO are the UN specialized agencies for which the membership of the American Home Economics Association has voted its support. Since the area of competence of the American Home Economics Association is in the field of home economics, it would like to comment on those particular phases of the program of FAO and WHO concerned with the family and the home.

The American Home Economics Association supports the FAO position regarding the place and importance of home economics in its program of food and agriculture aimed at raising the levels of nutrition and standards of living of the peoples of the world. FAO in its program of work rightly recognizes and gives emphasis to the fact that in the chain of action that goes from production to consumption, the last link is the important role played by the homemaker. If the full effects of the advances in the field of food and agriculture are to be realized and the standards of family life are to be raised, the homemaker must be reached.

It is the homemaker who is concerned with the preparation and utilization of food, with its preservation, and in many countries with much of the work related to its production. She has the responsibility of bearing the children, feeding and clothing the family, taking care of them when they are ill, keeping the house and its surroundings clean and in order, and oftentimes has the additional work of the barnyard and even helping with the difficult farming jobs. Helping her to alleviate her work, to do the many-sided job well, and to have a happy home and family life is home economics in the real sense. Home economics has an important place in economic and social development and deserves the emphasis given to it by FAO in both its regular and technical assistance programs. Excellent examples of the work done by FAO in home economics are the programs carried out in Israel, Iraq, in the Middle East, in the Caribbean, and in many other parts of the world.

The American Home Economics Association supports the findings of this committee regarding the work of WHO and in particular those programs of maternal and child health, nutrition, sanitation, and mass health campaigns directed at the betterment of the health of the family.

We request that this statement be included in the record.

Respectfully submitted,

BERTHA AKIN GREGORY,

*Chairman, AHEA Committee on Legislation.*

NATIONAL FISHERIES INSTITUTE, INC.,  
Washington 9, D. C., April 9, 1954.

HON. CHESTER E. MERROW,  
Chairman, Special Study Mission on International Organizations,  
House Committee on Foreign Affairs, House Office Building,  
Washington 25, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MERROW: I should appreciate it if this short statement could be incorporated in the report of your committee hearing on House Resolution 113.

I served as fishery adviser to the United States delegation at two FAO conferences in Washington, D. C., one at Geneva, Switzerland, and one at Rome, Italy. I have conferred with the fisheries staff of the FAO from time to time in the development of the fisheries program and concur with the statement on the work of the Division as set forth on pages 20, 21, and 22 of your House Report 1251. The FAO Fisheries Division serves the additional function of bringing about a better understanding of fishery problems among the nations.

In my observation of the work of FAO since its inception, I am convinced that a great deal of good work is being accomplished at a very modest cost.

Yours very truly,

CHAS. E. JACKSON,  
General Manager.

THE COOPERATIVE LEAGUE OF THE USA,  
Chicago, Ill., April 12, 1954.

Congressman CHESTER E. MERROW,  
House Office Building, Washington 25, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Wallace Campbell, who recently testified for the Cooperative League before your committee, told me that you might be interested in inserting in the record the speech which I delivered to the Congress of the International Cooperative Alliance on September 27, 1951, if I would supply some of the background that led up to this speech.

While the great majority of the delegates to every International Cooperative Alliance meeting is composed of representatives of genuine cooperatives in the free nations, there are nonetheless a few delegates from Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Russia who take the occasion of these meetings not to talk about cooperatives at all but to attack the United States and particularly our foreign policy.

A number of speeches had been made during the course of the congress stating how bad were the conditions of the ordinary people in the United States, how our Government was supposed to be controlled entirely by big monopolies and how America was not interested in peace but was warmongering. I do not remember the exact language of these speeches nor would I be able to supply direct quotations but I wonder whether a simple paragraph of introduction stating that delegates from state-controlled organizations from countries behind the Iron Curtain had made attacks upon the United States accusing it of warmongering, of fostering monopoly, and of permitting its people to live at a low standard of living and that Mr. Voorhis' speech was made in answer to these false charges might not be sufficient.

We are very appreciative of the opportunity you gave our organization to appear before your committee.

Sincerely yours,

JERRY VOORHIS,  
Executive Director.

SPEECH OF JERRY VOORHIS TO INTERNATIONAL COOPERATIVE ALLIANCE CONGRESS.

COPENHAGEN, DENMARK, September 27, 1951.

If even a tiny fraction of what has been said about my country here were true I would not recognize it when I get home, it would have changed so much.

We have many problems—one is the problem of monopoly. But we are free to fight against them, and we at least have the virtue of telling the world all that is wrong with us and working in the open to improve it.

My country has been accused of warmongering. The American people more than any people—at least as much as any—desire peace and hate and despise war and everything connected with it. We do not sacrifice lives in Korea for

nothing but only because we deeply believe that the U. N., the one agency we now have in which peace might be built, has been attacked and must be defended. We would welcome any evidence that there will be no more attempts to impose on unwilling people totalitarian systems by force. Then there would be peace. We hope most earnestly for the coming of the day when there can be enforceable disarmament—we do not think mere agreement will be enough—but we know that enforceable disarmament would mean a rift in the Iron Curtain. We would travel twice around the world to a meeting to reconcile for peace if there could be genuine give and take and sincerity on all sides.

But in this meeting we believe the time and effort should be devoted to advancing the cause of true cooperation as the one real answer to the problem of monopoly and indeed the basic problem of man today. Mr. Cowden told you this morning that our cooperatives in America are standing strong against the most powerful monopoly of all—the oil monopoly. Mr. Cluck told you yesterday that nearly all our electricity for the countryside is brought by cooperatives belonging to our rural people. We have very much work to do and a great struggle before us. But we are free to carry it on. Dr. Odhe's paper has been attacked because it called for collaboration between cooperatives and governments controlled by the people—government's they can change whenever they want to. Dr. Odhe, however, is right in his proposal. There should and can be such proper collaboration with benefit to the people as we have seen in many countries as well as our own.

We believe this meeting should be devoted to raising a standard of hope for men everywhere. That standard is the dignity of man. It is the very breath and inspiration of the cooperative movement. For that movement says that the little people of the world can, joining together voluntarily as they must always do to gain anything worthwhile, put together their small capital and acquire in their own names ownership of the economic facilities and institutions to meet their needs. But the cooperative movement also says that men can do this and still be free—freer than they ever were before.

So we find it impossible to understand how an organization can be regarded in any sense as cooperative when its stock belongs 51 percent to an all-powerful state and when it is declared to have a monopoly of certain kinds of trade and when membership in it is virtually by decree. We believe the good name of cooperatives must be protected by this great organization. We believe such an organization as this is nothing more or less than a state industry. It is not a cooperative in any sense, especially when those who did build a great true cooperative movement in that country before it was taken over into the Soviet system are all now compelled to flee and seek refuge in America.

We believe that concentration of power in whatever hands and in whatever way is the great enemy of man today. We believe private monopoly is an enemy of the people and of cooperation; we believe a totalitarian state makes it impossible to have a cooperative at all.

We in the American delegation will go home determined to build on the good foundations we have, a movement comparable to the great cooperative movements of the free countries of Europe. Ours will be a difficult and perhaps a long task. But we are determined to accomplish it and when we do the monopolies of our country will no more exist than they do now in Sweden where the cooperatives have broken their power.

Our problem is not because our people are oppressed or have so low a living standard as some have said here. Rather it arises from the fact that cooperatives grow out of a sense of need on the part of the people. One trouble is that at present our people have so good a general standard that they do not feel that sense of need as much as they should. We know we have not yet a firm base for prosperity for our nation—that we shall not have that until we have built a cooperative movement as strong and effective as some of yours in free Europe. But our problems are entirely different from the way they have sometimes been described here.

And so we are very glad we have been here. We only believe that in these trying and dangerous days this organization must first of all keep high the banner of human dignity which has emblazoned on it the word "cooperation" and which means that free men by joining together without compulsion or force or domination can remain free and also because through cooperative ownership masters of their own destiny and providers of their own needs.

The only basis for lasting peace lies in the hearts of free men and women who have learned to cooperate with each other is the solution of their day-to-day problems.



APRIL 22, 1954.

HON. CHESTER E. MERROW,  
*House Office Building, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MERROW: The following statement is submitted for inclusion in the record of hearings which are being held on "International Organizations and Movements."

National Farmers Union has followed with interest the reports of your Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements, including the report of the study mission which, last fall, visited the headquarters of a number of international and regional organizations. We feel that your subcommittee is doing a most constructive job in undertaking to inform the American people about the important work of these organizations, and to solicit the views of American citizens.

Our views concerning a few aspects of these organizations are submitted herewith for your subcommittee's consideration. We are also prepared to appear, or to file statements as appropriate, with other committees of the Congress whenever this would help to insure continued and increased United States support for the United Nations and specialized agencies.

In particular, we wish to register our support for the full appropriations currently being requested by the Secretary of State for our contributions to the annual regular budgets of the United Nations and specialized agencies; and the contributions being requested by the Administrator of the Foreign Operations Administration for special and emergency United Nations programs, including UNICEF, UNKRA, UNRRWA, and United Nations expanded technical program. At the appropriate time, we shall also wish to express our detailed views on United Nations Charter review before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

In regard to your subcommittee's present assignment, National Farmers Union fully supports United States participation in the United Nations and specialized agencies, and in such regional organizations as are essential to defense against aggression of ourselves and other nations of the free world.

This present statement is, however, addressed only to the economic and social aspects of the United Nations, and the specialized agencies, which, in our view, should receive greater public and congressional support than they do at present. Relevant portions of the National Farmers Union program adopted by delegates to national convention are attached.<sup>1</sup>

National Farmers Union believes that the United States Government should make fuller use of the United Nations and specialized agencies for the implementation of our foreign policy objectives in the economic and social fields. We feel that stronger support of constructive multilateral economic and social activities would actually strengthen our negotiating position on political and military matters.

Specifically, we feel the United States Government should:

1. Take a more positive position in relation to United Nations economic-development programs, possibly by channeling as soon as possible more of our bilateral economic aid into multilateral channels (through the United Nations or the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, or some combination thereof) for economic and socially useful development programs. We heartily endorse President Eisenhower's proposal in his speech of last April that savings resulting from worldwide disarmament should be contributed to an international fund for economic development. Such aid should be divorced completely from military and strategic defense programs;

2. Continue our unqualified support of the policies and activities of the United Nations and FAO in regard to "land reform" or "reform of agrarian structures" (FAO's program), both because such reforms are needed in many countries and also because only by such reforms can Communist propaganda be effectively countered;

3. Support moderate increases, when properly justified, of the regular budgets of those specialized agencies whose activities are so fundamental for general economic development and for meeting the world's nutritional needs. In this connection, we urge all-out support for expansion in the activities of FAO and WHO, when the programs and budgets are soundly and properly justified. Because its budget is still so small in relation to other United Nations agencies, FAO's budget should receive first attention;

<sup>1</sup> See attachments.

4. Support increased United States contributions, over a period of years, to the United Nations expanded technical assistance program, the rate of expansion to be directly related to the ability of United Nations agencies to carry on expanded activities effectively, and to appropriate reductions in United States bilateral technical assistance;

5. Support administrative relationships between the United Nations and specialized agencies, including the administration of the expanded technical assistance program, which will insure the specialized agencies full responsibility for planning, operation, and evaluation of technical programs. National Farmers Union strongly opposes proposals along the lines of those by Ambassador Lodge and Mr. Hotchkis, United States member of the Economic and Social Council (reported in the press) looking toward transfer to the United Nations of financial and administrative controls over the specialized agencies. We feel that funds should be allocated to the participating agencies on the basis of projected programs, and the agencies should be held accountable under present circumstances to member governments for carrying out the purposes of the programs.

6. Support your subcommittees recommendation that, "the Foreign Operations Administration in administering our own technical-assistance program will take cognizance of this recommendation, especially with regard to the elimination of possible duplication, overlapping, or other conflicts."<sup>2</sup>

As a national organization concerned primarily with the welfare of farmers we are, of course, especially interested in the work of FAO. The National Farmers Union has the highest regard for each of FAO's Directors General: Lord Boyd Orr, world-famous Scottish nutritionist and pioneer in international efforts to create a world food board; Norris E. Dodd, on whom we recently conferred an award for outstanding service to agriculture; the newly elected Director General, Dr. P. V. Cardon is a distinguished American scientist.

National Farmers Union attaches great importance to FAO's efforts to promote a better distribution of the world's agricultural "surpluses," although we refuse to define these commodities as "surplus" when two-thirds of the world's people are still undernourished. In this matter we feel that both the previous and the present administrations have shown little leadership and imagination in FAO conferences in regard to international commodity and surplus-disposal problems. We urge the adoption of a truly "bold new program" by which FAO, as the world's major food and agricultural organization, is given the task of organizing international efforts to promote abundant production and distribution, both in the interests of the producer and of the world's malnourished people. The convening of a working party on surplus disposal is a step in the right direction, and we shall follow the results of that working party with interest.

National Farmers Union also strongly endorses FAO's technical-assistance program, which is carried out as a part of the United Nations expanded technical assistance program. From reports coming to us we feel that FAO's activities are becoming increasingly effective and are concerned with fundamental activities essential to economic development. We agree that very high priority should be placed on locust control, animal-disease control, and grain storage activities which, in the Near East, Africa, Asia, and Latin America seem to be well under way; on the fishery programs which are producing immediate news sources of food for undernourished people; and on the related technical activities in agriculture, forestry, and home economics, all of which are helping people to make better use of their resources.

It is our view that, along with these technical activities there should also be developed dynamic educational activities similar to our "extension" work, but developed out of the experience and cultures of the people in these underdeveloped areas; and that there should also be realistic economic development projects in related fields, accompanied by supervised credit and capital investment. Where these resources are not at the disposal of FAO, United States or other United Nations agencies, such as the International Bank, should make such financial resources available.

Finally, National Farmers Union emphasizes the importance of supporting the long-range basic regular program of FAO, of which the expanded technical assistance program is just an extension. International cooperation in agriculture has values far beyond the immediate benefits obtained by exchange of technical statistics and information. A society which ignores the well-being of its rural people is doomed to decay, for rural people contribute not only food but also moral and social values. In many countries rural people are still far down

<sup>2</sup> Subcommittee report on international organizations and movements, p. 227.

the social as well as the economic ladder. To elevate them to a position of self-respect and dignity is one of FAO's primary tasks. For this reason alone, therefore, we urge continued, enthusiastic, and generous support of FAO by the United States. In extending this support through FAO to rural people in other lands, we shall be true to our own American rural tradition and we shall be hastening the time when the underprivileged people of the world can become full partners in the world's effort to achieve a durable peace.

While the National Farmers Union supports United States participation in all of the United Nations specialized agencies, we are not in a position to make detailed evaluations on the work of each agency. We are familiar with the International Labor Organization as the oldest of the major specialized agencies. We feel that its program relating to the training of workers and promotion of higher social and labor standards is an important contribution to economic development and essential to the maintenance of free, democratic economics. We share none of the apprehensions of those who fear that ILO conventions will impinge upon our own constitutional rights, for we know that the President and the United States Senate, not the ILO, will determine whether any ILO conventions should be approved by the United States.

As to UNESCO, the Farmers Union does not have sufficient detailed knowledge to judge whether all of its activities are as well managed as they could be. We feel that the State Department and the United States UNESCO National Commission, of which so many responsible United States citizens are members, have a heavy responsibility to help shape the UNESCO program along practical lines and to inform the United States public accurately concerning UNESCO activities. The Farmers Union does not fear free discussion by United States citizens of important international issues, especially if such activities are intended, as UNESCO claims, to clarify the nature of the forces now competing for the minds of men. In general, it seems to us, however, that UNESCO should devote an overwhelming portion of its funds and efforts to helping eradicate the world's mass illiteracy, which is probably the major single obstacle to raising the world's economic health and social standards.

National Farmers Union is convinced that WHO is doing a magnificent and much-needed job in helping wipe out or control some of the world's major disabling diseases and killers. We agree that major lifesaving efforts must be matched by all-out food production to help feed the world's growing population, but we firmly believe that, as health standards rise, so also will industrial and agricultural production and efficiency be increased. We have the utmost confidence in the technical leadership of the United States Public Health Service in support of WHO and would like to see greater support by important United States medical bodies such as the American Medical Association.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES G. PATTON,  
*President, National Farmers Union.*

Attachments:

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL FARMERS UNION AT ITS BIENNIAL CONVENTION HELD IN DENVER, COLO., MARCH 14-19, 1954.

1. "4. DEMOCRATIC WORLD ECONOMIC UNION

"Solution of the fundamental problems of our time requires the earliest possible establishment of an economic union of the democratic nations consistent with the United States Declaration of Independence and the Constitution and its Bill of Rights. Any nation that will accept democratic principles, conduct free democratic elections, and abide by the laws enacted by the governing body of such a union should be eligible for membership. These laws would direct the administrative agencies of the union to establish and carry out programs to vastly speed up economic development and improved productivity of human labor and land and water resources; and to eliminate progress-retarding and opportunity-denying legal and institutional arrangements."

2. "21. INTERNATIONAL FOOD AND RAW MATERIALS RESERVE

"We urge establishment of an international agency to perform the following functions:

"(a) Prevent extreme price fluctuations in the international markets for food and other raw materials and encourage expanding production in order to meet the world's increasing foodstuff and other raw-material needs, both in terms of raising existing per person consumption and of future increased population;

"(b) Maintain gainful employment not only in agricultural production, but also in those industries supplying agriculture and engaged in the processing and distribution of agricultural products and other raw materials;

"(c) Absorb temporary market surpluses of food and other raw materials;

"(d) Prevent famine and starvation; and

"(e) Provide for a self-financing operation through the orderly international exchange of raw materials and through the development of an international program of loans for raw material development, and for corollary economic development."

3. "23. EXPANDED USE OF ABUNDANT UNITED STATES FARM PRODUCTION  
FOR PROMOTION OF PEACE

"We urge immediate steps by the United States to make fullest possible use of abundant United States farm production to further the aims of United States foreign policy through establishment in Foreign Operations Administration of a farm trading post to be used as the operating arm of the United States Government to promote:

"(a) The sale, barter, or loan of United States farm commodities for dollars, local currencies, or other commodities at the world price or below or as a donation to friendly foreign nations and to friendly peoples to promote economic development, to relieve famine and other emergencies, and to relieve starvation and nakedness.

"(b) Foreign sale of exports at the world price through regular channels of trade, if possible, and preferably in connection with international commodity agreements. The difference between world price and the domestic support price would be made up by the United States Treasury, preferably by means of parity payments to producers, or if that is not done, through export subsidies.

"(c) Use donations of United States food to promote development of vocational-training schools and other activities that will increase productive ability of the country involved.

"(d) Use, to the fullest extent possible, the voluntary foreign-relief organizations so that United States food will actually reach those who need it, rather than those who could purchase it normally."

WOMEN'S UNIVERSITY CLUB,  
PHILADELPHIA BRANCH, AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN,  
*Philadelphia 3, Pa., May 4, 1954.*

Representative CHESTER E. MERROW,  
*House Foreign Affairs Committee,  
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE MERROW: The attached minute was adopted by the board of directors of the Women's University Club of Philadelphia on April 12, 1954. The membership of the club is about 1,000.

We kindly ask for your cooperation in actively supporting this legislation.

Very sincerely,

Mrs. EDWARD MORRIS JONES,  
*Chairman, International Relations Department.*

MINUTES ADOPTED BY THE WOMEN'S UNIVERSITY CLUB OF PHILADELPHIA,  
APRIL 12, 1954

UNITED NATIONS

We urge Congress to provide our full share of financial aid to the United Nations and its specialized agencies. These agencies offer a wide range of common practical endeavor—in overcoming hunger, in increasing production, in caring for refugees, in combating disease, in attacking illiteracy, and in other vital programs for meeting human needs.

We particularly urge prompt payment of funds for the significant and remarkable program of the United Nations Children's Fund, now a continuing body under the General Assembly.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST,  
IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,  
DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN LIFE AND WORK  
DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE AND GOOD WILL,  
New York, N. Y., May 6, 1954.

HON. CHESTER E. MERROW,  
*Chairman, Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements,  
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR MR. MERROW: As agreed to in a telephone conversation with one of the officers of your committee, I am enclosing herewith a statement of mine which I desire to have included in the record of the hearings of your Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements.

I very much appreciate the courtesy accorded me in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

WALTER W. VAN KIRK.  
*Executive Director.*

STATEMENT BY WALTER W. VAN KIRK, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, DEPARTMENT OF  
INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE AND GOOD WILL, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES  
OF CHRIST IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

My name is Walter Van Kirk. I am the executive director of the department of International Justice and good will of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America. While this statement is not to be construed as a statement of the National Council of the Churches of Christ, it does reflect views officially approved by this interdenominational body of Protestant and Orthodox churches.

The churches generally support the United Nations and the principles for which it stands. I am aware that criticisms are being leveled against the United Nations. Here and there individual Christians may have lost confidence in the United Nations as an effective instrument for keeping the peace. But the solid body of church opinion in the United States is registered in support of this world organization. The churches remain steadfast in their conviction that, on the political level, the United Nations is the best available instrument for international cooperation and peaceful change. The churches believe our Government should regard the United Nations not only as a vehicle of cooperation but as an instrument of mutual criticism and restraint through which the power of our Nation and other nations may be transformed into morally responsible policy.

In the by and large the Churches of Christ in the United States of America supported the action of the United Nations in Korea. They are grateful that hostilities in that country have come to an end. As a result of United Nations intervention in Korea churches all over our Nation are giving serious thought to the many issues related to the problem of collective security. Either the United Nations will come to develop a system of law under which unprovoked military aggression can be resisted by the joint endeavor of all peace-loving states, or it will be rendered impotent and wither away. The choice before us is that of supporting collective action against aggression in the name and for the sake of world community, or giving aid and comfort to the aggressor.

I believe I speak for the great majority of the people of our churches when I say that our country should participate, through the United Nations, in regional security arrangements like NATO.

The churches support continuing negotiation through the United Nations to bring all armaments, including atomic weapons under international control. It would be, in my view, a calamity if, in the pride of power engendered by the expansion of its military establishments, our Nation were to turn a deaf ear to any proposal that offered promise of relief from the peril and burden of competitive armaments. The failure of the great powers in the United Nations, thus far, to agree on any measure of disarmament should not be allowed to stop new and persistent efforts to achieve this end. On the contrary, I believe it is urgent that the United States and other free nations make another bold attempt to break the disarmament impasse.

Loyalty to the United Nations involves also persistent efforts to establish conditions of peace throughout the world. To promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, to advance the political, social, and cultural well-being of subject and dependent peoples, and to remove the causes of wars deriving from economic injustice and deprivation, are tasks to which our

Nation is committed both by its heritage as a free society and by its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations. No preoccupation with military mobilization excuses neglect of these positive programs for world peace.

Therefore, I urge the United States to continue and to increase its support of the United Nations and its specialized agencies recognizing that any genuine international cooperation carries with it some limitation on national freedom of action.

I believe the widest possible use should be made of the Peace Observation Commission constituted by the United Nations General Assembly. I believe this Commission should be authorized, upon the invitation, or without the consent of the states concerned, to visit potential danger areas throughout the world. I believe that impartial and objective studies, on the spot, by this Commission, would make a significant contribution to the achieving of peace.

The churches take pride in the fact that our country has participated fully in the relief and rehabilitation endeavors of the United Nations. The National Council of Churches, on many occasions, has expressed its sympathy and concern respecting the plight of millions of uprooted people who will be unable, in the foreseeable future, to find homes and work in the countries of their refuge. The refugee problem, tragic enough in itself, is contributing to the worldwide unrest by which the peace and security of our own and other nations are threatened. This problem should be dealt with on a global basis by the United Nations. The churches, I believe, would welcome the creation of international machinery to deal with this world issue on a world level.

In conclusion may I point out that the great power and vast resources of the United States are not our own to do with as we please. They are the gifts of God, and we are accountable to God and to our fellow men for their use. Let us accept this great responsibility with humility and courage.

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WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY,  
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE,  
*Cleveland 6, Ohio, July 14, 1954.*

Congressman CHESTER E. MERROW,  
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MERROW: In pursuance of the telephone message from your office, I am enclosing a personal statement on the United Nations which I understand you invited me to prepare to be incorporated into the official hearings held by your subcommittee on behalf of the Special Study Mission on International Organizations and Movements. I regret exceedingly that, due to conflicting commitments, I was unable to accept your invitation to appear in person before your subcommittee, for, as you well know, I am vitally interested in the future of the United States within the framework of the United Nations.

With your permission, I have developed a broader focus on the U. N. rather than a narrow interpretation based on an analysis of the specialized agencies, which I gather was your major source of concern. However, I am firmly convinced that my approach is entirely compatible with your high purposes and objectives. This general interpretation may help to buttress your special emphasis.

I trust, therefore, that you will consider this statement of sufficient significance to incorporate it into your official record, and sincerely hope that its observations may be in the best interests of the United States.

Thank you again for this wonderful opportunity to be of some useful service to your subcommittee and to my country.

Sincerely yours,

ALFRED J. HOTZ,  
*Chairman, Department of Political Science.*

STATEMENT ON THE UNITED NATIONS BY DR. ALFRED J. HOTZ, CHAIRMAN,  
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

I appreciate very much the cordial invitation extended me by your distinguished chairman, Congressman Chester E. Merrow, to have this prepared statement incorporated into the official record of the Special Study Mission on International Organizations and Movements. Your subcommittee has been empow-

ered with a special mission, pursuant to House Resolution 113, to study and investigate the effect of the operations of international organizations upon the national security of this great Nation. I feel confident that you have approached this difficult and delicate task with a sober sense of obligation and a high degree of competency. It is my sincere hope that my few thoughts may contribute something useful to your deliberations.

As a citizen of these United States, I am deeply disturbed over the present state of international anarchy of "no war, no peace," whose precariousness is augmented by the bipolar struggle between the Soviet Union and the United States. As a political scientist, I am seriously interested in all sincere attempts being made by our policy-makers to maintain and advance our "national interests."

I am fully cognizant of the vigorous criticisms being directed against the United Nations and its specialized agencies by many of my fellow citizens. My present objective is neither to praise nor condemn the United Nations, but to examine its record and to analyze its effectiveness as an instrument of American policy. A comprehensive evaluation of the operations of the United Nations is beyond the purview of this brief statement. Yet, a few salient observations are certainly in order.

All sincere Americans, irrespective of party affiliation or political predilection, are united in one major objective—the defense of our national interests, which include a sturdy military posture, our political integrity, our economic solvency. We differ primarily in the methods to be utilized and the "means" to be employed for the achievement of this worthy end.

In the past, America has defended its national interests by the application of national power, measured in military, political and economic terms. During periods of relative peace, the United States employed primarily peaceful methods—i. e., diplomacy and economic means. During periods of grave stress and actual war, we were compelled by the inexorable logic of events to merge our cumulative power with that of other states in an attempt to redress the balance of power favorably to our cause. In brief, we established a temporary "coalition" of states to defeat the aggressor and to restore international peace and security.

This resort to the balance of power mechanism and this effort to establish a temporary coalition of like-minded states was done in pursuit of our national interests. However, the traditional balance of power system was unstructured: it was lacking in permanent institutions. As a temporary expedient, it failed to provide the necessary international institutions that might have encouraged variant national states with divergent vital interests to continue their effort for achieving common interests.

The United Nations is an attempt to fill this void. Its permanent institutions (Security Council, General Assembly, International Court of Justice, the specialized agencies) are designed to promote honorable cooperation among divergent states to achieve a common end—the maintenance of international peace and security. It offers to its member states, including the United States, the maximum political opportunity with the minimum legal obligation.

The United Nations is not a world government, nor was it intended to be. It does not itself have corporate power to compel obedience to its principles or compliance of the minimum obligations undertaken by the member states. National sovereignty, permitting independence of judgment and freedom of action, was retained by each member state. As Senator Vandenberg so eloquently stated during the debate on the charter: "The United States retains every basic attribute of its sovereignty \* \* \*. In a word, Mr. President, the flag stays on the dome of the Capitol."

Unregulated and unrestrained national power in the hands of ruthless and irresponsible national leaders remains as the great unresolved problem in the present stage of international anarchy. However, the United Nations offers certain fundamental principles whereby the actions of recalcitrant states may be measured. It provides the necessary mechanisms (Security Council, General Assembly, World Court, and specialized agencies) whereby cooperative action by states whose national interests and objectives are compatible may be enlisted.

Prerequisite to its effective operation is the underlying basic assumption of the United Nations—the concept of "peaceful coexistence" of different ideologies and political systems. Unfortunately, the Soviet Union has given irrevocable evidence that it is unwilling to subscribe and adhere to the doctrine of "peaceful coexistence." The Kremlin has been intent upon undermining the funda-

mental principles of the United Nations, since fulfillment of Soviet obligations to the charter would have severely inhibited Soviet objectives and practices. Today, Soviet propaganda and Kremlin policies are directed almost as much against the United Nations as against the United States.

Indeed, the real struggle for power in the present world situation sets in juxtaposition the Soviet concept of a monistic-highly centralized-coercive world government (i. e., World Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) vs. the Western concept of a pluralistic decentralized cooperative union of sovereign states. The immediate conflict pits a Soviet coalition against a Western coalition, each attempting to capture leadership and control of the instrumentalities of the United Nations, thereby constructing its particular conception of a world order.

It is imperative, then, that the United States, in its own vital interests, assert continuing leadership to convert the United Nations into a pluralistic-decentralized-cooperative union of sovereign states. Such a permanent and structured grand coalition is the most constructive response to the Soviet challenge. Since 1945, we have been exercising this type of leadership within the United Nations. The great triumphs of the U. N. have in reality been triumphs of American policy.

We have utilized the United Nations to achieve some measure of collective security in the Korean crisis, the Berlin blockade, the Greek civil war. While it is true that American preponderant military, political, and economic might furnished the immediate power capabilities to deter Soviet aggressive imperialism, it was, nevertheless, our utilization of the United Nations mechanisms that made more feasible the creation of Western coalition to discourage the Soviets from overt aggression. Thus, the United Nations served as a constructive balance of power mechanism to defend American national interests.

We employed the U. N. instrumentalities to bring some modicum of peace in the Indonesian war, in the Israeli-Arabian conflict, in the Kashmir dispute. To be sure, perfect peace and stability has not been achieved. Yet, the question is not whether the U. N. has established an absolute peace—for, within the present configuration of world power and the present context of conflicting ideologies, it is illusory to expect absolute peace and perfect stability. The real question is whether the United Nations has contributed in some measure to the containment, the restraint of naked and brutal power. The question might preferably be raised: What if there had been no United Nations to employ, would these various international conflicts not have erupted into a worse conflagration?

Indeed, the General Assembly has offered an opportunity to mobilize the legal and moral support of other states against Soviet obstruction and intransigence. General resolutions of themselves have no qualitative power to deter the Soviet aggressors, but the constant emergence of a free world coalition within the United Nations serves as a quantitative reminder of the factual power situation if the Soviets by precipitous action move against the common interests of the free world. Obviously, the Soviets utilize the forum of the United Nations to pour out their vitriolic and vituperative remarks against the United States. Yet, the record is clear that the Kremlin has failed in its objective. By contrast, the United States has been able to utilize the U. N. forum to gain friends and influence peoples. In the battle of Western versus Soviet coalitions, within the United Nations, it is irrevocably clear that the Western coalition, under the positive leadership of the United States, has thus far been triumphant.

Viewed from the long-range perspective, the most significant element in this struggle between the Western and Soviet concepts of world order is the determined attempt by both coalitions to induce the so-called "uncommitted" nations of the world to join their respective power coalitions. These uncommitted states, comprised particularly of the Arab-Asian nations, will ultimately determine the world balance of power. In general, such vital states as India, Burma, Indonesia, Pakistan, Iran and others, have preferred to cooperate with the West rather than to collaborate with the Soviet bloc. More precisely, however, they have deemed it prudent to unite with the Western coalition through the instrumentalities of the United Nations rather than with the United States through traditional diplomacy.

Consequently, the validity and efficacy of the United Nations with particular reference to the specialized agencies is clearly demonstrated. The uncommitted nations, in their own national interests, have significantly committed themselves to the "United Nations approach" through the medium of such agencies as UNESCO, WHO, ILO, FAO, and the functional technical assistance program. It is by virtue of these specialized agencies that the vital interests of the United States and the national interests of the other U. N. member states converge.



To establish the basic preconditions of peace, to promote the functional approach to an emerging world order, to enlist the support of multiple states to a single objective—the development of economic solvency and social stability—requires greater attention to the U. N. approach. American financial and technological contributions to these specialized agencies deserve our most positive support instead of negative criticism. The ultimate world balance of power will inexorably be determined as to how effectively the United States leads in the direction of the U. N. approach to functional peace.

These manifold and varied efforts of united action, whether in the area of an embryonic collective security of an emerging political settlement, or of developing functional economic and social peace, serve to buttress American national interests. This is why Secretary Dulles reaffirmed his support of the United Nations when he recently stated: "We intend to avail ourselves of its processes whenever they are relevant to the problems which engage us."

Working through the United Nations instrumentalities to establish a united coalition against the Soviet Union does not infer that this is the sole means for the achievement of valid American objectives. Cooperation with the U. N. does not supplant the regular national mechanisms that of necessity must continue to be employed by the United States to maintain a sturdy posture of military, political, and economic strength. Yet, the U. N. does offer an additional instrumentality to supplement and to complement our unilateral and other multilateral efforts to build an effective pluralistic-decentralized-cooperative world order.

It is fairly obvious that, during the past 9 years of ordeal, the United Nations has not been completely successful in containing or restraining Soviet aggressive imperialism, nor in forging a true unity among the non-Communist states. However, its shortcomings and failures are due not so much to weaknesses of structure and procedure as to the substantive policies of its component member states.

Therefore, mere carping criticisms of the United Nations are not in the national interest of the United States. Rejection of the U. N. principles and withdrawal from its operations would leave a fatal power vacuum in the struggle for world order. Such immature and irresponsible action on our part would, in fact, directly serve the national interests of the Soviet Union, which would happily capture control of the instrumentalities of the United Nations and thereby impose its own monistic—highly centralized—coercive concept of order upon a divided and indecisive world.

As the distinguished Congresswoman from Ohio, Frances P. Bolton, warned: "There are those who see only our failures—we know them; all the world can see them. There are those who see only danger within this young family [United Nations]. Of those I would ask: 'What would you have done better?' How dare those without a plan say it cannot work."

For myself, I am of the firm conviction that if there were no present United Nations and its specialized agencies, we would be compelled by the inexorable logic of events to create one. It should be irrevocably clear that the United Nations serves as a powerful instrumentality for building a sturdy posture in defense of American interests. Through the development of a western coalition, through the encouragement of cooperative action with the uncommitted nations of the world, the United Nations provides a vital mechanism for American policy. Through the specialized agencies, we may yet be enabled to establish the basic preconditions of peace, and thereby deter Communist expansion and counterpoise the challenge of the Communist ideology.

In the words of President Eisenhower: "Such a peace cannot be achieved suddenly by force, by edict, or by treaty. It can only come slowly and tortuously. It will not be won by dark threat or glittering slogan. It will be born only of courage, knowledge, patience, leadership."

American patient and positive leadership are vitally necessary to develop the United Nations into an effective organism for world peace and stability, thereby providing the essential conditions for American security. We must defend the United Nations in defense of the national interests of the United States.

Mr. MERROW. If there is nothing further to be considered, the subcommittee stands adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 3:25 p. m., the subcommittee adjourned to reconvene at the call of the chairman.)



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## APPENDIX

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[The Elementary School Journal, emphasizing instruction, administration, social change,  
published by the University of Chicago Press, February 1954]

## THE REVIVED INTEREST IN UNESCO

### CONFERENCE OF THE UNITED STATES NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR UNESCO

The Fourth National Conference of the United States National Commission for UNESCO held at the University of Minnesota, September 15-17, 1953, was characterized by an unusual spirit of encouragement. I had gone to Minneapolis somewhat reluctantly, expecting to be a part of a pessimistic gathering. But gloom did not materialize. Cordial greetings from President Eisenhower and from Secretary of State Dulles brought an enthusiastic response in the opening general session. The President made his administration's position clear in these words:

"I cannot urge too strongly or too often the dedication of the energies, resources and imagination of peoples throughout the world to the waging of a total war upon the brute forces of ignorance and poverty . . . . The United Nations and its family of related international organizations, of which UNESCO is an essential member, furnish all these peoples with a reason for hope and a means of action in this struggle."

Walter Bedell Smith, undersecretary of state, made the address of the first evening, praising the role that UNESCO could play in developing closer understanding among the peoples of the world and adding, "Since our concern is not for the past but for the future, there is every incentive to increase the scope and effectiveness of UNESCO's activities." The final general session featured a brief address by Luther H. Evans, the new director general of UNESCO. He declared that UNESCO "has turned the corner," that the peak of attacks and criticisms leveled against UNESCO in recent years "has passed in this country and elsewhere in the world." Thus the conference opened and closed with messages that evoked a new strength for this international organization.

The press noted and supported the general encouragement. On September 18 the Minneapolis Tribune quoted Walter H. C. Laves, chairman of the United States National Commission for UNESCO, as saying that the 1953 conference "reaffirmed the American will to participate in UNESCO." An editorial the day before had said, "The words of Bedell Smith are heartening words which mean an important segment of American foreign policy established during a Democratic administration is going to be continued under a Republican regime."

### ANSWERING CRITICISMS AGAINST UNESCO

The Salomon report played an important part in building this spirit of optimism. This eighteen-page document, entitled "An Appraisal of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization," answers seven specific criticisms of UNESCO which has circulated in the United States, and answers them in such a way as to satisfy the President and the Secretary of State that UNESCO is working effectively for peace and advancement. The special delegation making the report was appointed by President Eisenhower and went to Paris in July, 1953, to explore the UNESCO program in light of current criticisms and to consult with the representatives of other governments, the individual members of UNESCO's Executive Board, and the International Secretariat. The delegation was headed by Irving Salomon, of California, an industrialist interested in the nation's philanthropic and educational affairs. The other members were John Perkins, president of the University of Delaware, and Mrs. F. P. Heffelfinger, Republican national committeewoman from Minnesota, and a student of postwar international affairs.

The report reached the State Department early in September, and its contents were still unknown to many of the delegates meeting in Minneapolis on September 15. When we learned during the early part of the conference of the strong answers to the critics of UNESCO, we again felt our encouragement grow. The following are a few of the answers.

1. In regard to the charge that UNESCO is under the influence of the Communists, the delegation said that, of the ninety Americans who were on the staff of UNESCO, all but three completed questionnaires sent them and returned them to the United States Government. The three individuals were under investigation, and one of them had been dropped from the UNESCO organization. None of these three were in policy-making positions.

2 and 3. In regard to the allegations that UNESCO advocates world government and that UNESCO seeks to undermine the loyalty of Americans, the delegation found no evidence that UNESCO had deviated from the policies laid down by the member-governments, including the United States Government. In fact, the delegates said:

"On the contrary, UNESCO's policies, program, and activities do not in any degree infringe on the sovereignty, independence, or integrity of the United States. \* \* \*

4. To the criticism that UNESCO seeks to indoctrinate American school children, the Salomon report answered:

"There was no evidence that came to the attention of this delegation that UNESCO under its own aegis has produced materials or textbooks for use in American schools which seek to indoctrinate our children with ideas contrary to American ideals and traditions."

5. The delegation said that it is true that the United States contributes one-third of UNESCO's budget. However, they said it was not true that we receive little in return. The report states:

"\* \* \* there is an immeasurable gain that accrues to us through UNESCO in strengthening the community of free nations upon which our own well-being, security, and even prosperity so largely depend."

6. In regard to the criticism that UNESCO is atheistic or antireligious, the delegation said:

"Nothing found in the official actions of the Organization, including publications and statements, substantiated this charge. That there may be such views among persons who attend UNESCO meetings would not be surprising, in view of the universal character of UNESCO's membership. But that UNESCO should officially have committed itself to or promoted such doctrines is not established in fact."

7. In response to the allegation that UNESCO has failed to fulfill the expectations of those who brought it into being, the report gives an impressive list of "some of the UNESCO's more interesting specific activities and cites a dozen important direct benefits that accrue to the United States."

The delegation gave UNESCO a clean bill of health on all points. In submitting the report, Mr. Salomon said: "\* \* \* may I assure you that our delegation was completely objective and not biased in any direction. Had the facts been otherwise, we would have discussed them with equal frankness." Both Secretary Dulles and Undersecretary Smith publicly evaluated the Salomon report as a document which should do much to disperse unjustified criticism leveled against UNESCO and to help reassure Americans of the organization's real mission.

#### AVAILABLE MATERIALS ABOUT UNESCO

With this new optimism and these evidences of renewed official support, we shall certainly be seeing new public interest in UNESCO. We can expect renewed vigor on the part of our schools in teaching the purposes and work of UNESCO. And for this, materials are necessary. How can the schools get usable materials on UNESCO?

The Salomon report is Department of State Publication 5209, and it is available from the Division of Publications of that Department, Washington 25, D. C. In addition to answering critics, this report contains accounts and descriptions of many of UNESCO's activities.

A helpful pamphlet, also available from the Division of Publications of the Department of State, is the August 1953 issue of UNESCO Facts. The sixteen illustrated pages supply answers to many questions that might be asked about UNESCO, its purposes and activities. Information can be located easily from an index of questions on the final page, showing that this publication discusses such questions as, "What is UNESCO?" "What other countries belong to UNESCO?" and "How is UNESCO managed?"

A quarterly bulletin, Fundamental and Adult Education, is published by UNESCO and is available by subscription (\$1 a year) through distributors in most of the member-nations. The distributor in the United States is International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, New York 27. Each

issue of the bulletin carries four or five articles describing specific projects in fundamental and adult education somewhere in the world. For example, the October 1953 issue supplies a summary of experiments in rural reconstruction in Egypt, a review of current activity in international voluntary work camps, an account of fundamental education in the Cameroons, a report of an experiment in South Wales using adult classes in social research, and a discussion of the human aspect of fundamental education in Africa. In addition to these articles, an editorial, a biography of a seventeenth-century European humanitarian, notes on the study of oceanic linguistics, a section called "Notes and Records" (presenting brief items of interest about educational activities scattered throughout the world), and a few pages of UNESCO news are included.

The UNESCO Story is a very readable explanation of the organization from the United States point of view. It was published in 1950 by the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO and is available from the UNESCO Relations Staff, Department of State, Washington 25, D. C. Since the 112 pages of this book are well illustrated and attractively printed, it should be particularly useful on a classroom reference shelf or in a school library. The contents include a description of UNESCO and its goals, of UNESCO in the United States, and an explanation of what people can do and are doing to achieve the goals of UNESCO. For example, a twenty-page section on "Exchange of Persons" offers specific information on many avenues of educational exchange, such as Fulbright-scholarship opportunities, teacher exchanges, and college travel plans.

Some of the most valuable publications of UNESCO appear in the series called Educational Studies and Documents. The fifth report, which is sure to attract widespread attention, is William S. Gray's Preliminary Survey on Methods of Teaching Reading and Writing, Parts I and II, issued July 1953. Part I of this report is entitled Survey of Theories and Practices; Part II, Summary of Suggested Practices. These are available at forty cents each from UNESCO, 19 Avenue Kléber, Paris, France, or from International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, New York 27.

Dr. Gray, a member of the Department of Education, University of Chicago, is conducting a three-year study for UNESCO which is to be the foundation for the development of better literacy programs. The aims for the first stage of his study are stated as follows in the Preface to Part I of the report:

"1. To identify, analyze, and describe the various methods now used in teaching both children and adults to read and write.

"2. To secure data concerning the effectiveness of these methods, wherever \* \* \* available.

"3. To summarize the findings of the survey, to consider their implications for the improvement of the teaching of reading and writing, with major emphasis upon the adult level, and to point out problems needing further study and indicate desirable solutions to these."

In order to bring together a wide range of analyses of current teaching methods, Dr. Gray enlisted the cooperation of specialists in reading and writing in many parts of the world. Analyses were secured from the following areas: Arabic areas of Africa and the Near East; France; India, Madagascar; Mexico and Central and South America; and Southern, Western, Central, and Eastern Africa.

To supplement these analyses, a detailed study was made of all available reports, bulletins, manuals, or guides for teachers in order to identify current practices and basic principles underlying the teaching of reading and writing. Many other inquiries were made, numerous conferences were held, and a limited number of field studies were made to secure additional information on specific techniques and on the nature of the problems faced in various countries.

The findings reported in this preliminary survey are revealing and full of meaning to the people of the world. The following information is quoted as an example:

"A review of the literacy status of both children and adults today \* \* \* showed that at least 50 per cent of the people of the world over ten years of age are totally illiterate and that an additional 15 per cent are partially illiterate. Furthermore, almost one-half of the children of the world do not have an opportunity to secure even a primary school education."

Dr. Gray discusses the study fully in a paper on "The Teaching of Reading: The Current UNESCO Study," included in the Proceedings of the 1953 Annual Conference on Reading, which has recently appeared under the title *Corrective Reading in Classroom and Clinic* and which is described in a later section of these news notes.

## ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF UNESCO

Frequently one hears the question, "Just what kind of thing does UNESCO do?" Obviously UNESCO holds conferences, publishes materials, and conducts studies such as the one on the teaching of reading and writing just described. But what are other phases of the international program? The following ten examples of specific activities are selected from a description of the program for the period October 1952, to March 1953, as summarized in the Salomon report:

"1. UNESCO initiated a much-needed bibliography of multilingual, scientific, and technical dictionaries.

"2. UNESCO organized a series of regional conferences designed to promote free compulsory primary education.

"3. UNESCO sent experts or missions, at the individual country's request, to eight countries to help organize free compulsory education systems.

"4. UNESCO supported 31 elementary schools for Arab refugee children from Palestine.

"5. UNESCO assisted the government of Pakistan in developing a satisfactory Braille system for Urdu, and is working out uniformity in Braille for music.

"6. UNESCO organized numerous lecture tours by scientists in many fields, and in many countries, primarily the underdeveloped ones.

"7. UNESCO sponsored or co-sponsored meetings of the International Social Science Council, International Economic Association, International Statistical Institute, International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies, International Theater Institute, International Music Council, International Union of Architects, International Council of Museums, and Commission on the Care of Paintings.

"8. UNESCO completed a six months' mission, in co-operation with the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency, which surveyed existing educational facilities and drew up a long-term plan for the reconstruction of education in Korea.

"9. UNESCO drafted an International Convention for the Preservation of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, sponsoring regulations on archeological excavations by means of an international center for preserving and restoring cultural property.

"10. UNESCO completed a study of the impact upon children of the press, film, and radio."

The foregoing activities are only a few of the UNESCO projects. Perhaps the scope of the program can be suggested by the following figures, which refer to the projects in the five major divisions voted for 1953-54 at the seventh session of the General Conference held in November 1952:

"In the educational fields there were 54 projects with budget appropriations ranging from \$882 to \$320,910.

"In the natural sciences, 24 projects with appropriations from \$321 to \$430,129.

"In the social sciences, 30 projects with appropriations from no cost at all to \$106,031.

"In the cultural activities, 42 projects with appropriations from no cost at all to \$380,987.

"In mass communications, 29 projects with appropriations from no cost at all to \$62,502."

## FUNDAMENTAL EDUCATION AND THE COMMUNITY SCHOOL

A group of UNESCO projects which are particularly interesting to educators are those in fundamental education. UNESCO established the second regional fundamental education center at Sirs el Taiyana, Egypt, for the Arab countries. The first was established about three years ago at Pátzcuaro, Mexico. These centers are for the purpose of teaching teachers to carry fundamental education to their own people. "Fundamental education" a name probably coined by UNESCO, refers to a co-ordinated attack on mass illiteracy, ignorance, ill health, dietary deficiencies, and lack of economic development. UNESCO is joined by other United Nations specialized agencies in this effort to assist over half the world's population by educating them in health, agriculture, and livestock practices; in housing and handicraft techniques; in community recreation, in local self-government; and in providing at least a minimum of formal education for children and adults.



The conception of fundamental education held and advocated by UNESCO is similar to the conception of the community school held and advocated by many American educators. A recent publication describing this school is the Fifty-second Yearbook, of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II, entitled *The Community School* (distributed by the University of Chicago Press). The first chapter contains the following explanation of the term :

"Americans are becoming more and more interested in the community school. This educational term, long used to identify various kinds of schools, is now emerging with a rather definite meaning. The community school to many of us—educators and laymen—is a good school, an effective school, a school that combines many desirable features of educational movements of the past and the present into a concept of education that is sound and permanent—not a fad or a passing fancy. \* \* \*

"The community school of today secures its impetus from man's new understanding of the power of education. Problems of people and of communities are being solved from day to day by appropriate use of community resources. The educative process is the force which relates the resources to the needs. The result from this unique relationship is the solution of problems."

Progress by UNESCO and by American schools in using the educative process in this way will do much to improve living conditions and standards in local communities and to give individuals appropriate skills, values, and concepts that will enable them to function more effectively in all their independent and co-operative undertakings. These results should have lasting influence in the Nation and in the world.

MAURICE F. SEAY.



UNITED STATES CONTRIBUTIONS  
TO  
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

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LETTER

FROM THE

SECRETARY OF STATE

TRANSMITTING

THE FIRST REPORT ON THE EXTENT AND DISPOSITION  
OF UNITED STATES CONTRIBUTIONS TO INTERNA-  
TIONAL ORGANIZATIONS FOR THE FISCAL YEAR 1952,  
PURSUANT TO SECTION 2 OF PUBLIC LAW 806,  
EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS



JANUARY 16, 1953.—Referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs  
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## LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
*Washington, January 15, 1953.*

The Honorable JOSEPH W. MARTIN, Jr.,  
*Speaker of the House of Representatives.*

MY DEAR MR. SPEAKER: I am transmitting herewith the first report on the extent and disposition of United States contributions to international organizations, as required by section 2 of Public Law 806, Eighty-first Congress. This report sets forth United States contributions to international organizations for the fiscal year 1952.

Sincerely yours,

DEAN ACHESON.

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## FOREWORD

Public Law 806, Eighty-first Congress, second session, provides that the Secretary of State shall report annually on the extent and disposition of financial contributions by the United States to international organizations of which it is a member.

This is the first annual report under Public Law 806, and covers United States contributions for the first financial period subsequent to its enactment, i. e., the fiscal year 1952. As a rule, funds appropriated for this fiscal year are used for the contributions to the budgets of international organizations for the calendar year 1951.

At the same time, for the purpose of indicating trends in the cost of United States contributions to international organizations, comparable figures have been included for the fiscal years 1949, 1950, and 1951.

No attempt is made to treat the more comprehensive aspects of United States relations with the several organizations, or to discuss the many-sided interests of the United States in their programs. For an account of United States participation in the United Nations and its specialized agencies, see the annual reports of the President to the Congress on United States participation in the United Nations.

For an account of the nature and structure of these and other organizations, and for a summary review of their programs in the economic and social field, see *International Organizations in Which the United States Participates*, 1949, Department of State Publication 3655, and *Patterns of Cooperation*, 1950, Department of State Publication 3735, respectively.

# UNITED STATES CONTRIBUTIONS TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

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## INTRODUCTION

Intergovernmental organizations vary so widely in their purposes, size, structure, and membership that generalizations are difficult. Some may be established, as in the case of the Inter-Allied Reparations Agency, to undertake a task of limited duration in the wake of a successful Allied military effort. The large emergency organizations which come immediately to mind, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) and the International Refugee Organization (IRO), were both created in an attempt to repair in some measure the human wreckage of the Second World War. At any one time smaller organizations may exist which, though neither emergency in character or otherwise in the aftermath of war, are temporary in terms of assignment and organization.

While certain organizations may be temporary in nature, others are established with the intention that they shall become a permanent part of the fabric of relationships between governments. Some may be very small, with a highly specific and technical service to render the member governments and their scientific and commercial interests. For example, the International Bureau of Weights and Measures, established at Sevres, France, in 1875, has continued through three-quarters of a century and two World Wars to serve its members as the custodian and promoter of international standards of measurement and weight.

Organizations may be specialized and limited not only in function, but in membership as well. The Caribbean Commission, for example, consisting as it does of those governments having territorial responsibilities in the Caribbean area, has a membership which is necessarily limited to the Governments of the United States, United Kingdom, the Netherlands, and France.

At the other extreme stands the United Nations, an organization of 60 nations with the comprehensive task of organizing the resources of the world for the maintenance of peace and resistance to aggression, and having a concern with the economic and social betterment of peoples everywhere. In the Western Hemisphere, the Organization of American States plays a comparable role within a specific region. Within the North Atlantic community, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization serves as the focal point of a broad defense effort.

Whatever the difference in size, function, or membership, the intergovernmental organizations have a common denominator in their reliance upon the annual contributions of member governments for financial support. The activities to be financed, however, vary widely in their character and scope. There are common elements to a degree. With slight exception, the financial requirements of the organizations

begin with the costs of the periodic meetings of representatives of the member governments and the cost of maintaining a staff, or secretariat, to service these meetings and to assist member governments in implementing the recommendations coming from them. Beyond this, the individual programs of the organizations may range from the translation and publication of tariffs by the International Bureau for the Publication of Customs Tariffs to the demonstration of methods of malaria control in southeast Asia by the World Health Organization.

In the case of permanent organizations where the maintenance of continuing programs is at stake and the assurance of financial support is most essential to organizational stability, the basic charters or constitutions establish the obligation of the signatory governments to contribute, in specified terms, toward meeting the expenses of the organization as a requirement of membership. If the organization is one of the smaller agencies, with a limited task and financial requirements which are more or less standard from year to year, the charter itself may incorporate a formula for determining each member's share and may establish the budget level. This is true of the Inter-American Indian Institute, for example. The convention establishing the Institute fixes the annual budget at \$30,600, and divides it into 102 "units" of \$300 each. It further provides that the number of units assigned to each member state shall be relative to its total population, with the qualification that no country having an Indian population of less than 50,000 shall be assigned more than one unit, and that the five countries having the largest Indian population shall be assigned additional units equivalent to half the number allotted to them on the basis of total population.

In the case of the larger organizations with broader responsibilities, where the financial requirements vary from year to year in accordance with changes in the program, and where the total membership is also subject to change, it is usual for the charters to assign responsibility for decisions on the budget and the scale of assessments to the periodic meetings of the central organs which represent the member governments. Thus, for example, the constitution of the World Health Organization provides that the World Health Assembly shall review and approve the Organization's budget and fix the scale for apportionment of expenses among the members.

In the two sections of this report which follow, United States financial contributions are reported in accordance with the following categories:

I. Assessed budgets

- A. United Nations and its specialized agencies
- B. North Atlantic Treaty Organization
- C. Inter-American organizations
- D. Other international organizations
- E. Temporary organizations and organizations in which United States participation is temporary

II. Special programs financed by voluntary contributions

Within the category "Assessed budgets" are included all United States contributions to the regular budgets of those organizations in which the United States participates by virtue of a treaty, convention, or special act of Congress. This category also includes the small group of temporary organizations and organizations in which the



United States participation is temporary, and in which the United States participates on the basis of executive agreements.

Category II, "Special programs," includes four programs within the United Nations system which are financed by voluntary contributions from governments, and two voluntarily financed programs which are not within the United Nations framework. For these special programs, there are no scales of assessment to which the member states agree, and no obligation to make contributions beyond the pledge which a government may make for a specific period of time.

United States contributions from fiscal year 1952 funds to the assessed budgets of international organizations amounted to \$29,582,902. United States contributions to the special programs of international organizations from fiscal year 1952 funds amounted to \$83,006,312, or approximately 73 percent of total United States contributions to international organizations for the period.

The table following lists all United States contributions to international organizations made from fiscal year 1952 funds. Table II includes, for the purpose of indicating trends in the cost of United States contributions to international organizations, comparable figures for the fiscal years 1949, 1950, and 1951.

TABLE I.—United States contributions to international organizations from fiscal year 1952 funds<sup>1</sup>

## I. ASSESSED BUDGETS

	United States contribution	United States percentage of total assessments
<b>A. United Nations and specialized agencies:<sup>2</sup></b>		
United Nations.....	\$16,394,244	38.92
Food and Agriculture Organization.....	<sup>3</sup> 1,355,000	30.00
International Civil Aviation Organization.....	<sup>4</sup> 698,610	24.97
International Labor Organization.....	1,466,412	25.00
International Telecommunication Union.....	<sup>5</sup> 367,011	11.00
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.....	2,785,400	35.00
Universal Postal Union.....	<sup>6</sup> 13,867	4.31
World Health Organization.....	2,481,159	35.00
World Meteorological Organization.....	<sup>7</sup> 24,855	12.67
Subtotal.....	25,586,558	34.35
<b>B. Civilian budget of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.....</b>		
	<sup>8</sup> 449,604	22.50
<b>C. Inter-American organizations:</b>		
Pan American Union.....	1,670,151	67.86
American International Institute for the Protection of Childhood.....	10,000	35.71
Inter-American Indian Institute.....	4,800	<sup>9</sup> 23.18
Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences.....	153,480	<sup>10</sup> 77.90
Pan American Institute of Geography and History.....	<sup>11</sup> 10,000	39.01
Pan American Railway Congress.....	5,000	41.32
Pan American Sanitary Organization.....	1,355,329	69.73
Postal Union of the Americas and Spain.....	<sup>12</sup> 1,885	8.16
Subtotal.....	3,210,645	67.63
<b>D. Other international organizations:</b>		
Bureau of the Interparliamentary Union for the Promotion of International Arbitration.....	15,000	18.99
International Commission of the Cape Spartel Light.....	<sup>13</sup> 1,700	8.33
Caribbean Commission.....	<sup>14</sup> 127,058	38.40

<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise indicated, United States contributions to international organizations are paid from appropriations made or allocated to the Department of State. The amounts shown are contributions paid except for amounts under special voluntary programs indicated as "pledged." In some cases differences exist between the amount of the United States assessment and the United States contribution paid because of such factors as credits applied toward United States assessments or because of statutory limitations on the amount authorized to be appropriated annually for payment of the United States share at the time the appropriation was made. Unless otherwise indicated, the percentages shown are percentages of total scheduled assessments. The costs of United States participation in the International Materials Conference (IMC) and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) are not included in this table, but are considered as part of the costs of United States participation in international conferences and meetings, and are paid from funds appropriated for this purpose. In neither case has an international organization been formally established. In the case of GATT, the costs involved were reimbursed to the Secretariat of the Interim Commission for the International Trade Organization for servicing meetings of GATT. In the case of IMC, the expenses to the United States were primarily costs incurred in the loan of personnel and facilities.

<sup>2</sup> This list does not include the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development or the International Monetary Fund which are financed by capital subscriptions from member governments and income from operations rather than by annual contributions.

<sup>3</sup> The FAO contribution is paid on a split-year basis. Of the amount shown, \$677,500 represents one-half of the calendar year 1951 assessment and the remainder represents a partial payment for the calendar year 1952. The percentage shown is the calendar year 1952 United States assessment percentage.

<sup>4</sup> This is the amount available for contribution from the fiscal year 1952 appropriation. Of the amount shown, \$393,039 was applied to the balance of the United States assessment for calendar year 1951 and \$305,571 was applied against the United States assessment for calendar year 1952. The percentage shown is the calendar year 1952 assessment percentage.

<sup>5</sup> This figure is an estimate. The amount shown includes a contribution of \$72,011 to the regular budget and an estimated contribution of \$295,000 to the extraordinary expenses which normally cover the costs of meetings and conferences which are assessed against those nations in attendance.

<sup>6</sup> The United States contribution is paid from funds appropriated to the Post Office Department.

<sup>7</sup> The amount shown includes an advance of \$782 to the working capital fund.

<sup>8</sup> The expenditures of the military establishment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization are not included in this table. The amount of \$449,604 shown is the United States contribution during the fiscal year 1952 to the civilian expenses of the Council and its Secretariat which are comparable to the international organization expenses supported by the other United States contributions listed. Of the total, \$221,000 represents a contribution to the 1951 civilian budget and \$228,604 a part payment toward the 1952 civilian budget. These payments were made from Mutual Security Administration counterpart funds.

<sup>9</sup> The scale of contributions of the Institute assumes membership of all 21 American Republics, with the United States share at 15.69 percent. The United States percentage of 23.18 shown in this chart is based on assessments against the 14 states that have accepted membership.

<sup>10</sup> The scale of contributions of the Institute assumes membership of all 21 American Republics, with the United States share at 50.33 percent. The United States percentage of 77.90 shown in this chart is based on assessments against the 10 states that have accepted membership.

<sup>11</sup> The total United States assessment for the fiscal year 1952 is \$42,028, representing 39.01 percent of total scheduled assessments. The amount of \$10,000 appropriated is the maximum authorized by legislation to be appropriated for contribution to the Institute.

<sup>12</sup> The United States contribution is paid from funds appropriated to the Post Office Department.

<sup>13</sup> The figure is an estimate.

<sup>14</sup> The amount shown represents one-half the calendar year 1951 assessment and one-half of the calendar year 1952 assessment.

TABLE I.—United States contributions to international organizations from fiscal year 1952 funds—Continued

## I. ASSESSED BUDGETS—Continued

	United States contribution	United States percentage of total assessments
<b>D. Other international organizations—Continued</b>		
International Union for the Protection of Industrial Property.....	\$1,767	5.34
International Bureau for the Publication of Customs Tariffs..... <sup>13</sup>	2,233	1.56
International Bureau of the Permanent Court of Arbitration.....	1,127	4.79
International Bureau of Weights and Measures.....	6,491	13.75
International Council of Scientific Unions and Associated Unions.....	8,463	9.33
International Hydrographic Bureau.....	9,147	9.59
International Sugar Council.....	7,438	21.25
International Whaling Commission.....	350	5.88
International Wheat Council.....	17,934	21.01
Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Commission.....	6,623	21.44
Permanent International Association of Navigation Congresses..... <sup>14</sup>	1,500	17.54
South Pacific Commission.....	33,670	12.50
<b>Subtotal.....</b>	<b>240,511</b>	<b>17.75</b>
<b>E. Temporary organizations or organizations in which United States participation is temporary:</b>		
Central Commission for the Navigation of the Rhine.....	8,580	14.29
International Authority for the Ruhr.....	69,007	20.00
International Cotton Advisory Committee.....	12,000	13.87
International Seed Testing Association.....	224	9.58
International Tin Study Group.....	3,214	12.08
International Union of Official Travel Organizations.....	17,420	2.59
Rubber Study Group.....	2,139	7.44
<b>Subtotal.....</b>	<b>95,584</b>	<b>16.90</b>
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>29,582,902</b>	<b>35.55</b>

## II. SPECIAL PROGRAMS—FINANCED BY VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS

International Civil Aviation Organization Joint Support Program.....	<sup>15</sup> \$676,312	-----
Organization of American States—Program of Technical Cooperation (pledged).....	<sup>16</sup> 930,000	-----
Provisional Intergovernmental Committee for the Movement of Migrants from Europe (pledged).....	<sup>2</sup> 10,000,000	-----
United Nations Expanded Program of Technical Assistance (pledged).....	<sup>21</sup> 11,400,000	-----
United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency.....	<sup>22</sup> 10,000,000	-----
United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (pledged).....	<sup>23</sup> 50,000,000	-----
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$3,008,312</b>	-----
<b>Total contributions to assessed budgets.....</b>	<b>29,582,902</b>	-----
<b>Total contributions to special voluntary programs.....</b>	<b>83,008,312</b>	-----
<b>Total United States contributions from fiscal year 1952 funds.....</b>	<b>112,589,214</b>	-----

<sup>13</sup> This is the maximum assessment under the convention of 1890. A protocol amending the convention has been drafted but the United States has not yet ratified.

<sup>14</sup> The United States contribution is paid from funds appropriated to the Department of the Army.

<sup>15</sup> The United States contribution is paid from Mutual Security Administration counterpart funds.

<sup>16</sup> The United States contribution shown is 49.20 percent of total governmental contributions.

<sup>17</sup> The United States pledged up to \$1 million for the calendar year 1952 program on condition that its pledge be not more than 70 percent of the total pledged. The amount shown represents the estimated United States contribution based on present and foreseeable pledges for calendar year 1952. As of July 31, 1952, the United States had contributed \$450,000 to the calendar year 1952 program.

<sup>18</sup> The United States contribution of \$10,000,000 for calendar year 1952 is toward a target budget of \$36,954,000 to be made up of cash grants, reimbursements for services rendered by PICMME and the value of contributions made to the PICMME program by countries of emigration and immigration in the processing of migrants. \$10,000,000 was appropriated for direct contribution to the organization. In addition, funds were appropriated to the Displaced Persons Commission to pay overseas transportation costs of the movement of German ethnics to the United States under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, as amended, under contract with PICMME for the movement of these migrants. The DP Commission has reimbursed PICMME to the amount of approximately \$2,800,000 which is included in the \$36,954,000 target budget.

<sup>21</sup> The United States pledged \$11,400,000 in support of the calendar year 1952 program, representing approximately 60 percent of the total pledged. As of July 31, 1952, the United States had paid \$6,000,000 on its pledge.

<sup>22</sup> The United States pledged \$162,500,000 toward a target budget of \$250,000,000, representing 65 percent of the total. Full implementation of the program on this scale depends on the military situation. The contributions made by governments to date are deemed to enable the agency to plan its program and to make a beginning on certain projects in those areas where military circumstances permit, by agreement with the unified command. The \$10,000,000 shown is the amount contributed by the United States during fiscal year 1952.

<sup>23</sup> The United States pledge for calendar year 1952 of \$50,000,000 represents approximately 61 percent of total pledges by governments. As of July 31, 1952, the United States had paid \$30,000,000 on its pledge.

## UNITED NATIONS AND SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

## UNITED NATIONS

United States contributions to the United Nations are made under the provisions of article 17 of the United Nations Charter which stipulates that "the General Assembly shall consider and approve the budget of the Organization," and "the expenses of the Organization shall be borne by the Members as apportioned by the General Assembly." The Charter was signed at San Francisco on June 26, 1945. The President of the United States ratified the Charter on August 8, 1945, on the advice and consent of the Senate given on July 28. The Charter came into effect on October 24, 1945. The annual appropriation of funds for the payment of the United States contribution to the United Nations is authorized by Public Law 264, Seventy-ninth Congress, as amended by Public Law 341, Eighty-first Congress.

In June 1950 the Secretary-General proposed a gross expenditure budget for calendar year 1951 of \$45,450,800. In July, the Secretary-General's estimates were considered in detail by the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, which is an advisory body set up by the General Assembly and is made up of nine members, serving in their individual capacities, from nine different states. The Advisory Committee recommended that the gross budget be reduced to \$43,827,000. The Secretary-General's estimates, along with the recommendations of the Advisory Committee, were submitted to the General Assembly at its fifth session in October 1950, and were reviewed in the Fifth Committee (Administrative and Budgetary) of the Assembly. Because of additional expenditures resulting from decisions of the Assembly, including the decision to hold the sixth session in Paris, the gross budget as finally approved amounted to \$47,798,600. This amount was reduced by application of miscellaneous revenues to a net total of \$41,277,600. After adjustment to cover supplemental expenses for the calendar year 1950, and for such other factors as prior years' savings and new-member assessments, the total assessment for the calendar year 1951 amounted to \$42,570,000.

The United States contribution to the United Nations for 1951 was made from funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1952. The United States was assessed 38.92 percent of total assessments for 1951, or \$16,568,244. This was a reduction from the previous year's percentage when the United States was assessed 39.79 percent. Because of a credit to the United States on account of its contribution to the Working Capital Fund, the actual contribution of the United States for 1951 was \$16,394,244.

## FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION

United States contributions to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) are made under provisions of the constitution of the Organization which provides:

The Director General shall submit to each regular session of the Conference the budget of the Organization for approval.

Each Member Nation undertakes to contribute annually to the Organization its share of the budget, as apportioned by the Conference.

This constitution was adopted at the First FAO Conference at Quebec, October 16, 1945, and amended at the FAO 1950 Special Conference in Washington, November 3-11, 1950.

United States participation in FAO was authorized by Public Law 174, Seventy-ninth Congress, which was approved by the President on July 31, 1945. Public Law 174 was amended by Public Law 806, Eighty-first Congress, providing authorization for an annual appropriation of not to exceed \$2,000,000 for the payment by the United States of its share of the expenses of the Organization.

The budget for 1951 totaled \$5,025,000, of which \$5,000,000 was assessed and \$25,000 represented casual income. It was approved by the FAO 1950 Special Conference, after review by the Council's Committee on Financial Control which is made up of four financial experts from member governments serving in an individual capacity, and a chairman drawn from the delegation of a council member. The Council, made up of 18 member states, also reviewed the budget prior to Conference action.

Half of the United States contribution to the 1951 FAO budget was made from funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1951 and half from funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1952. The United States was assessed 27.10 percent of total assessments for 1951, or \$1,355,000. This was the same percentage assessed against the United States for 1950. For the calendar year 1952, total assessments amounted to \$5,225,000 of which the United States was assessed 30 percent, or \$1,567,500. The total United States contribution from funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1952 was \$1,355,000. Of this amount, \$677,500 represented one-half of the calendar year 1951 assessment, and the remainder represents a partial payment on the calendar year 1952 assessment.

#### INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION

United States contributions to the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) are made under the provisions of the Convention on International Civil Aviation which stipulates that—

the Assembly shall vote the budget \* \* \* and \* \* \* shall apportion the expenses of the Organization among the contracting States on the basis which it shall from time to time determine.

The Convention on International Civil Aviation was concluded at Chicago on December 7, 1944, and was ratified by the President of the United States August 6, 1946, on the advice and consent of the Senate given July 25, 1946. It became effective April 4, 1947.

The Secretary-General of ICAO submitted to the ICAO Council early in 1950 a proposed gross budget of \$3,317,135 for the calendar year 1951. The Council, which at that time was made up of the representatives of 20 member states, reviewed the estimates and reduced the amount to \$3,169,584 before submitting the budget to the Assembly. The Assembly considered the estimates in detail and approved a gross budget of \$3,000,000. After adjustment had been made on account of miscellaneous revenue and certain other factors, the amount of total assessments for the calendar year 1951 was \$2,600,000.

The United States was assessed 24.98 percent of total assessments for the calendar year 1951, or \$649,566. Total assessments for the

calendar year 1952 amounted to \$2,834,191, of which the United States was assessed 24.97 percent, or \$707,697. The United States contribution to the ICAO budget for 1951 was made partly from funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1951 and partly from fiscal year 1952 funds. The total United States contribution to the ICAO budget from fiscal year 1952 funds amounted to \$698,610.

#### INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

United States contributions to the International Labor Organization (ILO) are made under the provisions of the ILO Constitution which provides that—

\* \* \* the arrangements for the approval, allocation, and collection of the budget of the International Labor Organization shall be determined by the conference by a two-thirds majority of the votes cast by the delegates present, and shall provide for the approval of the budget and of the arrangements for the allocation of expenses among the members of the Organization by a committee of government representatives.

The original ILO constitution formed part of the peace treaties after World War I. In its present form, however, the constitution is embodied in an instrument of amendment adopted in Montreal October 9, 1946, which came into effect on April 20, 1948.

By a joint resolution approved June 19, 1934, effective August 20, 1934, the Congress authorized the President on behalf of the United States to accept an invitation for membership in the ILO. United States participation in the ILO under its present constitution was authorized by a joint resolution of the Eightieth Congress, Public Law 843, which was approved on June 30, 1948. Public Law 843 was amended by Public Law 806, Eighty-first Congress, providing authorization for an annual appropriation of not to exceed \$1,750,000 for the payment by the United States of its share of the expenses of the organization.

The Director General of ILO, early in 1950, submitted to the Governing Body a proposed gross budget for the calendar year 1951 in the amount of \$6,277,060. The Governing Body, which consists of 16 representatives of governments, plus 8 representatives of employers and 8 representatives of employees, reviewed the estimates and reduced the total to \$6,218,230 before submitting the budget to the Conference. In the Conference the budget was reviewed in a committee composed of one government representative from each Member State attending the Conference. This committee reported the budget, together with the committee's recommendations, to the Conference for final action. Because of certain supplementary items, the final gross amount approved for the calendar year 1951 was increased to \$6,269,506. This amount was reduced on account of miscellaneous revenue to \$6,219,506, which was the total assessed against members.

The United States contribution to the ILO budget for 1951 was made from funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1952. The United States was assessed 25 percent or \$1,554,877. However, because of certain credits, including a credit on account of this Government's contribution to the Organization's working capital fund, the United States contribution was, in fact, \$1,466,412. The United States percentage contribution for 1951 of 25 percent represents an increase over the prior year's percentage of 22 percent.

## INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATION UNION

United States contributions to the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) are made under the provisions of article 14 of the convention of the ITU which, among other things, provides:

1. That expenses shall be classified as ordinary expenses and extraordinary expenses.

2. That ordinary expenses of the Union shall be kept within the limits prescribed by the plenipotentiary conference and shall be borne by all members and associate members.

3. That extraordinary expenses of the Union shall be borne by the members and associate members who have agreed to participate in the conferences and meetings financed outside of the ordinary budget.

4. For the purpose of apportioning expenses, members and associate members shall be divided into eight classes, each contributing on the basis of a fixed number of units, namely:

	Units		Units
First class.....	30	Fifth class.....	10
Second class.....	25	Sixth class.....	5
Third class.....	20	Seventh class.....	3
Fourth class.....	15	Eighth class.....	1

The convention was ratified by the United States on June 18, 1948. The United States has participated in the Union since its establishment in 1934, after ratification of the Telecommunication Convention of Madrid, and participated in the work of the predecessor organization, the International Telecommunication Bureau at Bern, beginning in 1912.

The International Telecommunication Plenipotentiary Conference passed a resolution authorizing the Administrative Council of the Union to approve annual estimates of ordinary expenditure to be incurred in the period 1949-52 within an annual limit of 4,000,000 Swiss francs.

Under the terms of article 14 the United States, for the purpose of apportioning expenses, assumed class 1 status for itself and for its Territories, with a total of 60 units. The total number of units has varied from year to year as the membership has changed slightly but, on the average, the 60 units assumed for the United States and its Territories is approximately 7.85 percent. For both ordinary and extraordinary expenses, the United States contribution will average approximately 11 percent of total assessments for 1952.

In May 1951, the Administrative Council at its sixth session approved a total assessment budget for ordinary expenses for the calendar year 1952 of 3,998,120 Swiss francs. The United States paid 60 units out of a total of 763 units (7.86 percent) or \$72,011, which was paid out of the fiscal year 1952 appropriations to the Department of State.

The total amount to be assessed against the United States and its Territories for the organization's calendar year 1952 extraordinary expenses will not be known until the end of the year when all the activities have been held, the expenses determined, and the expenses assessed against the participating members. It is estimated that the cost to the United States for extraordinary expenses will be approximately \$295,000 (or approximately 12 percent) which will be paid out of the fiscal year 1952 appropriations to the Department of State.

## UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC, AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

United States contributions to the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) are made under the provisions of the Constitution of UNESCO which provides—

The General Conference shall approve and give final effect to the budget and to the apportionment of financial responsibility among the States members of the Organization subject to such arrangement with the United Nations as may be provided in the agreement to be entered into pursuant to Article X.

The constitution was adopted on November 16, 1945, in London by the United Nations Conference on Educational and Cultural Organization, and entered into force on November 4, 1946.

United States participation in UNESCO was authorized by a joint resolution of the Seventy-ninth Congress, Public Law 565, which was approved July 30, 1946.

The Executive Board of UNESCO is made up of 18 persons drawn from member delegations but serving in their individual capacities. At its twentieth meeting in Paris in March 1950, the Executive Board had before it a budget of \$9,150,000 recommended by the Director-General for the calendar year 1951. After its review of the proposed budget, the Executive Board recommended that the Director-General reduce his estimates to \$8,149,985. In July 1950, the fifth session of the UNESCO General Conference considered the budget recommended by the Executive Board, and adopted an assessment budget of \$8,200,000 for the calendar year 1951.

The United States contribution to the UNESCO budget for 1951 was made from funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1952. The United States gross assessment was 35 percent of total assessments for 1951, or \$2,870,000. However, as a result of a \$84,600 credit due the United States from the working capital fund, the net United States contribution was \$2,785,400. This 1951 percentage of contribution was a reduction from the previous year's assessment of 37.82 percent.

## UNIVERSAL POSTAL UNION

United States contributions to the Universal Postal Union (UPU) are made under the provisions of the Universal Postal Convention signed at Paris on July 5, 1947. This convention is the most recent of a series of international postal agreements dating back to 1863. The United States has participated in the Union since 1874, after approving the treaty of that date.

Under the terms of the convention and the regulations annexed thereto, the ordinary expenses of the International Bureau are limited to 500,000 Swiss francs per year, and expenses of the Executive and Liaison Committee are limited to 100,000 Swiss francs per year. Extraordinary expenses arising from the meeting of a congress, conference, or a committee and the expenses resulting from special work entrusted to the Bureau are not limited by the convention or regulations. The Swiss Postal Administration supervises the expenses of the Bureau, making the necessary advance of funds and being subsequently reimbursed by member governments.

Article 25 of the Convention states that expenses of the Universal Postal Union shall be shared by all countries which are, for that



purpose, divided into seven classes. Each class is assigned a specific number of units ranging from 25 units for class I to 1 unit for class VII. The United States contribution is 40 units; 25 units for the continental United States in class I, and 15 units for all United States possessions in class III.

The United States contribution to the UPU budget for 1951 was made from funds appropriated to the Post Office Department for the fiscal year 1952. The United States was assessed \$13,867, or 4.31 percent of total assessments for 1951.

#### WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION

United States contributions to the World Health Organization (WHO) are made under the provisions of the constitution of the World Health Organization which provides—

\* \* \* the Health Assembly shall review and approve the budget estimates and shall apportion the expenses among the members in accordance with a scale to be fixed by the Health Assembly.

This constitution was adopted in New York on July 2, 1946, by the International Health Conference which was called for the purpose of establishing an international health organization.

United States participation in WHO was authorized by a joint resolution of the Eightieth Congress, Public Law 643, which was approved by the President on June 14, 1948. Public Law 643 was amended by Public Law 806, Eighty-first Congress, providing authorization for an annual appropriation of not to exceed \$3 million for the payment by the United States of its share of the expenses of the Organization.

The Executive Board of WHO is made up of 18 members serving in their individual capacities. At a meeting in Geneva in January 1950, the Executive Board had before it a budget of \$7,651,000 recommended by the Director General for the calendar year 1951. After its review of the proposed budget, the Executive Board recommended to the World Health Assembly a total budget of \$7,300,000 for 1951. In May 1950, the World Health Assembly considered the budget recommended by the Executive Board, and adopted the total recommended by the Executive Board for the calendar year 1951. Taking into account estimated miscellaneous income of \$210,975, the total assessed against members for the year was \$7,089,025. However, because of an anticipated difference between total assessments and total collections owing to the situation with respect to the membership status of 10 states,<sup>1</sup> the authorized expenditure level of the organization was reduced to \$6,170,033.

The United States contribution to the WHO budget for 1951 was made from funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1952. The United States was assessed 35 percent of total assessments for 1951, or \$2,481,159. This was a reduction from the previous year's assessment of 36 percent.

<sup>1</sup> The U. S. S. R., Byelorussian S. S. R., Ukrainian S. S. R., Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, and China declared their withdrawal from the Organization in 1949 and 1950, but since the WHO constitution does not contain any provision for withdrawal, this action has not been recognized by the Organization.

## WORLD METEOROLOGICAL ORGANIZATION

United States contributions to the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) are made under the provisions of the convention of the WMO which provides:

ART. 23. (a) The Congress shall determine the maximum expenditures which may be incurred by the organization on the basis of estimates submitted by the Secretary-General and recommended by the Executive Committee.

(b) The Congress shall delegate to the Executive Committee such authority as may be required to approve the annual expenditures of the Organization within the limitations determined by the Congress.

ART. 24. The expenditures of the Organization shall be apportioned among the Members of the Organization within the limitations determined by the Congress.

The convention was opened for signature in Washington, D. C., on October 11, 1947, and entered into force on March 23, 1950. On April 4, 1951, the International Meteorological Organization was dissolved and the WMO took over its duties. The United States had participated in IMO since 1930.

United States participation in the WMO was authorized by ratification of the WMO Convention by the United States on May 4, 1949.

In March 1951, the First Congress of the WMO adopted a 5-year budget of \$1,272,000 covering the first financial period of the Organization, April 4, 1951, to December 31, 1955. The first session of the Executive Committee in April 1951 adopted, within that ceiling, a budget of \$190,000 for the period April 4 to December 31, 1951. In addition, it established a working capital fund which is to be financed through annual advances of 7 percent of the budget.

The United States share of the budget is 120 units out of a total of 947 units, or 12.67 percent, representing a United States assessment of \$24,075. After taking into account a working capital fund assessment of \$1,685 and a credit of \$905 from a prior year's surplus, the total United States payment for the part of the first financial period ending on December 31, 1951, is \$24,855. This payment was made from Department of State fiscal year 1952 funds in the amount of \$21,055, and from Department of Commerce (Weather Bureau) fiscal year 1952 funds in the amount of \$3,800, for a total United States contribution of \$24,855.

## CIVILIAN BUDGET OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION

The North Atlantic Treaty was signed by the parties at Washington, April 4, 1949. Ratification of the treaty was advised by the Senate July 21, 1949, and the President ratified it July 25, 1949. The treaty entered into force August 24, 1949.

Article 9 of the treaty establishes a council to consider matters concerning the implementation of the treaty and provides that it shall set up such subsidiary bodies as may be necessary. The United States contributes to an international budget covering expenses of the council and the civilian organization supporting it. This budget does not include expenses of the military organization and installations which are met partially on a shared basis and in part by the participating members directly.

The first international budget supporting the civilian organization of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) covered the

period July 1–December 31, 1951. This budget totaled 350,480 pounds sterling, and was adopted by the North Atlantic Council Deputies on the recommendation of the Budget Committee of the Organization, upon which all members are represented by financial experts. )

The United States contribution to the budget was 78,858 pounds sterling, equivalent to \$221,000, paid from Mutual Security counterpart funds. The United States assessment represented 22.5 percent of total assessments. A first payment of 80 million French francs to the calendar year 1952 budget, equivalent to \$228,604, made from counterpart funds, brought total payments in the fiscal year 1952 to \$449,604.

### INTER-AMERICAN ORGANIZATIONS

#### PAN AMERICAN UNION

United States contributions to the Pan American Union are made under the provisions of the Charter of the Organization of American States which states:

The Council shall establish the bases for fixing the quota that each Government is to contribute to the maintenance of the Pan American Union \* \* \*.

The charter was signed at the Ninth International Conference of American States on April 30, 1948, and entered into force December 13, 1951. Fifteen states have ratified the charter.

The United States has participated in the Union since its establishment in 1890, under the President's authority to conduct foreign relations. On February 28, 1931, the United States ratified the Pan American Union Convention of 1928, which, however, failed to come into force because of lack of ratification by all 21 signatories. The Charter of the OAS was approved by the Senate on August 28, 1950, and ratified by the President on June 15, 1951.

In November 1950, the Secretary-General of the OAS submitted to the Committee on Finances, consisting of five members, a total budget in the amount of \$2,553,000 for the fiscal year 1952. After reviewing the proposed budget the committee decided to recommend to the Council of the OAS a budget of \$2,521,171. In January 1951, the Council approved a budget in the amount recommended. Taking into consideration estimated miscellaneous income of \$60,000, the total assessed against the member states for the fiscal year 1952 was \$2,461,171.

The Pan American Union put into effect, beginning with the fiscal year 1951, a scale of contributions based primarily on relative capacity to pay. A limit of 66 percent of the total assessment was set on the amount which any one member could be assessed, and the remaining 34 percent was apportioned among the other member states on the basis of their contributions to the United Nations. The limit of 66 percent was to be achieved over a 3-year period beginning with the fiscal year 1951. For the fiscal year 1951, the United States was assessed 69.73 percent of total assessments.

The contribution of the United States to the expenses of the Pan American Union for the fiscal year 1952 was \$1,670,151, or 67.86 percent of total assessments. Payment of the United States contribution was made from funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1952.

**AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR THE PROTECTION  
OF CHILDHOOD**

United States contributions to the American International Institute for the Protection of Childhood are made under the statutes of the Institute which provide:

The budget of the Institute shall be financed with the quotas of the member countries \* \* \* [as] fixed by the Eighth Pan American Child Congress (Washington, 1942) \* \* \*.

The statutes were formulated by the Fourth Pan American Child Congress (Santiago, Chile, 1924) and revised in 1946. The annual budget for the Institute is approved by the Directing Council of the organization.

The United States participates in the Institute pursuant to an act of Congress, approved May 3, 1928 (22 U. S. C. 269 (b)), as amended by Public Law 806, Eighty-first Congress. The amendment changed the statutory limitation on the amount which the United States could contribute annually to the Institute from \$2,000 to \$10,000.

The scale of contributions of the Institute is contained in the statutes, and is based on population, with member shares ranging from \$200 to \$10,000. Total assessments for 1951 amounted to \$28,000, of which the United States quota was \$10,000 or 35.71 percent. The contribution to the budget of the Institute for the calendar year 1951 was made from funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1952.

**INTER-AMERICAN INDIAN INSTITUTE**

United States contributions to the Inter-American Indian Institute are made under the convention establishing the Institute which provides:

the patrimony and resources of the Inter-American Indian Institute for its maintenance shall consist of the annual quotas paid by the member countries \* \* \*.

The convention was opened for signature on November 1, 1940, and entered into force on December 13, 1941. Fifteen states have ratified or adhered to the convention.

The United States participates in the Institute by virtue of the convention which was approved by the Senate on May 26, 1941, and ratified by the President on June 6, 1941 (56 Stat. 1303).

At its meeting in September 1951, the Executive Committee, on which five of the member governments are represented, approved a budget of \$21,264 for the fiscal year 1952. The assessment level for the 15 states that have ratified the convention is fixed at \$20,700.

The scale of contributions is established in the convention. It is based on population, with special consideration being given to size of Indian population. The convention stipulates the number of units to be assigned each country and establishes the value of each unit at \$300. Quotas range from \$300 to \$6,000. The United States is assigned 16 units. Hence, the United States contribution for the fiscal year 1952 was \$4,800, or 23.18 percent of total assessments. Payment was made from funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1952.

## INTER-AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF AGRICULTURAL SCIENCES

United States contributions to the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences are made under the convention establishing the Institute which provides that the Board of Directors shall—

approve the budget for the administration of the Institute \* \* \* [and] fix the annual quotas. \* \* \*

The convention was opened for signature on January 15, 1944, and entered into force on November 30, 1944. Eleven states have ratified the convention.

The United States participates in the Institute by virtue of the convention which was approved by the Senate on June 22, 1944, and ratified by the President on June 29, 1944 (58 Stat. 1169).

At its meeting in June 1951, the Board of Directors of the Institute, which is identical in personnel with the Council of the Organization of American States, approved a budget in the amount of \$456,752 for the fiscal year 1952. Income from sale of produce and services and from grants was estimated at \$262,578, leaving \$194,174 to be assessed against the members. During the course of the year Haiti ratified the convention, bringing the total assessments for the year to \$197,026.

The convention stipulates that quotas shall be fixed in proportion to population, using the latest official statistics in the possession of the Pan American Union on the 1st day of July of each year. Contributions are determined on the basis of \$1 per 1,000 of total population. The United States contribution to the budget of the Institute for the fiscal year 1952 was \$153,480, or 77.90 percent of total assessments. It was paid from funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1952.

## PAN AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

United States contributions to the Pan American Institute of Geography and History are made under the statutes of the Institute which provide:

The Institute shall be financially supported through the contribution of annual quotas by the member states, to be fixed by the Assembly of the Institute, with the approval of the respective governments.

The statutes were formulated by the Preliminary Assembly (Mexico City, 1929) and have been revised on several occasions, the last being the Fifth General Assembly (Santiago, Chile, 1950).

The United States participates in the Institute pursuant to an act of Congress, approved by the President on August 2, 1935 (22 U. S. C. 273).

The Fifth General Assembly of the Institute adopted a new budget procedure, under which the Assembly sets a maximum level of annual assessments for the years between assemblies and authorizes the executive committee to approve the annual budget provided the level of assessments does not exceed the established maximum. The level set by the Fifth Assembly was \$125,000. For the fiscal year 1952 the executive committee approved a total budget of \$125,000. Of this amount \$14,997 was represented by miscellaneous income, leaving \$110,003 to be assessed against the member states.

The Fifth General Assembly also revised the scale of contributions. Prior to the fiscal year 1952 the scale consisted of six population

categories with a dollar amount assigned each category. Quotas ranged from \$200 to \$10,000. The revised scale contains nine categories with a unit value assigned each category. Based on present population figures the total of units is 1,025. The value of each unit is determined by the size of the budget, the amount for the fiscal year 1952 being \$107.32.

Under the revised scale the United States is assigned 400 units, or 39.01 percent. The amount assessed against the United States for the fiscal year 1952 was \$42,928. However, since the existing authorization limits the annual United States contribution to the Institute to \$10,000, only this amount was paid. Payment was made from funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1952.

#### PAN AMERICAN RAILWAY CONGRESS ASSOCIATION

United States contributions to the Pan American Railway Congress Association are made under the charter of the Association which provides:

The general expenses of the functioning of the Permanent Commission and its executive committee shall be paid by the Association's fund which shall be formed \* \* \* by membership dues \* \* \*.

The charter was adopted at the VI Pan American Railway Congress (Habana, 1948).

The United States participates in the Association under Public Law 794, Eightieth Congress (62 Stat. 1060).

The Association is composed of national governments, railroads (both government and privately owned), railway manufacturing companies, and individuals. The scale of contributions for member governments and railroads is based on mileage of operating lines, while the other members are assigned a fee. Member governments and railroads are assessed 5 cents per kilometer of railroad line in operation with a minimum of \$100 and a maximum of \$5,000 for member governments and a minimum of \$25 and a maximum of \$2,000 for member railroads. The other members pay fees ranging from \$5 to \$50.

Total government assessments in support of the budget approved by the Permanent Commission for the calendar year 1951 amounted to \$12,099. The United States contribution to the Association for the calendar year 1951 was \$5,000, or 41.32 percent of total government assessments. Payment of this amount was made from funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1952.

#### PAN AMERICAN SANITARY ORGANIZATION

United States contributions to the Pan American Sanitary Organization are made under the constitution of the Organization which provides:

The Pan American Sanitary Organization shall be financed by contributions from Member Governments.

The constitution was adopted by the directing Council of the Organization in October 1947.

The United States participates in the Organization pursuant to the Pan American Sanitary Convention which was approved by the Senate

on February 23, 1925, and ratified by the President on March 28, 1925 (44 Stat. 2031).

The Executive Committee of PASO, made up of seven members, meeting in Washington in April 1950, considered the proposed budget of the Director for the calendar year 1951 amounting to \$2,273,617. The Executive Committee decided to recommend to the Directing Council a total budget in the amount of \$1,968,681. The Directing Council, at its fourth session in September 1950, reviewed the Executive Committee's proposals and approved a budget for 1951 in the same amount as that recommended. Miscellaneous income was estimated at \$25,000, leaving \$1,943,681 to be assessed against the member states.

The Pan American Sanitary Convention provides that the expenses of the Organization shall be apportioned among the members on the same basis as are the expenses of the Pan American Union. However, because the PASO's financial year is the calendar year, while the financial year of the Pan American Union is the period July 1 to June 30, the PASO does not apply the Pan American Union scale until 6 months after it has been applied by the Pan American Union.

The United States contribution to the PASO budget for the calendar year 1951 was made from funds appropriated for fiscal year 1952. The United States was assessed 69.73 percent, or \$1,355,329.

#### INTERNATIONAL OFFICE OF THE POSTAL UNION OF THE AMERICAS AND SPAIN

United States contributions to the International Office of the Postal Union of the Americas and Spain are made under the Convention on the Postal Union which provides:

The contracting countries bind themselves to include in their budgets an annual amount intended to provide for the punctual payment of the quotas accruing to them.

The convention was signed at Madrid, Spain, on November 9, 1950, and entered into force July 1, 1951.

The United States has participated in the Union since 1921 by virtue of ratification of various conventions, the most recent of which was ratified and approved by the Postmaster General on June 7, 1951, and approved by the President on June 22, 1951.

The convention stipulates that the Postal Administration of Uruguay, where the Office is located, will advance funds to the International Office to finance its operations, and bill the participating countries for their share of the expenses. The regulations of execution of the convention provide that the expenses of the Office may not exceed the amount of 70,000 Uruguayan pesos per annum. The regulations also fix the scale of contribution. Countries are divided into three groups, those of the first group contributing eight units, those of the second group four units, and those of the third group two units. The United States is in the first group.

The expenditures of the International Office for the calendar year 1950 totaled \$23,100. Of this amount the share of the United States was \$1,885, or 8.16 percent. Payment was made by the Post Office Department from funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1952.

### OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

#### BUREAU OF THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION FOR THE PROMOTION OF INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION

United States contributions to the Bureau of the Interparliamentary Union for the Promotion of International Arbitration are made on the basis of a scale of contributions for the maintenance of the Bureau, to which the members of the Union consent. United States participation in the Bureau was authorized by an act of Congress of June 28, 1935, which was amended by Public Law 409, Eightieth Congress, approved February 6, 1948. Public Law 409 provided authorization for an annual appropriation of \$30,000, of which \$15,000—

shall be for the annual contribution of the United States toward the maintenance of the Bureau of the Interparliamentary Union for the Promotion of International Arbitration and \$15,000 or so much thereof as may be necessary to assist in meeting the expenses of the American group of the Interparliamentary Union for each fiscal year for which an appropriation is made \* \* \*

The annual budget is prepared by the Executive Committee and approved by the Interparliamentary Council. In September 1949, when the Council requested national groups to increase their contributions, the United States was requested to increase its contribution to \$18,000 annually, but it has not as yet complied with the request.

Assessments for the calendar year 1951 totaled \$78,986, of which the United States contributed \$15,000, or 18.99 percent. This contribution was made from funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1952.

#### INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF THE CAPE SPARTEL LIGHT

United States contributions to the International Commission of the Cape Spartel Light are made under the provisions of a treaty entered into in 1865. This treaty provides for the management, maintenance, and permanent neutrality of the Cape Spartel Light, which is located on the African side of the approaches to the Strait of Gibraltar. The treaty was entered into in May 1865 by the Sultan of Morocco and 10 powers, placing the light under the management of the 10 powers, providing for its neutrality and assessing equal shares of the cost among the member states. An exchange of ratifications brought the treaty into effect on February 14, 1867. United States participation in the Commission was authorized by signature to the treaty of 1865 on May 31, 1865, and ratification on July 14, 1866.

The Commission approved for 1952 a total budget of 7,200,000 Moroccan francs which called for a quota of 600,000 Moroccan francs for each of the 12 countries which are now members. The United States assessment is estimated at 8.33 percent of total assessments for 1952, or \$1,700. This assessment will be paid from funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1952.

#### CARIBBEAN COMMISSION

United States contributions to the Caribbean Commission are made under the agreement establishing the Commission which provides:

Upon approval of the budget by the Commission, the total amount thereof shall be allocated among the Member Governments in proportions to be determined by agreement.



The agreement was opened for signature on October 30, 1946, and entered into force on August 6, 1948.

The United States participates in the Commission pursuant to Public Law 431, Eightieth Congress (62 Stat. 66).

At its meeting in October 1950, the Working Committee of the Commission, on which all four member states are represented, reviewed the budget, totaling \$409,387, submitted by the Secretary General for the calendar year 1951. The Working Committee recommended to the Commission that the proposed budget be reduced to \$372,174. The Commission, at its eleventh session, reviewed the recommendations of the committee and approved a total budget in the amount of \$326,758.

The scale of contributions of the Commission is based on a formula according to which one-third is assessed equally among members, one-third on the basis of population in the Caribbean area, and one-third on the basis of the national income of the members. Under this formula the United States is assessed 38.4 percent of total assessments.

The contribution of the United States to the budget of the Commission for the calendar year 1951 was \$125,476. Approximately one-half of this amount was paid from funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1951 and the balance from funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1952. For calendar year 1952, total assessments against members amounted to \$341,323, of which the United States was assessed \$131,068. Approximately one-half of this assessment was paid from funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1952, making the total United States contribution from fiscal year 1952 funds \$127,058.

#### INTERNATIONAL UNION FOR THE PROTECTION OF INDUSTRIAL PROPERTY

United States contributions to the International Union for the Protection of Industrial Property are made under the provisions of a convention of 1883 which established the International Bureau of the Union. Under the terms of the convention, member states are divided into 6 classes, contributing 3 to 25 units, for the purpose of meeting the expenses of the Union. Each member government selects the class to which it wishes to be assigned. The total number of units divided into the total assessments for any one year gives the value of the unit.

The United States participates in the International Union for the Protection of Industrial Property by virtue of its adherence to the convention of 1883 and by signature and ratification of the protocol thereto of 1891, the additional act of 1900, and the revisions of 1911, 1925, and 1934. The President ratified the revision of 1934 on June 27, 1935, pursuant to the advice and consent of the Senate, and the United States instrument of ratification was deposited July 12, 1935.

The expenses of the Bureau are assessed against the members after the close of the year. The total expenses for the calendar year 1951 were \$50,046, of which the United States was assessed 5.34 percent or \$2,673. However, the United States interprets the present convention as limiting the obligation of members to the support of an annual assessment budget of not more than 140,000 Swiss francs, until such time as a conference is called to modify the convention.

On the basis of this limitation, the United States contributed \$1,767 for 1951. This contribution was made from funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1952.

#### INTERNATIONAL BUREAU FOR THE PUBLICATION OF CUSTOMS TARIFFS

United States contributions to the International Bureau for the Publication of Customs Tariffs are made under the provisions of the International Convention establishing the Union which was signed at Brussels on July 15, 1890. The United States participates by virtue of its ratification of the convention on December 17, 1890. The ratification carries authorization for membership and for contributions to the expenses for the operation of the Bureau, which is supervised by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Belgium. Under the convention of 1890, the scale of contributions was based upon a system of six contribution classes ranging from 621 to 6,883 gold francs. The class to which each nation belonged depended upon the volume of its foreign trade, and a reduction was given to each member into whose language the Bureau did not translate customs tariffs.

In 1949, a protocol was drawn up revising the 1890 system by establishing seven contribution classes ranging from 1,500 to 26,500 gold francs. This protocol has not yet been approved by the United States.

Total assessments for the calendar year 1951, based on ratification of the new protocol, amounted to \$144,329. The United States contribution, based on the 1890 protocol, amounted to \$2,233 or 1.56 percent of total assessments. The United States contribution for 1951 was made from funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1952.

#### INTERNATIONAL BUREAU OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF ARBITRATION

United States contributions to the International Bureau for the Permanent Court of Arbitration are made under the provisions of the convention of 1907. This provides that the states parties to the convention shall contribute to the budget of the Bureau according to the allocation scale of the Universal Postal Union (UPU), which divides contributors into seven optional classes paying from 1 to 25 units. The United States participates in the Permanent Court of Arbitration by virtue of its ratification of the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes signed at The Hague July 29, 1899, and the revision of that convention signed October 18, 1907.

The budget of the International Bureau of the Permanent Court of Arbitration is adopted by the Administrative Council after examination by its Financial Committee. For the calendar year 1951 the budget amounted to 90,306 florins or \$23,538. The United States was assessed 25 units out of 525 units, which amounts to 4.79 percent of total assessments or \$1,127. The United States contribution for 1951 was made from funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1952.

#### INTERNATIONAL BUREAU OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

United States contributions to the International Bureau of Weights and Measures are made under the provisions of the convention of October 6, 1921, amending the convention of May 20, 1875. The United States participates in the International Bureau by virtue of its

adherence to the convention of 1875, and its ratification of the amending convention of 1921 on September 19, 1923.

The 1921 convention provides for annual contributions from members of from 250,000 to 300,000 francs, the latter amount to be exceeded only by a unanimous decision of the General Conference. Member assessments are based upon population with a maximum assessment of 15 percent of the total.

The International Committee draws up the annual budget within the limitations set by the General Conference. In 1948, the Conference provided a maximum assessment of 175,000 gold francs. For the calendar year 1951 total assessments amounted to 144,471 gold francs or \$47,199, of which the United States was assessed 13.75 percent or \$6,491. The United States contribution for 1951 was made from funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1952.

#### INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF SCIENTIFIC UNIONS AND ASSOCIATED UNIONS

United States contributions to the International Council of Scientific Unions and Associated Unions are made under provisions of the statutes of the Council and the unions which fix the annual contributions of members. United States participation in ICSU and its associated unions was authorized by an act of Congress approved August 7, 1935. This authorizes an annual appropriation of not to exceed \$9,000 in any one year for payment of—

the annual share of the United States as an adhering member of ICSU and associated unions including the International Astronomical Union, International Union of Chemistry, International Union of Geodesy and Geophysics, International Union of Mathematics, International Scientific Radio Union, International Union of Physics, and International Geographical Union, and such other international scientific unions as the Secretary of State may designate. \* \* \*

The Council and each of its unions normally meets once every 3 years, and at that time approves the budget of the Organization for the succeeding period.

Total assessments against members for ICSU and its unions for the calendar year 1951 amounted to \$90,709. The United States contribution amounted to \$8,468, or 9.33 percent of total assessments for 1951. The United States contributions to these budgets for 1951 were made from funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1952.

#### INTERNATIONAL HYDROGRAPHIC BUREAU

United States contributions to the International Hydrographic Bureau are made pursuant to the statutes establishing the Bureau which were drawn up in 1921 and were revised in 1945 at the International Hydrographic Conference. United States participation in the Hydrographic Bureau was authorized by an act of Congress approved March 2, 1921.

The General Conference meets every 5 years. It selects a Directing Committee, composed of three members, which meets between sessions of the Conference and determines the annual budget of the Bureau within the limits of assessments made against members in accordance with the statutes.

Total assessments against members of the organization in support of the budget for the calendar year 1951 amounted to 292,000 gold francs.

or \$95,396. Each member is annually assessed two basic shares of 2,000 gold francs. Those members which own 50,000 gross tons or more of shipping (navy and merchant marine) contribute supplementary shares of the same value in accordance with a sliding scale in which the maximum is set at 15 supplementary shares for 20,750,000 gross tons and above. In accordance with this scale the United States was assessed 14 units or 28,000 gold francs for the calendar year 1951. This amounted to \$9,147, or 9.59 percent of total assessments. The United States contribution was made from funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1952.

#### INTERNATIONAL SUGAR COUNCIL

United States contributions to the International Sugar Council are made under the provisions of the International Sugar Agreement of 1937 which came into force September 1, 1937. The agreement has been extended regularly by protocols. The United States participates in the International Sugar Council by virtue of the ratification of the International Sugar Agreement of 1937 and by the signing of an annual protocol extending the life of the agreement. The annual protocols have been ratified by the Senate.

The annual budget for the Organization is approved by the Council. The scale of contributions for the Council is based on the number of votes to which the members are entitled, which in turn depends on their relative status as exporters or importers of sugar. The agreement of 1937 states that the expenses of the Council shall not exceed 12,500 pounds in any year without the express consent of all of the contracting governments. The budget approved for the period September 1, 1951, to August 31, 1952, amounted to 12,500 pounds or \$35,000 of which the United States was assessed 21.25 percent or \$7,438. This United States contribution was made from funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1952.

#### INTERNATIONAL WHALING COMMISSION

United States contributions to the International Whaling Commission are made pursuant to ratification on July 18, 1947, of the International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling and enactment of Public Law 676, Eighty-first Congress, approved August 9, 1950.

The Commission, composed of one representative of each contracting government, meeting in Capetown, South Africa, in July 1951, approved an expenditure budget of 3,323 pounds, or \$9,304. However, because of a surplus from the previous year, only 2,125 pounds, or \$5,950, was assessed against members. Each of the 17 member countries pays an equal share of the amount assessed.

The United States contribution to the International Whaling Commission for the period June 1, 1951, to May 31, 1952, was made from funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1952. The United States was assessed 5.88 percent of total assessments or \$350.

#### INTERNATIONAL WHEAT COUNCIL

United States contributions to the International Wheat Council are made under the provisions of the International Wheat Agreement which entered into force in 1949. Under the agreement the budget is

adopted by the Council, and the contribution of each member for each crop year is proportionate to the number of votes to which the member is entitled. The number of votes depends upon the guaranty of export or import quantities of wheat to which the members are committed.

United States participation in the International Wheat Council is pursuant to the deposit of its instrument of acceptance on June 17, 1949. The agreement was ratified by the President upon the advice and consent of the Senate on June 17, 1949. The Wheat Council approved for the crop year ending July 31, 1952, a total budget of \$85,344. The United States was assessed 21.01 percent of this budget, or \$17,934. This contribution was made from funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1952.

#### NORTHWEST ATLANTIC FISHERIES COMMISSION

United States contributions to the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Commission are made under the provisions of the International Convention for the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries ratified September 1, 1949, and Public Law 845, Eighty-first Congress, approved September 27, 1950.

Article XI provides that—

\* \* \* The Commission shall prepare an annual administrative budget of the proposed necessary administrative expenditures of the Commission and an annual special projects budget of proposed expenditures on special studies and investigations \* \* \*.

Article XI also sets forth the formula to be used in computing payments due from each member country.

In April 1951, the Commission, consisting of representatives of each of the five contracting governments, approved an administrative budget of \$26,500 (Canadian) for the first financial year, July 1, 1951, to June 30, 1952, and established a working capital fund of \$5,000 (Canadian). No budget for special studies or investigations was recommended.

The United States contribution for the first financial year was made from funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1952. The United States was assessed \$6,628 or 21.44 percent of total assessments.

#### PERMANENT INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF NAVIGATION CONGRESSES

United States contributions to the Permanent International Association of Navigation Congresses are made under the regulations of the Association, the most recent edition of the regulations having been agreed upon in 1926. The Association was established in 1900. United States participation in the Association was first authorized by an act of Congress of June 28, 1902. Present authorization for participation and contribution is contained in the Rivers and Harbors Act of 1948.

The annual budget for the Association is fixed by its governing body, the Permanent International Commission, which is composed of representatives appointed by the supporting governments and corporations. For the calendar year 1951 the Commission approved a budget of \$8,550. The United States contributed \$1,500 or 17.54 percent of the total budget. This contribution was made from funds appropriated to the Department of the Army for the fiscal year 1952.

## SOUTH PACIFIC COMMISSION

United States contributions to the South Pacific Commission are made under the agreement establishing the Commission which provides:

The expenses of the Commission \* \* \* shall be apportioned among the participating governments \* \* \*.

The agreement was signed at Canberra, Australia, on February 6, 1947, and entered into force on July 28, 1948.

The United States participates in the Commission pursuant to Public Law 403, Eightieth Congress, as amended by Public Law 806, Eighty-first Congress. The amendment changed the statutory limitation on the amount which the United States could contribute annually to the Commission from \$20,000 to \$75,000.

The proposed budget of the Secretary-General for the calendar year 1951, submitted to the Commission at its sixth session, amounted to \$508,000. The Commission, after reviewing the proposals, agreed on a total budget of \$417,662. Application of a budget surplus from the previous year in the amount of \$148,306 reduced the assessment level to \$269,356.

The agreement established the scale of contributions. It is based upon national income, prospective national interest in and benefit from the Commission and administrative responsibilities of the respective members in the South Pacific. The United States is assigned 12.5 percent of total assessments.

The United States contribution to the budget of the Commission for the calendar year 1951 was \$33,670. Payment of this amount was made from funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1952.

#### TEMPORARY ORGANIZATIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS IN WHICH UNITED STATES PARTICIPATION IS TEMPORARY

##### CENTRAL COMMISSION FOR THE NAVIGATION OF THE RHINE

The Central Commission for the Navigation of the Rhine was established in 1825 in accordance with the provisions of the Congress of Vienna. The United States has been participating in the work of the Commission since December 1945.

The budget of the Commission is divided equally among the participating governments. For the calendar year 1951 the budget approved by the Commission totaled \$60,060. The United States contributed \$8,580 or 14.29 percent of the total budget. This contribution was made from funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1952.

##### INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY FOR THE RUHR

United States contributions to the International Authority for the Ruhr are made pursuant to the Agreement Establishing an International Authority for the Ruhr which was signed in London on April 28, 1949, by the United States, United Kingdom, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxemburg.

The Council is the governing body of the Authority. Budget estimates are prepared by the Executive Secretary and presented to the Council for adoption. For the fiscal year April 1, 1951, to March 31,

1952, the Council adopted a budget of \$593,580 of which \$345,035 was financed by contributions by governments. According to article 6 of the agreement, expenses are defrayed by members in proportion to the votes allocated. The United States has 3 votes out of a total of 15, and accordingly is assessed 20 percent. The United States contributed \$69,007 for the Authority's fiscal year 1952 out of funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1952.

With the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community (the Schuman plan), the work of the Authority is being completed, and it is expected that the organization will be liquidated early in the calendar year 1953.

#### INTERNATIONAL COTTON ADVISORY COMMITTEE

The International Cotton Advisory Committee was established pursuant to a resolution approved by the governments participating in an international cotton meeting held in Washington in September 1939. The Committee is composed of one or more representatives appointed by each of the member governments and meets annually.

The budget of the committee is supported by contributions from members which are based on a system of five contribution classes ranging from \$1,000 to \$12,000. The class to which each member belongs is determined by its annual average of total cotton exports and imports for the 2 years 1948-49 and 1949-50. The committee approved for the fiscal year 1952 a total budget of \$86,500. In support of this budget the United States contributed \$12,000 or 13.87 percent of total assessments. This contribution was paid from funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1952.

#### INTERNATIONAL SEED TESTING ASSOCIATION

The International Seed Testing Association was established in 1924 for the purpose of standardizing methods and terms for the analysis of seeds in international trade. The United States has participated in the Seed Testing Association since fiscal year 1925 under authorization contained in annual appropriation acts for the Department of Agriculture. Since 1949 the United States quota has been paid from funds appropriated to the Department of State.

Contributions to the Seed Testing Association are based upon the number of seed testing stations in each country. Total assessments for the calendar year 1951 amounted to \$2,338. The United States contributed \$224 or 9.58 percent of total assessments. This contribution was paid from funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1952.

#### INTERNATIONAL TIN STUDY GROUP

The International Tin Study Group was established as a result of a world conference held in London in October 1946 and is composed of representatives of governments primarily interested in the production or consumption of tin.

For the fiscal year 1952 the total budget approved by the study group was \$26,600. The United States was assessed \$3,214 or 12.08 percent of total assessments. The United States contribution was paid from funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1952.

## INTERNATIONAL UNION OF OFFICIAL TRAVEL ORGANIZATIONS

United States contributions to the International Union of Official Travel Organizations are made under the provisions of the revised statutes of the Organization approved in August 1947. The United States applied for membership in the Union on January 1, 1949, under the authority granted in section 117 (b) of the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948, and was accepted by the Union on March 4, 1949.

The budget for 1951 which was submitted by the Executive Committee to the General Assembly for its approval, amounted to \$16,240. The United States contribution amounted to \$420 or 2.59 percent of total assessments. This contribution was paid in pounds sterling from Mutual Security Agency counterpart funds for the fiscal year 1952.

## RUBBER STUDY GROUP

The Rubber Study Group was established in September 1944 to promote international cooperation in matters concerning international trade in rubber.

The budget for the fiscal year 1952 prepared by the Management Committee of the Study Group and approved by the Group totaled \$28,746, of which the United States was assessed \$2,139 or 7.44 percent of total assessments. This contribution was paid from funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1952.

## SPECIAL PROGRAMS

## INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION JOINT SUPPORT PROGRAM

Voluntary contributions by the United States to the joint support program of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) are made pursuant to articles 69, 70, and 73 of the Convention on International Civil Aviation, which was ratified by the President on August 6, 1946, on the advice and consent of the Senate given on July 25. These articles of the convention provide for joint financing by user nations, on a voluntary basis, of air navigation facilities and services required for safe, regular, and efficient international air transports when the country in whose territory they are located is unable to provide such facilities and services entirely at its own expense.

For the fiscal year 1952 the contribution of the United States covered the financial participation of this Government in three ICAO joint support projects to which the United States has been contributing as the major user nation. These three projects, all of which are located in the North Atlantic, provide for the maintenance and operation of air navigation facilities and services essential to the safety and efficiency of trans-Atlantic flights. Projects in the Faroe Islands and part of a project in Iceland cover the maintenance and operation of a master and slave station of the Northeast Atlantic loran chain, which provides long-range air navigation aids for United States and other planes flying across the Atlantic. A project in Greenland provides for essential meteorological and communications services and a loran station at Frederiksdal. The major part of the Icelandic project provides meteorological observations and forecasts, area traffic control, radio aids and radio telecommunications networks for both the northern trans-Atlantic route between North America and Scandinavia and the central Gander-London route.



Total expenses of all participating governments for the Faroe Islands and Greenland projects for the year 1952, and for the Iceland project for the period July 1, 1951-June 30, 1952, amounted to \$1,374,740. The United States contribution for the fiscal year 1952 covers this Government's share of the total for the periods indicated. Based on the proportion of total traffic along the North Atlantic route flown by United States civil aircraft, the United States contribution was \$676,312 or 49.2 percent of the total.

#### ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES—PROGRAM OF TECHNICAL COOPERATION

The Program of Technical Cooperation of the Organization of American States was initiated by a resolution of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council approved April 10, 1950. This resolution established the basic principles of the program and set up a special account for technical cooperation to which member governments make voluntary contributions and from which funds are allocated by the Coordinating Committee on Technical Assistance for projects undertaken by the participating agencies.

Authority for United States participation in and contribution to the Program of Technical Cooperation of the Organization of American States is contained in the Act for International Development which was originally included as title IV of the Foreign Economic Assistance Act of 1950, Public Law 535, Eighty-first Congress. It was subsequently amended in the Mutual Security Act of 1951, Public Law 165, Eighty-second Congress.

The Program of Technical Cooperation of the Organization of American States is directed toward technical education. All Latin-American nations may share in its benefits without individually requesting aid. The program consists of regional projects, usually attached to educational institutions. The fields in which technical instruction is offered are determined by the Inter-American Economic and Social Council after consultation with governments, and selection is based on the needs of the entire hemisphere. As of December 15, 1952, 17 Latin-American countries have pledged the equivalent of \$359,819 for the calendar year 1952 program. For this period the United States pledged up to \$1 million provided its contribution does not exceed 70 percent of total contributions. Funds for this contribution were contained in the Mutual Security Appropriation Act for the fiscal year 1952 (Public Law 249, 82d Cong.).

#### PROVISIONAL INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE FOR THE MOVEMENT OF MIGRANTS FROM EUROPE

The Provisional Intergovernmental Committee for the Movement of Migrants from Europe (PICMME) was organized at Brussels in December 1951. Title I, section 101 (a) (2) of the Mutual Security Act of 1951 (Public Law 165, 82d Cong.), reads:

*Provided*, That not to exceed \$10,000,000 of the funds made available pursuant to this paragraph may be utilized to effectuate the principles set forth in section 115 (e) of the Economic Cooperation Act (ECA) of 1948 as amended.

The intent of section 115 (e) was to facilitate the movement of surplus manpower from Europe to other countries where such manpower could be utilized. Public Law 249, Eighty-second Congress, making appro-

priations for the Mutual Security Act of 1951, provided an amount of \$10,000,000 to carry out this provision of the act.

Pursuant to this legislation the United States drew up a "plan to facilitate the movement of surplus populations from countries of Western Europe and Greece to countries affording resettlement opportunities overseas," which was considered by interested governments at a migration conference convened in Brussels on November 26, 1951. The plan, with minor adjustments, was adopted at this conference. In brief, it provided for the establishment of a provisional organization headed by a committee composed of representatives of the participating governments with a director and an administrative structure capable of providing operational services required for the movement of migrants out of Western Europe and Greece. The budget adopted for 1 year of operations, from January through December 1952, was approximately \$37,000,000 of which \$2,359,060 was for administrative expenses and the remainder for operations. Contributions to the administrative expenses are made in accordance with a percentage scale to which each member government agrees. Contributions to the operating expenses are made up of cash grants, reimbursements for services rendered by PICMME, and the value of services provided to the PICMME program by countries of emigration and immigration in meeting the costs of processing migrants.

The United States informed the Committee that its contribution of \$10,000,000, exclusive of any payments in reimbursement for services rendered, would be available under the provisions of the plan proposed by the United States and approved by the Committee, provided all governments participating agreed to contribute funds, services, or reimbursements to the undertaking on a basis adequate to meet the budget approximately as proposed and approved. The United States accepted 33½ percent as its share of the administrative expenses.

Payments of the United States contribution are made on a periodic basis. As of the end of the fiscal year 1952, the United States had paid \$5,000,000, which represents one-half of the \$10,000,000 contribution appropriated in fiscal year 1952 funds for PICMME's operations during the calendar year 1952. Payment of the remaining \$5,000,000, subject to the conditions outlined above, will be made in the fiscal year 1953.

On November 15, 1952, by resolution of the Committee, the name of the organization was changed to the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration.

#### UNITED NATIONS EXPANDED PROGRAM OF TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

United States support for the United Nations Expanded Program of Technical Assistance, which is carried out by the United Nations and its specialized agencies, stems from point 4 of President Truman's inaugural address of January 20, 1949, in which he stated that the proposed program of technical assistance to underdeveloped areas—

\* \* \* should be a cooperative enterprise in which all nations work together through the United Nations and its specialized agencies wherever practicable \* \* \*.

Resolutions of the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations, adopted in 1949, provided for the setting up of a special account, under the supervision of the Secretary General of the United Nations, to which governments are invited to

contribute on a voluntary basis. Funds are allocated from the special account to the United Nations and the participating specialized agencies to finance projects carried out under the program to provide technical assistance for the economic development of underdeveloped countries.

Authority for United States participation in and contributions to the United Nations Expanded Program of Technical Assistance is contained in the Act for International Development. The act was originally included as title IV of the Foreign Economic Assistance Act of 1950, Public Law 535, Eighty-first Congress, and was subsequently amended in the Mutual Security Act of 1951, Public Law 165, Eighty-second Congress.

The expanded program was initiated in July 1950. A United Nations negotiating committee was appointed by the President of the General Assembly on December 7, 1951, to negotiate with member states of the United Nations and nonmembers regarding contributions to the calendar year 1952 program. The United States is a member of the negotiating committee. For the calendar year 1952, 65 countries have pledged approximately \$19 million. The United States pledged \$11.4 million, representing approximately 60 percent of total pledges. Funds for this voluntary contribution were contained in the Mutual Security Appropriation Act for the fiscal year 1952 (Public Law 249, 82d Cong.).

#### UNITED NATIONS KOREAN RECONSTRUCTION AGENCY

The United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA) was established by resolution of the United Nations General Assembly on December 1, 1950. The terms of the resolution, in general, directed the Agency to plan, initiate, and carry out a broad program of relief and reconstruction in Korea.

The resolution further provided that an advisory committee be established to "advise the Agent General with regard to major financial, procurement, distribution, and other economic problems pertaining to his planning and operations." The United States was subsequently appointed as one of five members of the advisory committee.

Pursuant to the United Nations resolution establishing UNKRA, a negotiating committee was appointed by the President of the General Assembly on December 4, 1950, to negotiate with member states of the United Nations and nonmembers regarding contributions toward the financing of the program for the relief and rehabilitation of Korea. The United States is also a member of this committee.

On May 23, 1951, the advisory committee approved an initial general planning budget for UNKRA of \$250,000,000. The United States pledge toward the program was \$162,500,000, subject to the approval of Congress. This pledge amounted to 65 percent of the total budget.

United States participation in UNKRA was authorized in the Mutual Security Act of 1951 (Public Law 165, 82d Cong.). Pursuant to the authorization contained in this act, the Congress appropriated for contribution to the Agency in the fiscal year 1952 (Public Law 249, 82d Cong.) the unobligated balances of the appropriations heretofore made, and available to Korea under authority of the Far Eastern Economic Assistance Act of 1950 as amended (22 U. S. C. 1543, 1551, 1552). These balances amounted to \$51,452,642.

The prolongation of hostilities has deferred the commencement of full-scale operations by UNKRA. In the meantime, pursuant to agreement between UNKRA and the United Nations Command, UNKRA has been undertaking projects to the maximum extent permitted by military circumstances. The United States contributed \$10,000,000 to UNKRA in the fiscal year 1952 toward its total pledge.

UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND WORKS AGENCY FOR PALESTINE REFUGEES  
IN THE NEAR EAST

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) was established by Resolution 302 (IV) of the Fourth General Assembly of the United Nations on December 8, 1949, and was continued by Resolution 393 (V) of the Fifth General Assembly on December 2, 1950, for the purpose of undertaking a comprehensive program of relief and resettlement for Palestine refugees. An advisory commission was created to advise and assist the Director of UNRWA in the execution of the program. The United States was designated in these resolutions as a member of this commission.

The broad outlines of the Agency's program are recommended to the General Assembly by the Director and the Advisory Commission. The General Assembly reviews these recommendations, authorizes the program, and requests voluntary contributions from governments, intergovernmental organizations, and private groups in support of the program. The Negotiating Committee of the United Nations, of which the United States is also a member, carries on negotiations with member and nonmember states of the United Nations to obtain contributions necessary for financing the program.

The goal recommended by the Director and Advisory Commission of UNRWA in November 1951, and approved by the United Nations General Assembly in its Resolution 513 (VI) of January 26, 1952, called for a 3-year \$250,000,000 relief and reintegration program for the period from July 1, 1951, to June 30, 1954.

United States participation in the Palestine refugee program was originally authorized by Public Law 25, Eighty-first Congress, approved March 24, 1949. United States participation in the current 3-year UNRWA program, approved by the United Nations in January 1952, was authorized in the Mutual Security Act of 1951 (Public Law 165, 82d Cong.). Pursuant to the authorization contained in this act, the Congress appropriated for contribution to the Agency in fiscal year 1952 (Public Law 249, 82d Cong.) a sum of \$50,000,000. In pledging this amount for the fiscal year 1952, the United States representative specified that the United States contribution would not exceed 70 percent of the total contributions made to UNRWA by all governments.

United States pledges in support of UNRWA and its predecessor agency, the United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees, amounted to 61 percent of total pledges for the period December 1, 1948, through June 30, 1952.

As of the end of the fiscal year 1952, the United States had paid \$30,000,000 on its \$50,000,000 pledge for the fiscal year 1952. Payment of the remaining \$20,000,000 of the United States pledge from fiscal year 1952 funds will be made in the fiscal year 1953.

TABLE II.—United States contributions to international organizations fiscal years 1949–53 <sup>1</sup>

## I. ASSESSED BUDGETS

	1949		1950		1951		1952		1953	
	United States contribution	United States percentage of total assessments	United States contribution	United States percentage of total assessments	United States contribution	United States percentage of total assessments	United States contribution	United States percentage of total assessments	United States contribution	United States percentage of total assessments
<b>A. United Nations and specialized agencies:<sup>2</sup></b>										
United Nations.....	\$13,841,032	39.89	\$16,601,021	39.89	\$13,576,243	39.79	\$16,394,244	38.92	\$15,440,860	<sup>3</sup> 36.90
Food and Agriculture Organization <sup>4</sup> .....	1,250,000	25.00	1,250,000	27.10	1,420,800	27.10	1,355,000	30.00	1,673,750	30.00
International Civil Aviation Organization <sup>5</sup> .....	498,004	18.69	463,979	18.47	453,319	24.98	698,610	24.97	815,112	27.00
International Labor Organization.....	<sup>6</sup> 1,091,739	19.13	848,058	18.35	1,260,868	22.00	1,466,412	25.00	1,538,091	25.00
International Telecommunication Union <sup>7</sup> .....	58,393	7.76	140,311	8.04	457,376	12.00	367,011	11.00	113,750	8.32
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.....	<sup>8</sup> 3,601,424	41.88	2,887,173	38.47	2,814,381	37.82	2,785,400	35.00	2,855,609	33.33
Universal Postal Union <sup>9</sup> .....	8,781	4.43	12,056	4.34	12,341	4.38	13,867	4.31	18,953	4.37
World Health Organization.....	1,860,884	38.77	1,918,220	38.54	<sup>10</sup> 3,070,931	36.00	2,481,159	35.00	2,866,667	33.33
World Meteorological Organization.....							<sup>11</sup> 24,855	12.67	36,253	12.67
Subtotal.....	22,210,257	35.57	24,126,818	35.35	23,075,259	34.19	25,586,558	34.35	25,359,945	33.50
<b>B. North Atlantic Treaty Organization <sup>12</sup>.....</b>										
							449,604	22.50	1,107,224	25.35
<b>C. Inter-American organizations:</b>										
Pan American Union.....	1,536,352	72.13	1,247,123	71.50	1,606,022	69.73	1,670,151	67.86	1,887,402	66.00
American International Institute for the Protection of Childhood <sup>13</sup> .....	2,000	35.97	2,000	35.71	34,000	35.71	10,000	35.71	10,000	35.70
Inter-American Indian Institute <sup>14</sup> .....	4,800	22.86	1,800	22.86	4,800	23.18	4,800	23.18	4,800	23.19
Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences <sup>15</sup> .....	145,397	79.32	149,292	79.02	151,570	78.62	153,480	77.90	157,360	77.85
Inter-American Radio Office.....	5,682	25.51	5,682	25.51	5,682	25.51				
Inter-American Statistical Institute <sup>16</sup> .....	29,080	51.47	29,854	51.60						
Pan American Institute of Geography and History.....	10,000	36.23	10,000	36.23	10,000	20.85	<sup>17</sup> 10,000	39.01	10,000	39.02
Pan American Railway Congress.....	<sup>18</sup> 2,500	45.23	5,000	42.18	5,000	45.69	5,000	41.32	5,000	39.50
Pan American Sanitary Organization.....	145,397	61.52	<sup>19</sup> 1,153,498	72.13	1,247,148	71.59	1,355,320	69.73	1,318,982	67.86
Postal Union of the Americas and Spain <sup>20</sup> .....	2,424	8.16	2,424	8.16	2,301	8.16	1,885	8.16	1,786	8.16
Subtotal.....	1,883,632	68.99	2,609,673	70.21	3,066,523	69.46	3,210,645	67.63	3,395,330	<sup>21</sup> 65.94

See footnotes at end of table.

TABLE II.—United States contributions to international organizations fiscal years 1949-53<sup>1</sup>—Continued

## I. ASSESSED BUDGETS—Continued

	1949		1950		1951		1952		1953	
	United States contribution	United States percentage of total assessments	United States contribution	United States percentage of total assessments	United States contribution	United States percentage of total assessments	United States contribution	United States percentage of total assessments	United States contribution	United States percentage of total assessments
D. Other international organizations:										
Bureau of the Interparliamentary Union for the Promotion of International Arbitration	\$15,000	22.80	\$15,000	19.90	\$15,000	19.79	\$15,000	18.99	\$15,000	22.72
International Commission of the Cape Spartel Light	1,870	8.33	825	8.33	2,417	8.33	1,700	8.33	2,026	8.33
Caribbean Commission <sup>21</sup>	117,844	38.40	122,002	38.40	112,094	38.40	127,058	38.40	132,818	38.40
International Bureau for the Protection of Industrial Property	1,811	5.38	1,802	5.58	2,080	5.38	1,767	5.34	1,767	5.39
International Bureau for the Publication of Customs Tariffs	2,233	4.30	2,233	4.34	2,233	5.15	<sup>22</sup> 2,233	1.56	2,233	4.28
International Bureau of the Permanent Court of Arbitration	1,516	4.79	1,079	4.79	1,080	5.00	1,127	4.79	1,252	4.82
International Bureau of Weights and Measures	8,314	17.03	9,372	16.61	4,250	13.90	6,491	13.75	8,576	13.55
International Council of Scientific Unions and Associated Unions	6,993	9.00	6,532	9.00	8,918	9.33	8,468	9.33	8,468	8.72
International Criminal Police Commission <sup>23</sup>	3,000	17.97	3,000	18.00	3,000	18.00				
International Hydrographic Bureau	9,147	14.14	9,147	13.08	9,147	12.17	9,147	9.59	9,147	9.59
International Meteorological Organization <sup>24</sup>	3,785	4.53	3,737	4.33	3,419	4.33				
International Penal and Penitentiary Commission	4,837	32.02	5,088	32.47	5,930	16.81				
International Statistical Bureau	2,500	13.95								
International Sugar Council	8,089	21.25	6,522	21.52	7,507	21.52	7,438	21.25	7,438	21.25
International Whaling Commission			267	8.33	420	6.25	350	5.88	420	5.88
International Wheat Council			19,220	17.22	22,781	21.30	17,934	21.01	18,312	21.80
Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Commission							6,628	21.44	3,308	16.63
Permanent International Association of Navigation Congresses <sup>25</sup>	1,000	17.51	1,500	17.54	1,500	17.54	1,500	17.54	1,500	17.54
South Pacific Commission	18,318	12.50	<sup>26</sup> 20,000	12.50	48,808	12.50	33,670	12.50	55,092	12.50
Subtotal	206,287	20.68	227,326	19.99	250,564	16.11	210,511	17.75	267,357	18.94
E. Temporary organizations or organizations in which United States participation is temporary:										
Central Commission for the Navigation of the Rhine	7,944	16.67	8,596	16.67	8,580	14.29	8,580	14.29	8,580	14.29
Inter-Allied Reparations Agency	299,003	28.00	119,689	28.00	51,354	28.00				
International Authority for the Ruhr	<sup>27</sup> 49,000	20.00	98,000	20.00	86,161	20.00	69,007	20.00	20,000	20.00
International Cotton Advisory Committee	12,000	15.79	12,000	15.79	12,000	16.33	12,000	13.87	12,000	13.79
International Seed Testing Association	250	12.35	140	10.20	224	12.35	224	9.68	224	9.43

International Tin Study Group.....	5,440	13.49	4,868	12.07	2,473	9.29	3,214	12.08	3,242	12.19
International Union of Official Travel Organizations <sup>28</sup> .....	605	2.70	2,520	10.34	420	2.59	420	2.59		
Rubber Study Group.....	716	18.05	5,719	14.35	1,396	6.25	2,139	7.44	1,970	6.62
Subtotal.....	275,958	24.16	251,532	21.96	162,608	19.88	95,584	16.90	46,016	15.04
Total.....	24,576,134	36.47	27,215,349	36.64	26,554,954	35.76	29,582,902	35.55	30,175,872	34.71

## II. SPECIAL PROGRAMS FINANCED BY VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS <sup>29</sup>

	United States contribution				
	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
International Civil Aviation Organization—Joint Support Program <sup>30</sup> .....	\$1,103,366	\$547,939	\$650,000	\$676,312	\$733,500
International Refugee Organization <sup>31</sup> .....	70,643,728	70,447,729	25,000,000		
Organization of American States—Program of Technical Cooperation <sup>32</sup> .....			895,000	<sup>33</sup> 930,000	1,000,000
Provisional Intergovernmental Committee for the Movement of Migrants from Europe <sup>34</sup> .....				<sup>33</sup> 10,000,000	9,240,500
United Nations Expanded Program of Technical Assistance <sup>35</sup> .....			12,007,500	<sup>33</sup> 11,400,000	12,767,145
United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund <sup>36</sup> .....	25,491,692	15,358,361	7,106,114		6,686,667
United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency <sup>37</sup> .....				10,000,000	41,452,642
United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees <sup>38</sup> .....	8,000,000	8,000,000			
United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East <sup>39</sup> .....		2,000,000	25,450,000	<sup>33</sup> 50,000,000	16,000,000
Total.....	105,238,786	96,352,029	71,108,614	83,006,312	87,860,454
Total contributions to assessed budgets.....	24,576,134	27,215,349	26,554,954	29,582,902	30,175,872
Total contributions to special programs.....	105,238,786	96,352,029	71,108,614	83,006,312	87,860,454
Total United States contributions.....	129,814,920	123,567,378	97,663,568	112,589,214	118,036,326

<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise indicated, United States contributions to the international organizations listed are paid from appropriations made or allocated to the Department of State.

The amounts shown are contributions paid. In some cases differences exist between the amounts of the United States assessment and the United States contributions paid because of such factors as credits applied toward United States assessments or because of United States statutory limitations on the amount authorized to be appropriated annually for payment of the United States share at the time the appropriation was approved. Those cases where statutory limitations prevented payment of the full United States share are footnoted.

Unless otherwise indicated, the percentages shown are percentages of total scheduled assessments.

<sup>2</sup> This list does not include the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development or the International Monetary Fund, which are financed by capital subscriptions from member governments and income from operations rather than by annual contributions.

<sup>3</sup> To be 33½ percent as of Jan. 1, 1954. Now 35.12 percent during current year 1953.

<sup>4</sup> The FAO contribution is paid on a split-year basis. The amount appropriated for a given United States fiscal year is used to pay approximately one-half the assessment of the previous calendar year, and one-half the assessment of the current calendar year.

In 1950, the maximum amount authorized to be appropriated annually for the United States contribution was \$1,250,000, whereas the actual assessed contribution was \$1,302,500. Public Law 806, 81st Cong., approved Sept. 21, 1950, raised the limitation to \$2 million. The percentage shown is the FAO calendar year assessment percentage.

<sup>5</sup> The International Civil Aviation Organization contribution is paid on a split-year basis.

<sup>6</sup> Includes \$312,918 as United States advance to the working capital fund which stands to the credit of the United States.

<sup>7</sup> The amounts shown include contributions to the regular budget, and for extraordinary expenses, which are incurred in connection with special meetings and conferences.

<sup>9</sup> Includes \$397,300 as United States advance to the working capital fund which stands to the credit of the United States.

<sup>10</sup> The United States contribution is paid from funds appropriated to the Post Office Department.

<sup>11</sup> The amount shown includes an advance of \$551,024 to the working capital fund, which stands to the credit of the United States.

<sup>12</sup> The amount shown includes an advance of \$782 to the working capital fund, which stands to the credit of the United States.

<sup>13</sup> The expenditures of the military establishment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization are not included in this table. The amount of \$149,604 shown is the United States contribution during the fiscal year 1952 to the civilian expenses of the Council and its Secretariat which are comparable to the international organization expenses supported by the other United States contributions listed. Of the total, \$221,000 represents a contribution to the 1951 civilian budget and \$228,604 a part payment toward the 1952 civilian budget. These payments were made from Mutual Security Administration counterpart funds.

<sup>14</sup> The 1951 figure includes \$24,000 for 1948, 1949, and 1950 arrearages. The United States annual quota is \$10,000, but until Sept. 21, 1950, when Public Law 806, 81st Cong., raised the limitation to \$10,000 permitting payment of the full United States share, only \$2,000 was authorized to be appropriated annually.

Percentage figures shown for the years 1949, 1950, and 1951 represent the proportion of the United States assessment of \$10,000 to total assessments.

<sup>15</sup> The scale of contributions of the Institute assumes membership of all 21 American Republics, with the United States share at 15.69 percent. The United States percentages shown in this chart are based on assessments against the 14 states that have accepted membership.

<sup>16</sup> The scale of contributions of the Institute assumes membership of all 21 American Republics, with the United States share at 50.33 percent. The United States percentages shown in this chart are based on assessments against the states that have accepted membership. By 1952, 11 states had accepted membership.

<sup>17</sup> The scale of contributions of the Institute assumed membership of all 21 American Republics, with the United States share at 49.30 percent. The United States percentages shown in this chart are based on assessments against the 17 states that had accepted membership. In 1951, funds for the Institute were included in the budget of the Pan American Union.

<sup>18</sup> The total United States assessment for the fiscal year 1952 is \$42,928 representing 39.01 percent of total scheduled assessments. The amount of \$10,000 appropriated is the maximum authorized by legislation to be appropriated for contribution to the Institute.

<sup>19</sup> Figure represents contribution for one-half of calendar year 1948 as membership was approved on June 28, 1948.

<sup>20</sup> The full United States assessment for the organization's financial year 1949 was \$1,226,196 or 72.13 percent of total assessments of \$1,700,000. A part of this assessment (\$72,698) was paid from fiscal year 1949 funds and the remainder from fiscal year 1950 funds.

<sup>21</sup> The United States contribution is paid from funds appropriated to the Post Office Department.

<sup>22</sup> The Caribbean Commission contribution is paid on a split-year basis.

<sup>23</sup> This is the maximum assessment under the convention of 1890. A protocol has been drafted, amending the convention which would have the effect of increasing assessments, but the United States has not ratified it.

<sup>24</sup> The United States contribution was paid from funds appropriated to the Department of Justice. The United States withdrew from the Commission Dec. 31, 1950.

<sup>25</sup> On Apr. 4, 1951, the International Meteorological Organization was replaced by the World Meteorological Organization, a specialized agency of the United Nations. The United States contributions to the IMO were paid from Department of Commerce funds.

<sup>26</sup> The United States contribution is paid from funds appropriated to the Department of the Army.

<sup>27</sup> The United States assessment for the year 1950 was \$22,474, but only \$20,000 was authorized to be appropriated annually for the payment of the United States contribution when the appropriation was approved. Public Law 806, 81st Cong., approved Sept. 21, 1950, raised the limitation to \$75,000, permitting an appropriation of the full United States share. The United States percentage of 12.50 percent represents the proportion of the United States assessment of \$22,474 to total assessments.

<sup>28</sup> Figure represents United States share of the interim budget of \$140,000 to cover the period May 20 through Sept. 30, 1949, and of the reserve capital fund of \$60,000. The United States signed the agreement establishing an International Authority for the Ruhr on Apr. 28, 1949.

<sup>29</sup> The 1952 United States contribution was paid from Mutual Security Administration counterpart funds. In 1949, 1950, and 1951, payment was made from ECA counterpart funds.

<sup>30</sup> With the exception of the International Refugee Organization, contributions to the following programs are on a voluntary basis.

<sup>31</sup> The United States contributions shown are the following percentages of total government contributions: 1949—57.50 percent; 1950—52.28 percent; 1951—53.19 percent; 1952—49.20 percent.

<sup>32</sup> Scales of assessment for administrative expenses and operational expenses of IRO included all countries members of the United Nations when the IRO constitution was drawn up. Under these scales, the United States was assessed 45.67 percent of total scheduled expenses. 18 states accepted membership in IRO. The United States share of contributions assessed against those states amounted to 60.64 percent for fiscal year 1949; 57.34 percent for fiscal year 1950; and 47.24 percent for 1951. Final contributions to the organization were made for fiscal year 1951, and the organization ceased operations Jan. 31, 1952.

<sup>33</sup> The United States pledged up to \$1 million for each of the calendar year 1951 and 1952 programs on condition that its pledge be not more than 70 percent of the total pledged in either year. The amounts shown represent the estimated United States contributions based on pledges for calendar year 1951 and estimated pledges for 1952.

<sup>34</sup> Pledged.

<sup>35</sup> The United States contribution of \$10,000,000 for calendar year 1952 is toward a target budget of \$36,954,000 to be made up of cash grants, reimbursements for services rendered by PICMME and the value of contributions made to the PICMME program by countries of emigration and immigration in the processing of migrants. \$10 million was appropriated for direct contribution to the organization. In addition, funds were appropriated to the Displaced Persons Commission to pay overseas transportation costs of the movement of German ethnics to the United States under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, as amended, under contract with PICMME for the movement of these migrants. The DP Commission has reimbursed PICMME to the amount of approximately \$2,800,000 which is included in the \$36,954,000 target budget.

<sup>36</sup> The United States contribution for the period July 1950 to Dec. 31, 1951, is 59.83 percent of total pledges. The United States pledged \$11,400,000 in support of the calendar year 1952 program, representing approximately 60 percent of the total pledged for the period.



X <sup>36</sup> The United States contributions during the fiscal years 1949 and 1950 were 72 percent of total Government contributions exclusive of contributions by receiving governments, and the 1951 contribution was 67.23 percent. Of the total amount shown in 1951, \$1,356,114 was paid to UNICEF under the terms of Public Law 472, 80th Cong., approved Apr. 3, 1948, as amended by Public Law 170, 81st Cong., approved July 14, 1949. The remaining amount of \$5,750,000 was authorized by Public Law 535, 81st Cong., approved June 5, 1950.

<sup>37</sup> The United States pledged \$182,500,000 toward a target budget of \$350,000,000, representing 65 percent of the total. Full implementation of the program on this scale depends on the military situation. The contributions made by governments to date are designed to enable the agency to plan its program and to make a beginning on certain projects in those areas where military circumstances permit, by agreement with the Unified Command. The \$10 million shown is the amount contributed by the United States during fiscal year 1952.

<sup>38</sup> The United States contributions and pledges represent approximately 61 percent of total contributions and pledges by governments to the Palestine refugee program.